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**JOURNAL**  
**OF A**  
**RESIDENCE IN NORWAY.**



**LONDON :**  
**SPOTTISWOODES and SHAW,**  
**New-street-Square.**

**JOURNAL**  
**OF A**  
**RESIDENCE IN NORWAY**

**DURING**  
**THE YEARS 1834, 1835, & 1836 ;**

**MADE WITH A VIEW**  
**TO ENQUIRE INTO THE MORAL AND POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THAT**  
**COUNTRY, AND THE CONDITION OF ITS INHABITANTS.**

**BY SAMUEL LAING, ESQ.**

**NEW EDITION.**

**.LONDON :**  
**LONGMAN. BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS,**  
**1851.**

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## INTRODUCTION.

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NORWAY has been visited and described by Von Buch, Dr. Clarke, and other travellers of science and talent; but these enlightened observers have naturally directed their attention to the geology, botany, and sublime natural scenery which the country presents in the most interesting forms, and have bestowed little of it on the social condition and state of the Norwegian people. They are, however, the most interesting and singular group of people in Europe. They live under ancient laws and social arrangements totally different in principle from those which regulate society and property in the feudally constituted countries; and among them, perhaps, may be traced the germ of all the free institutions which distinguish the British constitution at the present day. They present to the political philosopher the singular spectacle of a nation emerging suddenly from under the hand of an uncontrolled and absolute sovereign power, with their civil liberties and social arrangements so well adapted to their condition, and so well secured by their ancient laws, that the transition from despotism to democracy was unmarked by any convulsion, or revolutionary movement, or important change in the state of society and property.

The remarkable firmness, moderation, and judgment, with which this people have exercised the legislative power, vested by their constitution entirely in their representatives, place them, in the moral estimate of European nations, in a much higher rank than those who have *received a much greater share of the public attention in this country.*

## INTRODUCTION.

Norway has a claim morally and politically upon the British nation, which renders her social condition and her present constitution of peculiar interest. In 1813, our government was party to a treaty with Sweden,—the foulest blot, perhaps, in British history,—by which we agreed, in consideration of Sweden joining the Allied Powers against Buonaparte, to give Sweden the kingdom of Norway, of which neither of the contracting parties had at that moment possession even as military occupants of the territory, and far less any shadow of rightful claim to it. It would be a case in point, as far as regards principle, if Russia and Denmark were to conclude a treaty for giving to Russia the kingdom of Ireland. Providence sometimes will not allow our measures to be so flagitious as we design them. The Norwegians declared themselves an independent nation upon the Danish monarch renouncing the sovereignty of Norway, framed a constitution, and proclaimed the son of their former sovereign king. The Danish prince abdicated his newly acquired crown rather than engage in so unequal a contest with Sweden and England; and these two contracting powers redeemed in so far the character of their private nefarious treaty, that the Norwegian nation was not, as in the case of Poland, handed over, like a herd of black cattle, from one potentate to another, but their distinct national existence was acknowledged, their new constitution, as established on the 17th of May, 1814, was accepted, and solemnly sworn to by the proposed monarch, the late king of Sweden, on the 4th of November; and on these conditions only, viz. the distinct existence as a nation of the kingdom of Norway, and the preservation of its constitution as sworn to, were the two crowns of Norway and Sweden united—under the guarantee of this country as one of the Allied Powers, to support each party, the Kings of Sweden and the Norwegian nation, in their just rights.\* Great Britain is therefore

\* The treaty of Kiel, if it had even been founded on any just or admitted principle of the law of nations, was renounced by this acceptance as a ground of right to the sovereignty of the Norwegian nation. At the present day,

## INTRODUCTION.

morally and in honour bound to preserve the national independence of Norway, and her singularly liberal and well-constructed constitution. Norway never can become a province of Sweden, nor be deprived of her present constitution, while there exists in the British cabinet honour or respect for its own guarantee; and abhorrence in the nation of a participation in a measure which would have been in principle and in effect exactly similar to the partition of Poland, but for the redeeming circumstances of our recognising and guaranteeing the independent national existence and free constitution of Norway.

The writer of the following observations aims at a higher object than the amusement or instruction of those who may read them. He would draw the attention of this country, if he had the ability to do so, to the important duty which, by the transactions of 1813 and 1814, we are morally bound as a nation to perform to this handful of free and happy people living under a liberal constitution, flourishing under their own legislation, and making no demands, asking no favours, from the other governments of Europe, unless that Great Britain should watch over the guarantee she has given for their independent existence and the enjoyment of their constitution of the 17th of May, 1814.

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when the excitement and occasion which gave rise to that nefarious treaty are past, and its object has been accomplished upon just principles, no Swedish cabinet could, in the face of civilised and moral nations, have the effrontery to claim rights over the Norwegian people as emanating from a treaty so repugnant to all principle. Norway has her guarantee in the moral feeling of mankind.





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# RESIDENCE IN NORWAY

IN

THE YEARS 1834, 1835, 1836.

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"O fortunatos nimium sua si bona norint

\* \* \* \*

\* \* extrema per illos

Justitia excedens terris vestigia fecit." VIR. *Georg. II.*

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## CHAPTER I.

Norway interesting from its peculiar law of succession. — Steam-boats. — Gottenburg. — Trollhætta. — Christiania. — Money. — Fish. — Slaves. — Cariole Travelling. — Myosen Lake. — Farms. — Houses. — Haymaking — Ladies' Side-saddles. — Laurgaard. — Goats. — Log-houses. — Norwegian and Scotch Highlanders. — Condition, Property, Food, Lodging compared. — Timber Duties. — Snow. — Dovre Field. — Mill. — Sneehætta. — Game. — Fishing. — Norwegian Inns. — Sækness. — Sundset.

Hull, July 7. 1834.

NORWAY is a country peculiarly interesting to the political economist. It is the only part of Europe in which property, from the earliest ages, has been transmitted upon the principle of partition among all the children. The feudal structure of society, with its law of primogeniture, and its privileged class of hereditary nobles, never prevailed in Norway. In this remote corner of the civilised world we may, therefore, see the effects upon the condition of society of this peculiar distribution of property; it will exhibit, on a small scale, what America and France will be a thousand years hence. From a period coeval with the establishment of the *feudal system* the land and the people of Norway have been under the influence of the mode of succession which those countries have

only recently adopted. What effect has this produced on the state of society? on the condition of the lower and middle classes in this peculiar community? what on the arrangement and distribution of its landed property after a thousand years of division and subdivision? A single fact, brought home from such a country, is worth a volume of speculation.

I had long entertained a wish to visit Norway, partly to investigate the social condition of a people living under institutions so ancient and peculiar, and which have recently been adopted by two of the greatest of modern nations, and partly from the historical interest which we attach to every thing Norwegian. Here we expect to see the original type of institutions, customs, and domestic usages which England received by the Norman Conquest, and the long previous occupation of a large portion of her territory by invaders of Norwegian race. Few readers of the historical events of the middle ages rise from the perusal without a wish to visit the country from which issued, in the tenth century, the men who conquered the fairest portions of Europe. Such were the objects to investigate which the writer was induced to spend nearly two years in this remote part of Europe; and he will now, in the form of a journal, communicate the result of his inquiries.

*Gottenburg, July, 1834.*—Steam-boats interfere most particularly with the vocation of the traveller who sets out in quest of all sorts of adventures and perils by sea and land, and hopes to edify and astonish his friends at home by the narration of them. These mail coaches of the ocean deliver him and his portmanteau on the other side of the North Sea, within twenty minutes of the appointed time, without more adventure, and with considerably less trouble, than if he were journeying in the coach from Charing Cross to Greenwich; and he finds himself, with his hands in his breeches pockets, whistling along the quay of Gottenburg, before he is well aware that he has left his favourite corner in his old accustomed coffee-room, and has actually accomplished a voyage across the salt seas.

The fare by the steam-packet from Hull to Gottenburg is about seven pounds sterling; and we accomplished the passage in seventy-two hours, with favourable weather and a smooth sea.

*There were only five passengers on board, and, I understand, seventeen are the greatest number the vessel ever conveyed to Gottenburg. This, of course, would be a ruinous trade for a*

steam-vessel; but the owners are secured from loss by a contract with the British and Swedish post-offices. They receive four thousand pounds for conveying the mails to and from Gottenburg once a week, during nine months of the year. This is a very limited intercourse between the two countries. Hamburgh, being the centre of exchanges and of mercantile affairs for the north of Europe, is the route which men of business prefer both for themselves and their letters. Our Norwegian steam-packet mails are very ill-regulated. The steam-packet from Copenhagen and Gottenburg to Norway was leaving the latter port while we were entering the river, so that our mails and passengers for Norway, although arriving at the proper hour, will be detained here a week.

It appears extraordinary that three millions of people, so near to our coast, requiring all the articles which we manufacture, and having commodities which we specially require,—wood and iron,—should have so little correspondence with Britain. At one of our country post towns there are probably received and delivered more letters in a day than are transmitted to or from Scandinavia in a week. This surely implies something wrong in the commercial relations between the two countries.

I have passed a pleasant week at Gottenburg. I became acquainted at the table-d'hôte with a Swedish gentleman from Sundsval, on the Bothnian Gulf, who spoke French and German: as he had also a few leisure days to get rid of, we resolved to visit together the Falls of Trollhætta. We set off at eight in the morning, in a little steam-boat which plies up and down the river Gotha: her machinery, I observe, was made at Dundee, possibly of Swedish iron. The day was beautiful; the sun sparkling in the water; the boat running swiftly along, and the passengers numerous, gay, evidently good-humoured folk, who had set out determined to enjoy themselves. Between eating, drinking, smoking, admiring the scenery, and playing three-card Loo, we got on very successfully; and in eight hours were landed at the hamlet of Lilla Edet. The scenery on the Gotha is not fine: marshes on each side reach to flat fields bounded by hills skirting the river-valley at the distance of half a mile on each side. These hills are mere knobs or hummocks of gneiss, scantily covered with soil, and with edges of *granite occasionally shooting up through it*. As we approach Lilla Edet *the hills close in, and the scenery resembles the tamest views*



on the Cumberland Lakes. It is water sleeping between green banks and woods, and the current is scarcely perceptible till near Lilla Edet. We landed on the right bank, the river ceasing to be navigable on account of rocks in the channel. Having hired a four-wheeled vehicle and a pair of horses, we drove about sixteen miles to a ferry, where we crossed to the locks of the celebrated Trollhætta Canal, at the foot of the great waterfall. Our road was over an open country, apparently well and carefully cultivated in the plains and valleys ; but the hills, although of small elevation, are bare knobs of rock shooting up through the earth, without a particle of soil on them. These naked ribs of gneiss and granite run through the country, like the bare bones of some giant-skeleton, leaving between them small intervals skinned over with a thin covering of soil, and forming, together with the river-valley, the only parts of the country capable of cultivation. Every patch of soil seemed occupied. The rest of the country in view, to the extent, I should think, of four-fifths of the surface, was naked rock, without even moss or heath. When a country containing a great extent of such land is compared as to the number of inhabitants with other regions, it is to be remembered, that of the square mile of 640 acres there should be thrown out of the account perhaps 200 acres or more, as bare rock, or waters producing neither subsistence nor employment for man. With this allowance, I should suppose, from the many odd nooks and corners in which houses are set down, and attempts made at cultivation, where six or eight sheaves of corn only could be raised, that land is scarce even in proportion to the population ; and that every square mile of what really is land is inhabited as densely as in other cultivated countries. Small patches of soil between the rocks, which, in a territory where good soil was plentiful, would be neglected as inconvenient, are here occupied. Without some correction of this kind, the statements of the number of inhabitants to the square mile in different countries furnish no correct data for comparing the agricultural industry of one country with that of another.

The canal of Trollhætta did not appear to me a work of such great magnificence as it is often considered. The idea, originally formed by Charles the Twelfth, was undoubtedly bold, and superior to his age. The splendid inland sea called the Wenner is *connected on one side by a chain of lakes with the Baltic, and on the other by the river Gotha with the North Sea.* The falls of

Trollhætta, on the Gotha, are the only impediment to a free navigation from the ocean into the Baltic. The idea of overcoming it by a series of locks was the conception of a great mind, but the execution is lamentably defective. The locks strike the eye at once as too narrow for vessels of sufficient breadth of beam to navigate the Baltic, the North Sea, or even the Wenner, yet unnecessarily wide for canal boats or river barges. This defect appears extraordinary; since, great as the undertaking was, the execution consisted chiefly in excavating a very hard and solid rock, in which every inch quarried was gained for ever, and any dimensions whatever could have been given by patience and gunpowder. There were none of those natural difficulties to contend with, such as soft soils in the sides, loose sands or gravel, slips of clay, springs, rivers, valleys, or hills to turn or surmount, and all that variety of obstacles which places canal engineering among the highest efforts of human intellect. As a work of art, the Trollhætta cannot be placed by the side of the Caledonian Canal; the difficulties were vastly inferior; and in the execution of the locks, lock-gates, stone-work, and in the finish of the whole, it cannot be compared to its rival, which, in its present state of perfection, is undoubtedly the finest work which Scotland can show to the stranger. In consequence of this defect in the Trollhætta Canal, it is proposed to excavate another of greater width of lock by its side: it is not probable, however, that such an undertaking would ever defray the expense. Commerce is somewhat wayward, and will not take the road which governments and ministers point out. The Trollhætta and Caledonian Canals are similar in one respect; both, in proportion to their cost, are almost equally useless. The Trollhætta, however, serves to convey wood from the Wenner Lake to the saw-mills at the Falls, and from the mills to the navigable part of the Gotha. The north and west coasts of the Wenner are the principal districts for timber. The blocks of wood, that is, the trunks of the trees divested of bark and branches, are floated down the rivers which run through the forests in the back country, and fall into the Wenner in the neighbourhood of Carlstadt: they are there shipped in schooners and sloops, which carry from fourteen to forty dozen blocks; and they are transported, at the freight of five dollars banco per dozen, to Trollhætta, where they are sawed into planks. The saw-mills are erected on the *very edge of the cataract*. The boldness of their

situation is one of the most striking features of Trollhætta. The Falls are the most magnificent in the north of Europe ; but it were idle to attempt to describe the scenery.

Trollhætta is a village containing nearly a thousand inhabitants, and a large and good inn. A party of actors from the opera-house at Stockholm, unfortunately for us, possessed the best accommodations. These French of the North, as Voltaire calls the Swedes, are as fond of the theatre as the Parisian French. I found the mate of our steamboat reading "Medea en Opera;" and all the saw-mill population of Trollhætta were opera-going people. Our accommodations at this good inn were consequently not of the best; and I found, in bed at least, ten thousand good reasons for getting up long before sunrise. I advise the traveller who may visit Trollhætta for its sublime scenery to do the same, and see the Falls amid the morning mists, and before living things are a-stirring.

The enormous chasm through which this great body of water rolls from the Wenner, makes the artificial canal beside it appear a mere scratch on the surface of the earth. A time must have been, however, when this chasm itself was only a scratch on the granite; for all the rocks around and above it are water-worn, and have been long submerged, apparently, under running water. One remarkable place is shown to strangers, because the king and other great personages have inscribed their names in it; but it is much more remarkable, because it could only have been scooped out into such rounded and polished hollows in the hard substance of the primary rock, by the continued action of water in motion over it for a length of time beyond imagination.

When my Swedish friend awoke, we recrossed the river below the Falls, and set off to regain the steam-boat. He drove our little calash, which looked like a bundle of hop-poles upon axle-trees; and, certainly, no English coachman would have taken his vehicle down such steps as we rattled over at full speed. I thought at first the gentleman was trying my nerves at the risk of our necks, but I saw every person on the road proceeding in the same way. It is the serious, sober way of driving in this country, to take every slope, although it should be as steep as the roof of a house, at full gallop. The carriages are light, the horses small, active, and in excellent wind. They finished their stage, at their utmost rate of exertion, without panting or distress.

Gottenburg resembles some of the old decayed towns of Holland, with its wide streets of good houses, canals in the middle of the streets, and nothing stirring either in the streets or in the canals. Few places have suffered greater vicissitudes. It had a flourishing herring fishery ; but the fish disappeared from the Skaggerack, and never returned. It had an East India trade, which failed ; and during the last war it had a third period of prosperity, which vanished with the return of peace. The population is about 16,000 ; and there is a suburb, called Clippen, extending more than two miles below the city, which contains, probably, as many more. They are of the labouring and seafaring class. The shipping come no higher up the river than Clippen. The little cabins of the inhabitants of this suburb are built upon bare granite, with scarcely soil enough for gardens ; they are set down like so many wooden boxes on the side of the hill, without any regularity. In threading my way through these crowded habitations, I observed that the meanest had a wooden floor and good windows ornamented with the fringe, at least, of window-curtains ; and flower-pots with pinks and other common flowers, well cared for, were in every house. These trifles indicate some degree of taste and leisure among the labouring classes.

At Gottenburg I put up at the hotel of a Scotchman, Mr. Tod, who has been settled there for many years. I found the accommodation good, and expense moderate.

*Christiania, Monday, July 21. 1834.*—I am at last in Norway. I embarked at Clippen on Saturday in the steam-packet Gustav Adolph, commanded by an officer of the Norwegian navy, with a lieutenant under him. I paid five dollars of Norwegian money, or about twenty shillings sterling, for my passage from Gottenburg. The other passengers had all come in the vessel from Copenhagen. The sudden disjunction of Norway and Denmark left, of course, much business to be adjusted between individuals of the two countries : it occasioned much distress and loss to persons having connexions and property in both ; and it still produces a constant intercourse. We had beautiful weather, but saw little of the coast, as the steam-packet crosses the Skaggerack in a direct course from Gottenburg to Fredericksvarn, where we arrived in the morning, and were removed into a small coasting steam-boat which takes *passengers along the coast from Christiansand to Christiania.* It *was pleasing to see the numbers of people availing themselves of*

this steam communication, and going from town to town. At Tonsburg, Holmestrand, Drobäck, Moss, and other places, we received and put on shore passengers in considerable numbers. This is a country for steam navigation to produce its greatest benefits. The long fiords running into the heart of the Peninsula, and the immense extent of sea coast defended by chains of islands and rocks just above water which break the swell of the main ocean, and afford a kind of inland navigation, are precisely the waters fitted for steam navigation. The government appears aware of its value, and is making great and judicious exertions to promote it. The vessels are commanded by naval officers; the fares are very moderate; and in all that regards the management and comfort of passengers they equal our own. In a country too poor to have any competition in such expensive enterprises, it is, perhaps, wise in government to undertake them. Private speculators might, by injudicious avidity, prevent the establishment from taking root. If it should prove losing as to money, still the advantage to the country would justify the expenditure. A steam-boat costs less than a regiment:—which adds most to the wealth and strength of such a country as Norway?

We arrived at Christiania in the evening, winding through its long fiord amid scenery quite new to me and delightful. The fiord, which in some parts does not exceed the breadth of a moderate river, is so enclosed with woods and rocks, that we think it terminated, when, in a few minutes, we come to an expanse of water studded with little islands, which appears to run up towards the mountains, farther than we can see. Christiania is situated at the head of the fiord, on one of these expanses.

I was surprised to find, last night on my arrival, that I had to go through all the ceremony at the custom-house of having my baggage visited, as if I had come direct from a foreign country, and not from part of the same kingdom. The Norwegians, it seems, keep themselves and all their establishments perfectly, and even jealously, distinct from Sweden.

I have got into the Hôtel du Nord, apparently a great inn, and well kept.

*Christiania, Tuesday, July 22.*—The money here is on a better footing, at least for the stranger, than in Sweden. The dollar, worth 3s. 10d. sterling, at the present exchange, is divided into 4 marks, or orts, of twenty-four skillings each; and there are

notes of one dollar, half a dollar, and twenty-four skillings, all printed on white paper. The notes of five dollars are on blue paper, of ten on yellow, and of fifty on green. For sums below twenty-four skillings there is a copper and silver coinage of two and one skilling pieces. All this is very clear. The weather is so excessively hot, which I did not expect in Norway, that in the middle of the day I could do nothing out of doors. I strolled to the fish market, and found salmon and trout, eels, flounders, mackarel, gorebills, whittings, sethe or gadus virens, and other sea fish. I doubted whether these were caught so far up in these fiords; but the lobster, which of all others can least support fresh water, is in abundance. The town has but a dull appearance: the streets, to prevent fires from spreading, are very wide; so that a few pedestrians, with one or two carts, make no appearance. The shops have no great show externally, and altogether the town looks deserted; and at this season it probably is so.

One thing here is very revolting to good taste and good feeling. The convicts or galley slaves are employed, sometimes along with other labourers, in all parts of the town; and two or three times a day you meet a gang of them going to, or returning from, their work. I saw a party marched into a house, from which I had before heard music with female voices, with which the clanking of the chains did not exactly harmonise. They seemed chained, too, in a brutal way, with iron collars round their necks and legs, which have projections, that must prevent their resting in any position. Some appear to be of an age too young to be irreclaimable; but if they are all offenders who have deserved death, it would probably be better for society that they should suffer it, than that the public should be accustomed to the spectacle of the lowest degree of human wretchedness without feeling any sympathy or emotion, which must be the case, if it be a daily spectacle. I see them employed in mending boats, sawing wood, carrying mortar, and such work as necessarily brings them into communication with other labourers. They are even speaking to the children and women in the streets. It is not wise, and certainly not pleasant, to have these malefactors constantly before the public. They lose all sense of their disgrace, and perhaps the citizens do the same.

*Christiania, Wednesday, July 23.*—The weather excessively sultry, which is unusual here.



After considering and consulting about my mode of travelling, I have to-day bought a little second-hand cariole, for which, with the harness, I have paid twenty-five dollars, or about 3*l.* 18*s.* The Norwegian cariole is a little gig, just large enough for one person, and resting between two low light wheels, upon two cross bars of wood morticed in the shafts. They are made also with iron springs; but I preferred the wood, as in travelling it can easily be got repaired, which iron work cannot; besides, the shafts are so elastic, that the jolting is very slight on ordinary roads. Travelling, I am told, is very cheap; only one ort, about 9½*d.* sterling, for a horse, per Norwegian mile, which is no less than seven of our degenerate English miles. One must, a few hours before starting, send off a forbud, in travellers' language, "a courier," but, in humble reality, a little ragged boy, who, for four skillings, or 1½*d.* a stage, precedes you in a baggage cart with your luggage, and leaves at each post station a printed notice, in which you have previously filled up the number of horses you require, and the hour of your arrival. The station master sends notice to the farmers whose turn it is to furnish horses for this service, and is entitled to four skillings per horse for his trouble. The horses are always in readiness, if fair time be allowed by sending off the forbud the day before. A book is kept at each station, in which the traveller states how he has been served; and these books are examined and signed regularly by the local authorities, and checked by superior officers of the district, and any complaint of undue delay is examined into. This arrangement certainly makes travelling easy, even to a stranger unacquainted with the language; but I have been beset, ever since I landed, with couriers, valets, or interpreters, offering their services. These gentlemen seem to think it an infringement upon their privilege, that a foreigner, especially from England, should presume to travel without one of them to hold his purse. I have bought a travelling map, have made the waiter fill up forbud notices for horses, all the way up to what appears by this map to be the centre, or highest point of the country, where the waters part, and the great valleys begin, which is near a station called Jerkin. I have packed up and sent off my luggage this evening by the forbud, and off I go by day-break to morrow.

*July 24.*—Having set off this morning at four, I resolved to make a good offing at first from the metropolis, and jog on more

leisurely when I should get into the heart of the country. I therefore travelled until sunset, and stopped at this single farmhouse, on the side of the Myosen lake,  $10\frac{1}{2}$  Norwegian miles, about 75 English, from the capital. The house, I understand, is called Frognet. I have had one of those delightful days of which one never loses the impression, and which only passes in the midst of novel scenery. The Myosen is a splendid sheet of water. Its scenery I would class with the pastoral, or beautiful, rather than with the sublime. Its coasts are well cultivated, and with the exception of a few rough promontories dipping into the lake, the slopes are easy, and the back country in view not strikingly high. The crops of oats, bear, flax, peas, and potatoes, along its coast, are beautiful. The houses appear good. I have not seen one that could be called a poor habitation.

*July 26.*—I got to this farmhouse, which is called Holmen, last night, about  $8\frac{1}{2}$  Norwegian, or 58 English, miles from Frognet. The scenery of a river, as large here as the Tay at Dunkeld, filling the narrow valley in some places, and in others forming a long motionless lake amidst the woods, or rushing like a mountain stream through the gorges, affords many picturesque points of view. At the end of the Myosen lake, there is a small village called Lille Hammer, which was formerly a town of some importance. It is the first village I have seen in the country. The extent of cultivation in the Strath of the Myosen, extending up to this village, surprised me. It is not merely a fringe between the hill and the shore, but reaches far back among the hills, and over the summits of the ordinary heights. I would compare its breadth to that of Strathmore in Forfarshire. The farming cannot be very bad, for the crops of oats, bear, and rye are excellent. Potatoes, which appear to occupy the place of the turnip in our farming, are clean, and well horse-hoed. Draining and clearing new land of roots of trees and stones, are going on in various quarters, and lime was laid out at one place for spreading. Farms appeared to be of various sizes; I observed many so large that a bell was used, as in Scotland, to call the labourers to or from their work, which shows a certain regularity in their operations. Some are so small as to have only a few sheaves of corn, or a rig or two of potatoes, scattered among the *trunks of the trees*. These appear occupied *by the farm-servants, or cottars, of the main farm, paying probably in work for their houses and lands, as in Scotland.* Very



good houses these are ; loghouses of four rooms, and all with glass windows. The light does not come down the chimney, or through a hole in the wall shut up at night with an old hat, or a pair of old breeches, as in some cottages in the county of Edinburgh. The division of the land among children appears not, during the thousand years it has been in operation, to have had the effect of reducing the landed properties to the minimum size that will barely support human existence. I have counted from five and twenty to forty cows upon farms, and that in a country in which the farmer must, for at least seven months in the year, have winter provender and houses provided for all the cattle. It is evident that some cause or other, operating an aggregation of landed property, counteracts the dividing effects of partition among children. That cause can be no other than what I have long conjectured would be effective in such a social arrangement ; viz. that in a country where land is held, not in tenancy merely, as in Ireland, but in full ownership, its aggregation by the deaths of co-heirs, and by the marriages of female heirs among the body of land-owners, will balance its subdivision by the equal succession of children. The whole mass of property will, I conceive, be found in such a state of society to consist of as many estates of the class of 1000*l.*, as many of 100*l.*, as many of 10*l.* a-year, at one period as at another. The state of Ireland is generally adduced as a proof of the evil which would result from the abolition of primogeniture. There, it is stated, the sons of the peasant marry and settle upon a portion of the father's farm, itself originally too small for one family, and by this system of subdivision, the whole class of peasantry is reduced to a lower state in respect of decencies, comforts, and enjoyments, than any population which is ranked within the pale of civilised life. It has always appeared to me, however, that the state of Ireland, instead of being a case in point, proves the very reverse. There the land and other property is not disseminated in ownership, or in small portions among the mass of the inhabitants. It is notoriously held in very large masses, by a very small proportion of the population. The peasantry having no property nor any reasonable prospect of ever possessing any, have not those tastes, habits, modes of thinking, prudence, and foresight, which accompany the possession of property, and which altogether form the true and natural check upon *the tendency* of population to exceed the means of subsistence.

The Irish peasant gratifies the natural propensity to marriage, precisely because, being destitute of property, and of its influences on the human mind, he has grown up to manhood without any restraining propensity. Take the Irish peasant who marries so recklessly in his own country, because he is without the rudest tastes and habits of a person imbued with a sense of property, and place him in London, where his labour is worth ten or twelve shillings a week, he is no longer an indolent or improvident man. He indulges a taste for gin, porter, tobacco ; for the alehouse meetings of his fellow-labourers ; for such clothing, lodging, food, as they enjoy ; and to marry improvidently, and by the expense of a family abridge his habitual enjoyments, is as much out of the question with him, as with a man of the higher and educated class of society. The restraints of property are upon him. He is, in fact, an educated man ; for the real education of the human mind is to be found in that which daily and hourly exercises the mental powers and moral character—in the possession of property. Reading and writing are but means of education, not even efficacious in all states of society. A man may read and write, and yet have a totally uneducated mind. He who possesses property, whether he can read and write or not, has an educated mind ; he has forethought, caution, and reflection, guiding every action ; he knows the value of self-restraint, and is in the constant habitual practice of it. It is this kind of education, induced by the diffusion of property, and of the civilising tastes, habits, and motives of action which attend its possession, that will keep the population of a country within its means of subsistence. This sense of property, as it may be called ; the instinctive desire to possess, to accumulate, forms the preventive check, established by nature upon the tendency to excessive multiplication. This check is wanting in Ireland. By the artificial diffusion of property through society, under the feudal system of succession, the restraining influences of property are totally removed from the mass of that community, and the propensity to improvident marriage freed from the check which nature has provided against it. The state of a country in which the land is the property of eight or nine thousand individuals, out of a population of as many millions, cannot, surely, be the picture of what it would be, were landed property, by a law of equal and natural succession, diffused through the whole body of the people. That the land so possessed would be frittered into

portions too minute for civilised existence, by a people imbued with the tastes, habits, and influences of property, is an assumption not borne out by any experience. It is not consistent with our observation, for instance, that the ten children of a man of a thousand a-year would each, upon his death, build a house upon his share of the estate, and giving up every attempt to raise his income to what is necessary for the habits, tastes, and wants acquired when participating of his parent's vastly greater income, would live upon his hundred a-year, and leave it at his death to be divided among, perhaps, ten other children. It is much more consistent with our daily experience of human nature to assume, that the one would sell to the other, and turn his capital and industry to pursuits which would enable him to acquire what are to him necessities of life, and to provide the same competence for his children : and this, in fact, we see done every day by co-heirs. An estate would no more be divided by heirs, than a ship is broken up and divided by heirs, unless it were the interest of the heirs to do so ; and if so, society would be a gainer by it. Norway, at all events, affords a strong confutation of this dreaded excessive subdivision of property. Notwithstanding the partition system among children continued for ages, it contains farms of such extent, that the owner possesses forty cows, and must summon his farm-servants to work by a bell on the house-top.

*July 27.*—I overtook, to-day, my forbud, or courier, and my luggage, of which I am very glad, there being no comfort or advantage in being a day's journey behind a razor or a clean shirt. Traveling in Norway is not so very cheap. You pay indeed but one ort, or 9*d.* sterling, for a horse per Norwegian mile, but the traveller who has any luggage must have two horses. Then there is a fee of eight skillings to the station master for ordering the horses, as much to the two boys who take them back, four for the forbud cart ; in short, altogether, it is 2*s.* 4*d.* per Norwegian, or 4*d.* per English mile. One may travel all over Europe in the public conveyances at this rate ; the living on the road, however, is not very costly. I was charged only ten skillings (4½*d.*) for dinner ; for supper, bed, and breakfast, only one ort, in all about 1*s.* 1½*d.* My fare, to be sure, is not very costly ; bread, cheese, and eggs, and, above all, wild strawberries in the greatest profusion, and so highly *flavoured that it would be a retrograde step in the science of good living to cultivate them in gardens.* I have excellent coffee also,

and plenty of milk. The traveller must expect nowhere on the Continent the cleanliness and nicety of the English inn, with every thing bright, shining, and smiling, from the landlady's cheek to the kitchen poker. There is nothing in England so peculiarly English as the country inn.

*July 28.*—I amused myself yesterday evening by walking over my landlord's farm. I suppose there may be about a hundred acres cleared of bushes, of which two-thirds at least are under grass, natural, not sown, and preserved for hay, which the people are now busy in making. As the land is dry, and has not been top-dressed, the quantity is very small in proportion to the extent, the natural grasses not attaining any length under such circumstances. The cutting is excellent. The ground is shaven as close as a gentleman's lawn or bowling-green. They use a shorter scythe blade than we do. If one considers the length of our common scythe blade, it will be evident that the heel of it only can cut close to the ground. The point and one-third of the blade are sticking up in the air, and what is cut by that part is cut too high. Look at one of our mowers at work. It is evident that he cannot, without great exertion and fatigue, keep his scythe close to the ground for its whole length. The point is in the middle of the stems of grass, and is working to waste, especially at the end of his sweep, and if the point were prolonged in the direction in which the blade stands, it would be flourishing over his head. The short blade saves the ridiculous sweep, or semicircle of our mowers, one-half of which is working to waste, either of time or of grass. I understand, in making the hay, it being scorching weather, they left it as it was cut one day, next day turned the swaths with a great number of hands, and took it to the hayloft on sledges. These, made of light birch poles, are excellent for dragging hay or corn out of a field. They make no ruts, are so light that a horse can draw them over any ground, and they take a small rick of hay or corn out of the field into the barn or hay-loft at once: there being a sloping ascent or bridge up to the loft above the stables, the horse walks at once into it with his load. A set of sledges is as necessary on every farm as a set of carts. The ground is encumbered with loose masses of stone, especially in the woods, over which wheels could not pass. The hay when taken in is green, not yellow, it is *merely withered grass*; but I suspect, from the excellent wind and *powers of exertion of the Norwegian horses*, which get no other

food, it is more substantial than our hay. These Norwegian horses are beyond all praise; they scamper down hills as steep as a house roof, and in going up hill actually scramble. They make no objection whatever, if you have none, to any path or any pace; they are the bravest of horse kind.

The landlord was horse-hoeing his potatoe crop, which seemed clean and good. The potatoes all over the country carry a white flower. In whole fields not one with red or purple flowers will be seen. I do not know if this be a better or worse variety of the plant, or whether it be not the effect of the climate, which seems to have a tendency to produce every thing in the albino style. Horses, cattle, even children, appear white varieties of their species. After the farm work was over I went out with the landlord, his wife, his son, and his brother, to catch fish in the river, or rather the narrow lake which the chief stream of the Myosen forms in this part of its valley. We had a boat and a very poor net which we drew thrice, and caught fifteen very fine fish. I do not know their proper name; but they were about a foot in length, shaped like a trout, with scales, but different when cooked, being white, firm, and good. I imagine they are the guinard, *salmo lavaratus*. They are very plentiful in this river, which, by the by, from above Lille Hammer, where it expands into the Myosen lake, is of a very peculiar colour, like that of milk and water, and in this upper quarter it retains the same unpicturesque tinge.

*Hundorp, July 29.* — At my last quarters I paid half a dollar for my dinner of eggs, strawberries, and milk, my supper of fish and strawberries, my bed, and my breakfast of coffee and strawberries. This, I believe, is about the general rate of expense and of fare that the traveller may expect. The bread of rye is good and substantial; the milk, cream, and butter, good and clean; the cheese excellent. I reached this place early, still along the milky river. Few situations are more exhilarating than setting out before sunrise on a fine, warm, dewy morning, in one of those light carioles behind an active scampering pony, with every thing one requires between the two wheels, and rattling up hill and down dale, all in the cool air.

In this upland district, the prevailing rock appears to be a micaceous schist. I measured some slates at this place, which *were ten feet long, six broad, and not thicker than an ordinary slate.*

The people in the valley were all in motion this morning, going to Brandvold church to some religious meeting. The men were clad in a home-made grey cloth with bright-red woollen caps, and almost all were well mounted on spirited little horses. I met scarcely one on foot. The saddles, bridles, and housings ornamented in the style of the middle ages; the full flowing manes and tails of the steeds, and the grey clothing and scarlet caps of the riders, made the road appear as one may fancy it to have done in the fifteenth century. The women were on side-saddles, which had a slight rail or back half round the seat, so that they sat as on a chair, and had a step for supporting the feet. I doubt if the modern side-saddle be any improvement upon this ancient one, for safety, comfort, or splendour. Some were highly ornamented, with crimson-velvet seats, and must have been in their day very showy. I admired very much one damsel's horse furniture of old figured or embossed leather, which had been richly gilt, and reached down in peaks over the horse's shoulders and flanks. I have no doubt these are very ancient pieces of household goods. This is on the verge of a highland district, in the remote glens of which we may suppose that property of that kind, and the custom of using it on a church festival three or four times a-year, would long be retained.

*Laurgaard, July 30.*—I reached this place at six this evening. It seems a nice clean house situated where the main river of the Myosen, which is called the Laug, divides into branches running through narrow glens rather than valleys. It appears to be at the mouth of the highland district. The old woman of the house intends to be civil; she is milking a large flock of goats at the door, and has sent to the hill for fresh strawberries for my supper. On this promise of comfort, I shall remain here for a few days. There is a right way to do every thing; even, it seems, to milk a goat. You should turn its head towards you, put your left arm over its back, and milk it with both hands in that position, in which it cannot move. My old woman was teaching her grandchild this art. Goats seem a favourite kind of stock, and on every farm they appear much more numerous than sheep. The hills have no pasture for the latter, no heath or rough grass; what is not bare rock is bush or tree. The goat will eat and thrive on the shoots of the *dwarf birch, beech, and young fir*; the sheep will not, and in winter it requires some hay. The goat then gets a bundle of dried

leaves and shoots of the beech, which cost only the trouble of collecting and drying them. Every farmhouse at this season is surrounded with bundles of these withered branches and leaves of beech tied together, and stuck upon poles to dry. The goat, too, gives some milk in winter when that of cows is scarce; and that little may bear to be increased with water better than any other milk.

*August 4.* — Irrigation is very extensively practised in these valleys, and through the whole of this long Guldebrandsdal. The water is conducted in channels and wooden troughs to the head of each field. From the purity of these mountain-streams, I suspect it is not for any enriching sediment they may deposit, as I see in the channels only pebbles or sand of crystallised rock: the object seems simply to moisten the roots of the plants which, on these steep slopes of which the soil and subsoil consist of the open porous detritus of the overhanging rocks, must require this even in wet seasons, the rain running off or being absorbed as fast as it falls.

*August 6.* — The room I occupy here is detached from the family house of the farm. It consists of four walls, each composed of ten logs roughly squared with the axe, and the edges chipped off, so as to make them octagonal. They are laid one upon the other, with a layer of moss between each, which keeps the interstices quite tight. The logs forming the side walls are notched above and below, and those forming the gable walls so as to correspond; thus the head of each log touches the one below it at the corners, which are as tight and strong as any part of the building. Each log may be twelve inches square; so that the walls of my apartment are a foot thick, and ten feet high. The soles and sides of the windows and the corners are lined with boards; and in good houses the whole, I understand, is boarded or panelled inside and out: but I am in one of the dwellings of the middle or labouring class. There are three latticed windows in the room, which is eighteen feet square, and sixteen panes of coarse glass in each window. The floor and ceiling are boarded; the former, raised from the earth by a stone wall a foot or two high, according to the level, and rough-cast with lime. The roof has a pitch of about *two feet*; it is closely boarded over on the outside, and the boards *there are coated with birch-bark, peeled off in large flakes. Above this is laid earth, about three inches deep, retained by a ledge of*



the same depth along the bottom of the roof. A crop of grass, or of moss, growing on this earth, makes it compact. Many houses are roofed with tiles, and some with slates. The joiner-work in the window-frames, doors, floors, &c. is very rough, and ill finished, but all is wind and water tight. I give this minute description, because one hears so much of the log-huts of America, and this is probably their mother country. It is very different, too, from the wooden tenement of the English labourer, which is but the skin of a house, having only the boarding, outside and inside, upon a hollow frame-work, without the solid log in the middle between him and the cold. The cost of such a house, with two rooms below and two above, does not usually exceed fifty dollars, wood and workmanship included. As the wood is on the farm, and any man can do the work, the number of houses about one steading is wonderful: I have counted eighteen. There is a distinct one for every thing, so as, in case of fire, not to have all under one roof. The family has a dwelling-house, consisting, on ordinary farms, of three rooms below, one of which is the kitchen, and the same above; and at the end, with a separate entry, there is generally a better room, and one above reserved for strangers. Opposite to this dwelling is another, with rooms above and kitchen below, for the farm-servants and labourers. At a small distance from the family house, raised upon posts to exclude rats, is the sanctum, — the gudewife's store-room and dairy, where the provisions for the year are lodged. It is large and airy, with windows, and with at least two rooms for different objects. The rest of the square, into which the houses are generally arranged for the convenience of winter attendance on cattle, consists of stables, cow-houses, barns for hay and corn, under which are generally the sheds for tools, carts, sledges, a cellar under ground for ale, and one of large size with double doors, like our ice-houses, for preserving the potatoes. Every thing is under cover, and the spaciousness of the offices surprises one accustomed to our crowded narrow stables and cow-houses. The Norwegians are a well-lodged people, as far as I have seen; the poorest dwelling having good glass windows, separate rooms, and some sort of outbuilding, with conveniences of which I doubt if every house in Scotland can boast.

*Laurgaard, Aug. 8. — There is a beautiful, at least singular, kind of slate in this quarter; it is as thin as sheets of copper, and*



has the same metallic lustre and colour. It is cut round, or in lozenges, and sits so regularly, thinly, and closely upon the roof, that the houses might have seemed roofed with copper, till I considered how unlikely it was that in this poor country it would be so applied.

Steatite, also, is found in beds in the hill above this house ; it is quarried in slabs to line the vents of fireplaces, or to be placed under stoves, and such like purposes. The hills appear to consist of micaceous schist resting upon gneiss.

*Laurgaard, Aug. 9.* — I have seen as yet no old building in Norway, — no cottage, manor-house, country church, bridge, castle, or other structure of former days. Every thing appears to belong to the present generation. Even the commanding points, which in all other European countries present ruins of castles, have never been so occupied here. The partition of property among the children has probably prevented even the nobles allied to the family of the monarch from building these, or any mansions of stone. That of the country, although abundant, would be an expensive material, from its hardness and irregular forms ; and a costly erection upon an estate which was to be divided on the death of the owner would have been useless. Wood was the material, at all times, for all classes of dwellings, from the palace of the monarch to the peasant's hut. It was everywhere abundant and cheap. This circumstance has been more important than may at first appear in the destinies of the country. The chieftains, or nobility, had no strongholds in which they could secure themselves and their retainers. When at variance with a more powerful neighbour, or with the sovereign, they, with their adherents, could only retire to their ships. Those expelled by Harold Haarfagre became thus sea-kings, and pillaged other countries, for want of stone castles in which they could, like the feudal lords in the rest of Europe, withstand an attack at home. The monarch himself had no strength, scarcely even security, unless in public opinion. Harold Haarfagre's son and successor, Eric, appears to have been expelled simply by the people being against him. King Olaf, the Saint, lost his power with his popularity, and could not obtain assistance from his discontented subjects to oppose Canute the *Great*. *The same cause probably saved Norway from much of the internal warfare which raged in the middle ages in other countries;*

and it preserved, perhaps, many institutions favourable to liberty, which were transplanted, and have flourished elsewhere.

*Laurgaard, Aug. 12.* — I live here on strawberries and milk, and trout, or rather char, being pink, not white like fresh-water trout. Fish appears everywhere the basis of a Norwegian repast. Meat, even at the table-d'hôte at Christiania, seemed secondary. The river or lake is regularly resorted to. It is no sport for an Izaak Walton to fish trout here; the mosquitoes would have eaten him alive while he was singing his madrigals. I got so stung in the evening's fishing at Ellstadt, that I have not yet recovered from the irritation.

In the afternoon I took a long walk up one of the glens, and came to a singular formation of rock: it is micaceous, but without the slaty fracture usual with rocks in which mica prevails. The masses are columnar; and the ground is covered with regular-formed triangular cubes with the edges truncated, so as to render them hexagonal. These masses, standing up in the earth with a fibrous texture, had so much the appearance of old stumps of trees with the bark on, that, till I had struck some of them, I could scarcely believe them to be stone. One might almost fancy them petrified tree stumps: they are allied to asbestos. A hand specimen of that mineral, enlarged in all its parts, would give the best idea of them; and the same mountain has steatite on its other side. A geologist who is a good pedestrian will find much to interest him in this tract of country.

*Laurgaard, Aug. 16.* — I have been for some days taking long walks up the glens, and over the hills: the former contain some grand scenery. It is not the season for wolves to leave their haunts on the fjelde or mountains, else one would expect to meet them in these lonely woods. In a gloomy winter evening I would not send little Red Riding Hood on a message across them. Upon the hills, and the high table-land of the country, the ground is covered with blocks of a conglomerate rock, in which pebbles of quartz, feldspar, and other crystallised substances, are imbedded. These blocks have been in motion, and subject to violent friction. They are not only rounded, but the pebbles of hard crystallised matter embedded in them are cut or rubbed flat on the surface. The action of the elements would never, in any series of ages, produce this appearance. They would wear equally the round pebbles and the matrix or stone in which they are imbedded; so that the

former would retain their rounded figure on the side exposed to the air, as well as on those hid and embedded in the mass; and, being the harder substance, would present the semblance of round protuberances rising from it. The appearance above described can only be accounted for by some exterior friction acting violently on these blocks.

One traces with difficulty the various footpaths and bye-roads winding over these fjelde and hills, and is not aware, if he has never been in a highland country, that these slight scratches along the mountain side are worn by human feet, and lead to little groups of farms in every glen: this and the next contain above forty. The district resembles much one of the small highland estates in the north of Scotland, with a great number of small tenants or cottars scattered over it. It wants, however, the laird's mansion and farm, with the squalor and wretchedness of the turf-built hovels of our highlands. The farms are nearly of the same size, the largest not exceeding forty acres of in-field land, by which I mean land bearing crops of oats, bear, and potatoes, with patches of grass intermixed, and all fenced off. The smallest have not above four or five acres in cultivation. What is the condition of this Norwegian highland population compared to that of the tenants on a highland estate in Scotland? I cannot yet form a full estimate of the condition of the inhabitants of these glens; but there are some points bearing upon the subject upon which a stranger may judge as well as one long acquainted with them.

In the first place, the highlands of Scotland are a better country for subsisting its inhabitants; the soil is better. Here, it is the gravel of primary rocks washed down from the high grounds, and covered with a thin coat of earth. The crops are not strong, and, in these narrow glens, are prematurely ripened by the gleams of hot sunshine reflected from the rocks. Harvest was begun in the month of July; but a great part of the crop is evidently not properly filled, although dead ripe. In our highlands the crops on the moorish or clay soils will be scarcely in ear, and will not be ripe before October; but the grain will be heavier, and the acre of land will produce more. It is also a great disadvantage to these highland farmers that they have not the hill pasture behind their grounds which ours have; the stretch of unbroken, purple, blooming heath, outside of the hill dyke, on which cattle will pick up a living for great part of the year. Here, beyond the boundary of

the farm, there is little pasture ; only huge masses of naked rock, with juniper and fir growing between them. I have not seen so much heath in this country as would shelter a covey of grouse, or subsist a score of black-faced wethers for half a day. Thus the condition of the people here, in relation to soil, climate, crops, and pasturage, appears less favourable than in the Scottish highlands.

It is vastly better, however, in another respect — they have no rents to pay, being the owners of the farms they cultivate. Here are the highland glens without the highland lairds. It is, I am aware, a favourite and constant observation of our agricultural writers, that these small proprietors make the worst farmers. It may be so ; but a population may be in a wretched condition, although their country is very well farmed ; or they may be happy, although bad cultivators. The country around Rome was certainly better farmed under the Romans than it is now under the Pope. Was it a happier country then, when all the agricultural labourers were slaves working in chains, and driven to and from their work like beasts of burden ? Our West Indian colonies were better farmed under the slave system, especially when fresh slaves could be imported from Africa, than probably they can ever be by free labour. Which is the happiest state of the population ? Good farming is a phrase composed of two words which have no more application to the happiness or well-being of a people than good weaving or good iron-founding. That the human powers should be well applied, and not misapplied, in the production of grain, or iron, or clothing, is, no doubt, an object of great importance ; but the happiness or well-being of a people does not entirely depend upon it. It has more effect on their numbers than on their condition. The producer of grain, who is working for himself only, who is owner of his land, and has not a third of its produce to pay as rent, can afford to be a worse farmer, by one third, than a tenant, and is, notwithstanding, in a preferable condition. Our agricultural writers tell us, indeed, that labourers in agriculture are much better off as farm servants, than they would be as small proprietors. We only have the master's word for this. Ask the servant. The colonists told us the same thing of their slaves. If property is a good and desirable thing, I suspect that the very smallest quantity of it is good and desirable ; and that the *state of society in which it is most widely diffused is the best constituted. I suspect that the object of wise laws should be to diffuse*

this general good through society, by promoting the distribution of property by its equal inheritance, not to concentrate the whole into the hands of a few by the law of primogeniture; which, although well adapted to the artificial feudal system, is not fitted for the natural and rational state to which society is advancing. The common sense of the majority of mankind would, I apprehend, in spite of the most curious and subtle argument, decide that the forty families in these two or three highland glens, each possessing and living on its own little spot of ground, and farming well or ill, as the case may be, are in a better and happier state, and form a more rationally constituted society, than if the whole belonged to one of these families (and it would be no great estate), while the other thirty-nine families were tenants and farm-servants. Add a few ciphers to the numbers, and you have Ireland, Scotland, England, with their millions of people, and their soil possessed by a few thousand proprietors. It is impossible such a constitution of civil society can long exist without some great convulsion, unless mankind be retrograding to the state in which the feudal law of primogeniture originated. If society and the ideas of mankind are advancing in a different direction, it would be wise if legislation were to precede, rather than be forced to follow.

If small proprietors are not good farmers, it is not from the same cause here which we are told makes them so in Scotland — indolence and want of exertion. The extent to which irrigation is carried in these glens and valleys, shows a spirit of exertion and co-operation to which the latter country can show nothing similar. Hay being the principal winter support of live stock, and both it and corn, as well as potatoes, liable from the shallow soil and powerful reflection of sunshine from the rocks, to be burnt and withered up, the greatest exertions are made to bring water from the head of each glen, along such a level as will give the command of it to each farmer at the head of his fields. This is done by leading it in wooden troughs (the half of a tree roughly scooped) from the highest perennial stream among the hills, through woods, across ravines, along the rocky, often perpendicular, sides of the glens, and from this main trough giving a lateral one to each farmer in passing the head of his farm. He distributes this supply *by moveable troughs* among his fields; and at this season waters *each rig successively* with scoops like those used by bleachers in *watering cloth*, laying his trough between every two rigs. One

would not believe, without seeing it, how very large an extent of land is traversed expeditiously by these artificial showers. I have seen turnip crops in Scotland in situations where, in dry seasons, it might be possible to save a crop by similar means. The extent of the main troughs is very great. In one glen I walked ten miles, and found it troughed on both sides: on one, the chain is continued down the main valley for forty miles. They may be bad farmers who do such things; but they are not indolent, nor ignorant of the principle of working in concert, and keeping up establishments for common benefit. They are, undoubtedly, in these respects, far in advance of any community of cottars in our highland glens. They feel as proprietors who receive the advantage of their own exertions. The excellent state of the roads and bridges is another proof that the country is inhabited by people who have a common interest to keep them under repair. There are no tolls.

This population, also, is much better lodged than our labouring and middling classes, even in the south of Scotland. The dwelling-houses of the meanest labourers are divided into several apartments, have wooden floors, and a sufficient number of good windows; also some kind of outhouse for cattle and lumber. Every man, indeed, seems, like Robinson Crusoe, to have put up a separate house for every thing he possesses. Whoever has observed the condition of our labouring population will admit the influence of good habitations upon the moral habits of a people. The natives of New Zealand have dwellings more suited to the feelings and decencies of civilised life than the peasantry of a great proportion of Great Britain and Ireland, who live in dark, one-room hovels, in which not only household comfort and cleanliness are out of the question, but the proper separation of the sexes can scarcely be maintained. Can any reflecting person doubt that it is an important advantage to the labouring class of a country that their standard of living is pitched high as to lodging, food, and clothing? It is the most effective check upon pauperism and overpopulation. Why does the Irish peasant marry so recklessly? Because his idea of a suitable dwelling for a man in his station is a hovel of raw earth and sticks, such as a man may put up in a forenoon on a hill side; a bucket full of potatoes is his standard of food; a tattered great coat, of raiment. With these he is in no worse condition than the population around him, and therefore he

marries. If the ideas and habits of the country required a more expensive and comfortable sort of habitation for the very meanest person of his own station, he would not marry until he had acquired the means of lodging like his neighbours; nor would he find a wife who would leave a decent habitation to burrow in a hole like a pigstye. Every man looks to what is considered proper and reputable in his own rank; and the poor man having little else to give him importance, is generally more tenacious of the proprieties belonging to his station than the rich man of what is suitable to his sphere.

It is from the operation of our timber duties that the working class in Great Britain, and particularly in Scotland and Ireland, is so wretchedly lodged; an evil by which the whole community suffers. The timber of America is not adapted, either in size, strength, durability, or price, for the woodwork of small houses. For the beams, roof-timbers, or other parts in which there is strain or exposure, it is considered totally unfit; and were it stronger, the waste in reducing its logs to the proper dimensions prevents the application of it to such small buildings. The duty upon the kind of wood alone suitable for the poor man's habitation, which is the small sized logs, deals, and battens of Norway, or the Baltic coasts, renders it impossible for the lower, or even the middle, classes to lodge themselves comfortably, or even decently. It affects the price not merely of the good building material which these countries could furnish at a cost lower than the duty now levied upon it, but it raises that of our own worthless planted fir wood, which no prudent man can use in any work that is intended to last for twenty years.

If our labouring classes understood their own interests, they would find that the timber duties press more heavily upon their comfort and well-being than even the corn-laws. Cheap corn may only produce cheap labour. If the loaf is reduced permanently to half of its present price, it is possible that wages might, in the ordinary course of demand and supply, be reduced in the long run to half their present rate. The cheap loaf would beget cheap labourers in every branch. But a dry, warm, tight, comfortable, roomy dwelling, such as induces a man to stay at home, keeps him *out of the ale-house*, and his family out of the doctor's books, would *be a real improvement in the condition of the working man, which he would obtain by the total abolition of the timber laws, and which*



could in no way affect the rate of his wages. There is, perhaps, no one cause which drives the labouring man to the spirit and beer shop so much as the want of a comfortable, decent dwelling to retire to, when the work of the day is over.

This duty, the most pernicious, perhaps, in the whole range of British taxation, stands also in the way of the industry of very numerous and important classes in the middle rank of life. It prevents, for example, the industrious seafaring man, who has gathered a little money, from ever obtaining that object of every seaman's ambition, a small vessel of his own. It is not necessary that vessels of a small class should be of oak ; Prussian and Norwegian ships of large burden are built of pine. If the duty upon the east country timber were abolished, our small capitalists would form a floating population, engaged in the various trades of communication and conveyance between the British, Irish, and foreign ports. But the duties put it out of the reach of small capitalists to have such vessels as are suited to their means, and as the same class in other countries, having a free timber trade, are able to fit out. It costs as much with us to make a herring-boat as it should require for a coasting sloop.

The great capitalists engaged in shipping gain by this state of things, because the carrying of timber from America is a trade suited to old vessels not of the first class. They are called the Shipping Interest of the country. Does this title properly belong to these great owners ? or to the active, sea-going population ? Is it the interest of the country, for the sake of any class of capitalists, that the population should be supplied with inferior timber, useless for the purposes of house-building or ship-building ? Is it not our true interest to put it in the power of the whole inhabitants to lodge themselves suitably ; and of the maritime population to fit out small vessels on the same capitals that are sufficient in other countries for that purpose ?

The standard of living, with regard to food, appears to me also higher in Norway than in most of our Scotch highland districts, though I cannot yet form a decided opinion. The materials are the same ; viz. oatmeal, bearmeal, potatoes, fish from the river, salt-fish, and salt-herrings, of excellent quality, from the sea coast, also cheese, butter, and milk. *Four meals a-day form, I understand, the regular fare in every family ; and with two of these meals the labourers have a glass of home-made brandy distilled from potatoes.*



It is usual, I understand, to have animal food, such as salt beef, or black puddings, at least twice in the week. I observe also some notion of comfort in the mode of taking their food, which is often wanting in our highland households. The table is set out, the bread is in baskets, and the labourers sit down regularly to their meals. The cooking and preparation of food appears to occupy more labour and time.

As to being comparatively well, or ill fed, these terms are vague. As fine a human animal is reared upon potatoes and milk in Ireland as upon roast-beef and plum-pudding in England. The food best for a country is clearly that which it requires the greatest exertion of industry and skill to produce. That which can be procured with little of such exertion, as potatoes, would, undoubtedly, reduce a nation to a low state of industry and skill. They are in a wrong path who would reduce pauperism in England by reducing the standard of subsistence for the poor. If the English labourers, instead of considering wheaten bread and meat necessary for their proper sustenance, were to be content with potatoes and salt herrings, the increase of pauperism among them would be in proportion to the diminished value of their food and the ease of obtaining it. The man who now thinks himself ill-off without the finest bread, would then think himself entitled to marry, if he could earn potatoes for himself and a family. Our pauper population would thus increase with frightful rapidity. I agree with Cobbett, that potatoes are the worst food for a nation to subsist on, but not for his reasons; because they are an unsubstantial food, and consume coals and time, and keep the housewife boiling or baking all day long; but because, in proportion to their nutriment as food, they require less labour, less exertion of body and mind, to bring them to the state of food than any other article of human culture. The planting and digging up, the boiling or baking, are almost all the operations required with the potatoe; and, therefore, the nation which is satisfied with a potatoe diet must be in a state of sloth and inactivity bodily and mental. The most complicated manufacture, perhaps, which we have among mankind, and which in all its parts requires the most continued exertions of human industry and skill, is the production of a quartern loaf from a *few seeds of wheat* put into the earth.

*Lien, August 17.*—I bought a little horse to-day from my land-lady at Laurgaard, for twenty dollars. I am proud of my progress

in the language, which has saved me from paying more than, perhaps, double the value of the animal ; and I might have been taken in as much in bargaining for a horse in English. I mounted my luggage upon my cariole, and set off over the hills. This is the true way to see a country. One is independent of distances, and post stations, and right or wrong roads, and all the petty annoyances and considerations of regular travelling. I am astonished at travellers, who have time, encumbering themselves with routes and couriers, as if they were charged with a load of government despatches. I stopped at a farmhouse about the middle of the day, and got for dinner what we call in Scotland lappered milk. Everything was nice and clean. I observed that the mowers, who appear to be people who go round the country to cut grass, as in some parts of England, had a table regularly covered for them ; and their bread was in baskets as at Laurgaard. These trifles indicate a state of ease, and some attention to comfort among the working class.

In the evening I reached this single farmhouse, and got grass for my pony and quarters for myself ; and the mistress gives me the comfortable hope, if I understand her right, of fried fish, which are still in the river, but which the mowers will catch in time for supper.

I am now near the summit of the country. The waters still run into the great valley of Guldebrandsdal, but the river is here only a mountain stream. I passed to-day some patches of snow ; which, having stood this very hot summer succeeding a very wet spring, have probably lain for thousands of years. Although the elevation above the sea of this perpetual snow must be considerable, there is no remarkable rise of any one hill or range from its base ; not more, as far as I can estimate, than 500 feet : there is no Alpine scenery. The height above the sea is great, but that is not perceptible to the senses : the traveller's eyes and legs have no concern with it ; the immediate spring from the valley to the clouds above is alone grand, sublime, and most particularly fatiguing. These patches of snow were not 300 feet above the glen where the people were making hay in so hot a sunshine that they worked in their shirts and trowsers only. The country is inhabited in the glens, and the farmhouses appear large. On the dividing ridges there is no cultivation, and, indeed, no soil to cultivate, *only rounded masses of gneiss and micaceous rocks, with juniper, fir, aspen, birch, and beech, growing where they can,*

amid the stones. I have not observed furze, whin, or broom. The features of the country all the way up Guldebrandsdal are in fact far from being so grand as the highland scenery in Scotland. If there are avalanches, or glaciers, in winter or spring, they must be upon the same scale as in our highlands; but cannot be on the scale of those of the Alps, there being no high mountains dipping at once into this valley. The truly grand feature of the country is the valley itself — the Guldebrandsdal, which, with its splendid lake, the Myosen, exceeds two hundred miles in length.

*Fogstuen, August 18.* — Cultivation ceases at a short distance from my last night's quarters. Opposite to this house there is a patch of snow, which is found in hollows and sheltered situations, while ground considerably higher, but more exposed to wind, is clear at this season. I found stunted birches and firs growing within twenty paces of this snowy mass. Dwarf willow, birch, juniper, blackberry, crowberry, and a few other shrubs, live quite close to their cold neighbour.

The stream issuing from this snow turns a corn mill, which I went to examine while my pony was feeding.

In Norway, there is no astringency to mills; every man has Odel's right, or, as I understand the term, is feudal superior of his own lands, and holds them without service, suit, feu, astringency, or other burthen. Every man may build a mill who chooses to do so. In the glens about Laurgaard, every little farm had its own little mill. Oats when ground are not first shelled as in Scotland, that is, cleared of the outer husk, but, after being strongly kiln-dried, the grain, husks, and all is made into meal. This meal is as fine almost as wheaten flour, the mill-stones being of very hard gneiss, sitting very close upon each other, and going round very swiftly. No doubt this is a much more economical plan than ours; for in the husks, or *sids*, which we take off in Scotland, there is left much nutriment; as appears from the jelly called *sowens*, obtained by steeping them in water. This is lost in many parts of Scotland entirely, the husks being put on the fire to kiln-dry other grain. The farmer here gets back from the mill the same weight he sends to it. Very good bread is baked of this meal; flat cakes, covering the bottom of a girdle, or frying-pan, and as thin as a sheet of paper, being put on in nearly a fluid state, and, when used at table, they are made crisp by being warmed a little. They are *not* equal, certainly, to our best oatmeal cakes found in gentlemen's

families; for the grain, I suspect, cannot yield such meal. It is better, however, than is commonly used by the people in our northern counties, owing principally, I think, to its being better baked. This mode of grinding and baking makes intelligible the use of bread of the bark of the fir-tree, in years of scarcity. Its inner rind, kiln-dried, may undoubtedly be ground, along with the husks and grain, and add to the quantity of meal; it may even be nutritious. I had previously been rather disposed to doubt the fact, and to laugh at the idea of a traveller dining on sawdust-pudding and timber bread. In years of scarcity, however, this use of fir bark is more extensive than is generally supposed. The present dilapidated state of the forests, in districts which formerly supplied wood for exportation, is ascribed to the great destruction of young trees for this purpose in the year 1812. But to the mill.

The Norwegian mill is similar to that still used in the Zetland islands, and probably in no other part of Britain. An upright shaft or spindle, with buckets or vanes fixed in the lower end, at such an angle as will best receive the stroke of the water-fall projected upon these vanes through a wooden trough or pipe, is passed through the centre-hole of the lower fixed millstone, and its upper end fastened in the upper running millstone. The water strikes on the projecting vanes below, and drives round the shaft with the upper millstone fixed on it. The stones are of very small diameter, like the quern stones, or hand-millstones formerly used in the north of Scotland, and are of hard gneiss; the upper one concave, so as to sit close upon the convexity of the lower fixed stone. The mill is fed with grain through the centre hole of the upper stone by a hopper, on which there is a little door sliding up and down, for the grain to run out at between the stones. To regulate this door, there is an upright piece of wood touching with its lower extremity the surface of the running stone, and with its upper, the loaded end of another piece, suspended horizontally by the middle, like a balance-beam, and the end opposite to the loaded one is fastened to the handle of the sliding door or hatch, in the hopper. The weight of the loaded end opens the sliding hatch, and the grain falls through it between the stones; but when too much comes between them, it raises the upper stone from resting close upon the lower; the end of the upright stick touching its surface is consequently elevated, and the loaded end of the balance consequently raised by the other extremity of the upright piece of

wood, when the feeding hatch shuts proportionably. It is curious to see these ingenious contrivances, the same in principle, perhaps, as those of our best machinery, constructed here, on the Dovre Fjeld, of such rude materials. There was not a nail in the mill, which was all put together with wood, or with fastenings of birch bands made of twigs bruised and twisted together. There are good reasons for preferring the upright shaft, moved by the direct impulse of the water, to our water-wheels. It is not so readily clogged with ice, nor impeded by back-water. The cog in which the vanes are fixed being moveable on the shaft, and the trough through which the water strikes on them, adjusted to their place, these impediments are avoided.

At Lien, I quitted the stream which I have followed from the Myosen up the Guldebrandsdal. It trends to the west, having its rise in the western branches of the Sneehætte mountain. I took the road leading over the Dovre Fjeld on the east side of that mountain, and I hope to see it to advantage in crossing the Fjeld, on which it rests.

*Jerkin, August 19.* — This is an extensive grazing farm, and a comfortable inn, situated on the north verge of the Dovre Fjeld, a few miles from the point where the waters begin to run, and the land to slope northward. The Dovre Fjeld here may be from 24 to 28 miles across. When we give things their real names, we take away much of their imagined grandeur. The Dovre Fjeld sounds well; and we fancy it a vast and sublime natural feature. It really is no more than a fell, like those of Yorkshire or Cumberland; an elevated tract of ground whence run waters in opposite directions, and which forms the base of a number of detached hills of moderate elevation. In fact, as a scene impressing the traveller with ideas of vast and lonely grandeur, the tract from the waters of the Tay to those of the Spey, by Dalnacardoch, Dalwhinny, and Pitmain greatly surpasses it. You are indeed 3000 feet above the level of the sea; but that is not seen, — it is a matter of reflection and information. You look down upon nothing below you, and look up only to hills of moderate elevation. Sneehætte alone comes up to a mountain magnitude. It is 7300 feet above the sea; but this fell is 3000 feet at this farmhouse, which is about twelve miles from the base of Sneehætte. The actual height for the eye, therefore, of this mountain is about the same as that of Ben Nevis, about 4300 feet, with the disadvantage

of gaining its apparent height by a slow rise from the fell. There is a considerable mass of snow in a hollow on the bosom of Sneehætte, but not more than remains for a great part of the summer on hills in Aberdeenshire, — nothing like a glacier. The head and shoulder are clear of snow. The most extraordinary feature of this mountain tract, and the grandest on reflection, is that the surface of the fell, and of Sneehætte to its summit, is covered with, or, more properly, is composed of rounded masses of gneiss and granite, from the size of a man's head to that of the hull of a ship. These loose rolled masses are covered with soil in some places; in others they are bare, just as they were left by the torrent which must have rounded them, and deposited them in this region.

I met this morning one of the officers employed in the trigonometrical survey of Norway. He was sketching in the features of the country, on a scale of four inches to a Norwegian mile, with great beauty and effect. He told me that it is now believed by the officers of the survey, that Sneehætte is not the highest of the Norwegian mountains. By barometrical observations, which, however, are not yet fully completed, one of the mountains of the Hurunger Fjeld exceeds it by about 700 feet, and is only at a distance of from three to four Norwegian miles from the head of one of the fiords, or inlets of the sea, in the Bergen district. Its elevation must consequently be vastly more rapid and grand in its effect.

This officer confirmed my suspicion that Dr. Clarke had been misinformed with regard to the same lake which throws out the Kongarne river, which is called the Muonio in part of its course, and enters the Gulf of Bothnia under the name of the Tornea, throwing out a river also which runs into the North Sea; thus making the peninsula, in fact, an island. This may not be impossible, but it would be a very extraordinary feature in topical geography. A lake may overflow and run over in any direction, or in all directions, but its permanent vents must be on one side or other. If we pour a little water upon a table, whether it be a dead level, or with any conceivable slope, it will not run off in two opposite directions at one time. Water can no more do so than a man can run in opposite directions at once. This officer, who has been on the spot, assured me, that although the source of the Kongarne is near the coast, there is a considerable space of ele-



vated ground between it and the source of the river which runs into the North Sea at Lynger Fiord.

This gentleman, however, mentioned a feature which is so remarkable, that, as he justly observed, it will scarcely be believed by topical geographers when the map of Norway is published. The stream which runs through Guldebrandsdal and the Myosen, and reaches the sea at Frederickstad, being the same I left at Lien, comes down from the hills at or near Lessoe, and is there divided into two branches, one of which, as above stated, runs into the Myosen, and the other into the North Sea at the Fiord in Romsdal Amt, on which the town of Molde is situated : thus including, in its delta, between four and five degrees of latitude, and all the west and south of Norway. The course of this little river from Lessoe to the sea is very important, as it gives precision to our ideas of the shape and direction of the Dovre Fjeld, and of its connection with the Hurunger, the Fille, and the Hardanger mountains. These, running into the sea at the Naze of Norway, form, with the Dovre Mountains, one vast triangular range with its apex at Lessoe, and its base overflowed by the ocean in the bight called the Skaggerack.

Two English gentlemen are here on a shooting excursion, but have found no game. I doubt, if the real moor game exist in Norway ; if they do, they must live upon very different food from those of Scotland. I have not seen so much heath on the fell as would support a covey, yet I never saw any food in the stomach of these birds in Scotland but the blossoms and tops of heath. Heath is a rare plant in these hills. I suspect the ptarmigan, and the American grouse, or willow-hen, are varieties which feed upon berries, and that the Norwegian are similar. They are very scarce, whatever they may be. This is certainly the best situation for them ; yet English sportsmen have been here for a whole season without shooting more than thirty brace. The markets of Norway and Sweden are filled, no doubt, in winter with the greatest abundance and variety of game. But we forget the extent of the country, and that there are but few markets to fill, which, at that season, are supplied, from the most remote distances, by peasants coming on other business. One bird killed in every ten square miles of country would be sufficient. In this country, man and dog would require Jack-the-Giant-killer's seven-league boots to make any thing of shooting in any one district. The country

people kill this game in the winter, when the birds are driven by the snow to seek food and shelter in the low grounds. There is a regular scarcity of birds, in fact, of all kinds in Norway. Magpies are the most numerous; and seem favoured by the country people, as they hop about in a half tame state. The Royston crow and the swallow are common; but the lark, the linnet, the blackbird, the thrush, the robin, and all our old acquaintances of the woods and fields, even our town acquaintance, the sparrow, are not at home here. I have seen or heard more of these in travelling one mile in England, than in all the space I have traversed in Norway. I suspect there may be spring frosts, which spoil the eggs and prevent the hatching and increase of the small birds.

The land on this fell is not altogether unimprovable. This farm, Fogstuen, and also the two post stations north of Jerkin, were established, for the accommodation of travellers, so early as 1120, and enjoy some peculiar privileges. They are valuable grass farms. The houses at Jerkin are good, and there are fully a hundred acres inclosed, bearing good natural grass, which the people are busy making into hay. There is a stock of thirty cows; but no grain is raised either here or at my last quarters. The hill pasture all round is certainly not such as we have on our worst hills, being juniper, blackberry, dwarf willow, and such shrubs; but there is also some rough grass, and hardy sheep would make a living in summer. I understand the owner, who was not at home, intends to keep a stock of reindeer. They may be better than sheep, considering the long winter; but a sheep stock would succeed, if they could be wintered at any moderate expense. In Germany, sheep must be kept in-doors all winter as long as in Norway.

*Druvestein, August 21.* — Cariole, pony, and self being all in the best going trim, I determined to proceed to Dronthiem. I shall see the northern slope of the Dovre Fjeld, and the country on that side of this great mountain barrier, and also the cathedral of Dronthiem. I shall know whether, in its structure, the ideas may be traced that were displayed by the Norman descendants of this people, in so many similar edifices in England and France.

A few miles beyond Jerkin bring us to the point where the Fjelde dips and the waters run northwards. I think twenty-four miles will take one fairly across from slope to slope. As far as Konga-



vold, the first stage, and house, from Jerkin, the road is dismal and lonely. Sneehætte, at the distance of eight or ten miles, makes all the surrounding country look like a vast plain. There is no living thing to be seen ; and the huge mass of mountain is so unlike all around it, that one might fancy it a living being sitting upon the waste. From Kongsvold to this place is down a ravine, rather than a glen, containing the grandest scenery. The tongues of land, interlocked with each other, are so precipitous, that although I hired an additional horse to assist my pony, the two could scarcely scramble up and down with the cariole. Norwegian horses alone could get over this road, which, however, is itself good. It is evident the dip is vastly more rapid on this side of the Dovre Fjeld. At one place the scenery in this ravine was very striking. The head of the crag above us was wrapt in snow, whence streams were trickling down ; while the burn at its foot, along which our road wound, was running through a wood of birch of the most tender and lively verdure.

One of the English gentlemen whom I met at Jerkin gave me a fishing rod, with which he did not wish to be encumbered. He had caught trout until he was actually tired, having killed above 300 in a very few days. Having fortunately brought with me some flies and tackle, I went out this forenoon, while my pony was resting after yesterday's fatigue, to try my skill. Although I never fished trout before, I caught above six dozen between breakfast and dinner : this will give some idea of what fishing is in Norway. They were small, the largest not exceeding a foot in length ; but the landlord brought in some as big as salmon, caught in a lake on the Fjelde. I had no idea of even grilse or sea trout attaining such a size. I have seen ordinary sea trout of three or four pounds weight, but these exceed eighteen pounds.

Fly-fishing appears not known here, and I imagine it is altogether an English art. The people had heard of the success of English sportsmen at Jerkin ; and one cannot make a more acceptable present to them than fishing flies and hooks, properly mounted.

*Sundset, August 22.*—I set off this morning from Drivestuen. The expense of travelling in my present style is half a dollar per day for man and horse. I live, to be sure, and so does my horse, in the country manner, which is certainly not the English one : but whoever has travelled in the highlands, or even the lowlands

of Scotland twenty years ago, has no right to complain of his accommodation here. An Englishman, bred in the midst of that peculiar attention to cleanliness and nicety, which, even now, is almost exclusively English, will find much to horrify him in a Norwegian inn; but such gentlemen are scarcely in a situation to judge of the habits of a people. They have been trained in a very nice, cleanly little world, bounded perhaps by the Trent, or, at most, the Angel at Ferrybridge, on the north, and the Ship inn at Dover, on the south. It is scarcely fair to compare the state of manners and habits of all European nations with this standard. He who will travel fairly must eat what is placed before him, and sleep where there is a bed to lie down upon. If his sheets and his food are dirty, a plunge at day-break in the clear burn, and a good digestion, will remedy all. I doubt if a traveller would at present be so well accommodated in our remoter highlands. The dairy products are all clean, and butter is such that any one may venture on it. Fish, eggs, wild strawberries, and the moltebeer, which will keep for a year, and deserves a place on our housekeepers' shelves, better than half of our jams and preserves, are all excellent things, which cooking cannot spoil to the most dainty traveller. There is, doubtless, a scarcity of many articles very important to comfort and cleanliness. Pottery ware, plates, dishes, bowls, are coarse, and not in the abundance we are accustomed to. Knives, forks, spoons, are also on the minimum side of the account as to comfort and nicety. If we will not buy their timber, how can these people buy our pottery and hardware? If the traveller judges fairly, and considers what he actually finds, and the cost and difficulty of bringing together these household articles in a small Norwegian household, he will find much to admire. The sense of comfort, cleanliness, and order in domestic concerns, appears to me more generally developed among the working class in this country than in Scotland. The wooden floors and side walls, the abundance of glass windows in the meanest habitations, and the outside store-rooms and accommodations distinct from the dwelling apartments, keep the inmates, especially the females, and their habits of living, in a much more cleanly and orderly state than it is possible for those of the same class in Scotland to enjoy, with their earthen floors, and roofs, and side walls, their single pane of glass window, and their single room for all ages and sexes,

to cook and eat, and sleep in, and to hold all the clothes and stores of the family.

*Sockness, Aug. 23.*—I started early this morning from Sundset. A Norwegian gentleman and his daughter are travelling like me with their own horse, and in stopping to bait I have formed a little acquaintance with him. He is a northern proprietor, returning from Copenhagen. Proprietor, I find, is a sort of conventional title, like esquire with us, given to landholders who possess estates larger than they themselves farm. The smaller landholders, who work upon their own little estates, are called *bonder*. This gentleman and his daughter are like our own country gentry in remote parts of Scotland, very kind and obliging, and with the manners and appearance of genteel people.

From Sundset to Bierkragen, there is more forest than I have yet seen in Norway. Distant farms look like holes cut out of the green mass of woods. The trees also appear larger, and the soil much better than on the other side of the Dovre Fjeld. The oats, bear, and potatoes are beautiful. Rye, and a sort of red bearded-wheat, are luxuriant; but they are not in general cultivation. Hemp and flax grow on every farm, and every house has a little patch in hops for family use. The hops appear very plentiful, and the plants healthy; but the mode of cultivation is different from ours. The plants are not set in separate hills, but close together, so as to smother all vegetation below them.

*Sæberg, Aug. 24.*—I made only three Norwegian miles to-day, being unwilling to arrive late in the evening at Dronthiem, where I understand there are no regular inns. My travelling acquaintances went on, having friends there.

In building houses in Norway, timber is used of a size far exceeding the dimensions we generally suppose its trees to attain. There is a log in this old house which is three feet on each square side, and retains that size for at least twenty five feet in length. In all the houses, especially those of very old date, the logs are as large as the Memel or American timber usually brought to England. I understand that the impediments in the rivers prevent the floating down of such lengths of great timber to the coast. The vessels, also, are too small for such pieces which it is customary to use in building. For these reasons the timber on this side of the Dovre Fjeld is in general cut into short deals for exportation. Wood of considerable size grows as far

north as the valley of the Namsen the largest of the Norwegian rivers, about 120 English miles from Dronthiem: it grows in sheltered situations in Nordland and Finmark, as far north as Alten Fiord, but of diminutive size, and in such limited quantity that it is thought necessary to preserve it for the use of the inhabitants, and its exportation is prohibited. Trees in Nunmedal, or the valley of the Namsen river, are large enough to furnish building material to the country to the north, and masts or spars of a foot and a half of girth at the end of sixty feet of length.

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## CHAPTER II.

Dronthiem. — Inn. — Cathedral. — Town. — Shipping. — Library. — Saxon and Norman Arches. — Gothic Architecture. — Stordal. — Colonel George Sinclair. — Rocking Stones. — Levanger. — Dronthiem Fiord and Bothnian Gulf. — Norwegian Farm. — Hops. — Stikklestad. — Date of the Battle corrected by an Eclipse. — Værdal. — Peasants. — Cross Roads. — Snaasen Vand. — Steenkjær. — Scotch Farmers. — Norwegian Farms. — Value, Size, Taxes, Harvest Work, Ploughing. — Gigot Sleeves. — My Winter Quarters.

*Dronthiem, Aug. 25.*—I arrived here this morning at ten o'clock. The custom-house officer, sitting at the gate to take town dues, probably thought, from my portmanteau, that I had merchandise to pay for. He willingly accompanied me to the best lodging-house, to examine my luggage, and I readily gave him a small fee, as it is awkward to enter a town without knowing where to go. I have got into a comfortable house, kept by a cheerful old lady who speaks a little English. It is not exactly an inn; there is no sign-post; it is not open at every hour for every body, and the family expect more consideration than in a place where the traveller, at least the English traveller, is every thing, and the family nothing. In considerable towns, I understand, such as Dronthiem and Bergen, there are no regular inns, but plenty of these boarding-houses, which are, in fact, as comfortable, and in which the traveller is served as well as he could be in any inn the place could support.

After an excellent breakfast, I went to see the far-famed cathedral. It does not impress the traveller who has seen others either

with its magnitude or its beauty. It has nothing picturesque, whether viewed near or at a distance, and it has attracted little notice from the English or other foreign travellers. It is, however, a very remarkable and interesting structure. There are parts unquestionably as old as the year 1033. Few if any of the churches in England, which are considered to be of Saxon architecture, are known as belonging to that period, being about the time of Canute the Great; and any which, from the style of architecture, are considered to be older than the Norman Conquest, are objects of great interest; and the style of arches and ornaments has given rise to many curious speculations. This cathedral would, therefore, deserve the careful examination of those conversant with the subject. There are parts of the fabric which have evidently been rebuilt at various periods, as the structure has frequently suffered from fire, and the old finely cut stones have in many places been built into the present walls without any distinct reason; in some places forming arches, and in others pillars supporting nothing, but merely put in, because they were considered ornamental. The barbarous taste of those who at present have charge of this curious building is much less excusable. Workmen are actually employed in painting over the whole of the stone work, of a sort of light-blue colour, which they think more beautiful, and more like stone, than the beautiful stone itself of which the fabric is constructed. They are picking out, as our house-painters call it, in white paint, the traceries, grotesques, and ornamental pillars, so that the whole exterior resembles very much the stern of a Dutch galliot.

It would require some time, and more knowledge of the subject than I am master of, to consider this structure properly, and to distinguish what is original from what is of a later age.

*Dronthiem, Aug. 27.* — This town has a population of 12,400 inhabitants. The streets are spacious, with water cisterns at their intersections. The houses, which are all, or with very few exceptions, of wood, are large and good, and have an air of cleanliness and comfort. The scrubbing and washing of doors, windows, stairs, and pavements give a favourable impression of the habits of the Dronthiemers. They are a remarkably handsome people—as the ladies at least know. There are few towns of this size in which one meets so many well-dressed handsome females of the higher class, who are invited out by the delightful evenings at this season. The means of subsistence here arise partly from Drontheim being

the seat of the higher courts, and functionaries connected with the provinces north of the Dovre Fjeld, and partly from its being the only place, on this side of the Fjelde, of which the merchants enjoy the privilege of trading to foreign ports. Tromsøe, in Nordland; has of late obtained the same privileges, but it is as yet in its infancy. The trade of Dronthiem employs about fifty vessels belonging to the port, chiefly in conveying wood to France, and a few cargoes to Ireland and Scotland, also dried fish to Spain and Italy. France has been for some years the best customer for timber. One can well understand that the small proprietors there, who had acquired their lands during the Revolution, would not for many years possess the means, and the confidence in the security of their property, to build and lodge themselves suitably to its amount. Spanish and Italian vessels have of late found their way to Dronthiem; and the trade, although it suffers by having its own vessels unemployed, gains by finding customers at home instead of sending its fish to a distant market. In the year 1830, 154 vessels cleared outwards to foreign ports, of which 56 were to British ports, 23 to the Mediterranean, 28 to Spain, 17 to Denmark, 12 to Holland; the rest to the Baltic, Bremen, and other ports; and for the home trade and fisheries, in the same year, there were cleared outwards 59 ships, and 262 yachts or coasting small craft. In the provinces or Amts, which are supplied through Dronthiem with all foreign products, there is a population of about 112,000 people, besides the inhabitants of the town itself, so that the trade of the place is considerable. All the products of other countries are extremely moderate in price, the import duties seldom exceeding two per cent. *ad valorem*, and the freight by the return of vessels being very trifling. There are few towns in France where French wines are so cheap. The roadstead for shipping is bad, exposed to a heavy swell from the north and west, and with loose ground in twenty fathoms. In the river there is not depth of water for vessels drawing above ten or twelve feet. There is a little rock called Munkholm, on which very expensive fortifications and batteries are constructing for the defence of the town and shipping; but for these objects it is apparently useless, being situated at too great a distance. During the last war, our naval officers sent in boats, and destroyed towns and shipping, overcoming defences much more formidable than those of Dronthiem on the sea-side. On the land-side, although almost surrounded by the river Nid, it is so



entirely commanded by the tongues of land and ravines on the opposite side of the river, that it appears scarcely secure as the principal military depôt on the north side of the Fjelde; and in case of invasion could not be maintained without a very large force.

*Dronthiem, Aug. 29.*—There is a public library here on a liberal footing. I found no difficulty, although a stranger, in getting out books upon simply signing a printed receipt in which the librarian inserted the title of the work. The collection is large, and contains many curious and rare books. The *Biblia Polyglotta Anglicana*, per Br. Waltonum, Londini, 1657; and *Edmundi Costelli Lexicon Heptaglotton* is shown to strangers as rare, from the work, excepting a few copies, having perished in the Fire of London in 1660. There is also a collection of minerals, and objects of natural history, and of antiquities, but of little value, being ill-arranged, ill-preserved, and the productions of different countries and ages, all jumbled together. The Runic calendars, or staves with Runic characters, on which Dr. Clarke sets some value, if I am not mistaken, are indebted to the antiquary's fancy for their importance. As records of events, they may be safely classed with Robinson Crusoe's tally-stick, with a long notch for Sundays, and an extra long one for the anniversary of his shipwreck. Imagination alone can make any thing more of them than a rude device to aid the memory of the individual in recollecting his private affairs, or possibly public transactions. No Runic inscription, either on wood or rock, has yet been discovered of an older date than the introduction of Christianity in the eleventh century; and Scandinavia boasts of regular historical records in the Saga, which relate the transactions of the tenth and even the ninth century.

*Dronthiem, Aug. 30.*—I have paid a daily visit, since I arrived, to the cathedral, and, as I intend to move to-morrow, shall put down all that I have read or observed concerning this structure. King Olaf Haraldsen, who appears to have been the most blood-thirsty tyrant who was ever canonised, was killed by his subjects in a battle at a place called Stikklestad, north of Dronthiem, in the year 1033; and his body was interred in a church still standing, which he himself had built in that city and dedicated to Saint Clement. As Olaf reigned fifteen years, this building must have been erected between 1018 and 1033. As this monarch introduced Christianity by fire and sword into his dominions, and was killed by the peasants whom his cruelties had driven into revolt, he was

canonised ; his shrine became the most distinguished in the north of Europe, and one of the most frequented by pilgrims. The cathedral was founded in the year 1180 or 1183, close to this church, which forms a chapel at the east end of it. The west end, now in ruins, was not founded till the year 1248, and in the end of the thirteenth century the whole structure must have stood in its splendour. The extreme length has been 346, and its breadth 84, English feet ; but the west end, which contained the grand entrance, had a chapel at each corner, making the breadth of that front 140 feet. The transept and east end are the only parts roofed in, and now used for divine service. The western, once magnificently ornamented, is now used as a timber or store-yard, but the outer walls still rise to the height of the arches of the lower windows, which are pointed, and of the spring of those which have joined the outer walls to the pillars of the aisles ; but these are all demolished. The grand entrance in this front was by three doors, now all built up, and in their place buttresses support this end of the wood-yard. This front was adorned with a row of twenty arched and delicately cut niches above the three entrance gates, and below these, on each side of the entrances, a row of ten pointed arches with ornamental ones within them. The ten have rested upon slight pillars, and those within have joined and ended in a carved flower. The niches have been exceedingly rich in finely carved fret-work and mouldings, and they still contain five full length statues more or less mutilated. From the folds of the drapery, hands, and hair of the heads, they could not have been the work of the same age or country, which produced the grotesque masks and figures which are strewn with profusion over the most ancient parts of the building. They are of a different taste and school from those figures in the cathedral of Amiens and other churches of the same period ; and the celebrated figure of the goose-footed queen, on the portals of four French cathedrals, which has given occasion to so much learned conjecture, could not probably be ranked with these. They display considerable merit, and deserve the examination of a competent judge. The upper works of the transept and east end, being all now roofed in, have probably been rebuilt at various and comparatively recent periods. By these, I mean all above the *first* arches, or those springing from the *ground*. *I conceive that all this higher part has originally been only of wood, for the cathedral is said to have frequently*



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*Dronthiem, Aug. 30.*—I have to the cathedral, and, as I have down all that I have read of King Olaf Haraldsen, who a thirsty tyrant who was ever in a battle at a place called year 1033; and his body, which he himself had buried Clement. As Olaf reigned been erected between the Christian fire at by the to which

ments, and even their horses, slaves, and sometimes their wives. On the sea coast, the boat or ship in which the chieftain sailed was laid over the body, and the tumulus was raised over its hull. This circumstance repeatedly occurs in the Saga; and the ship tumulus is distinguished by all Scandinavian antiquaries as distinct from the round heaps or mounds of earth raised over stone coffins or other receptacles. Its inside would be exactly a Gothic building in wood; and the main body, the nave (*navis*) is called the ship of the building in the ancient northern languages, probably in reference to this origin.

The curious will find a minute description of the cathedral of Sant Olaf, its 316 windows, its 3361 pillars, its 32 altars, and all the rest of its magnificence, in a quarto volume, published at Dronthiem, in the year 1762, by Gerard Schöning, rector of the high school there; an antiquary whose works are held in high esteem by the learned in Scandinavian antiquities.

*Aug. 31.* — The weather being fine, and myself and pony quite refreshed by our long rest, I resolved to proceed onwards along the coast of this magnificent gulf. If I should be overtaken by bad weather, or find poor accommodations, I have always Dronthiem under my lee. I paid my bill, about a dollar and a half per day, mounted my goods and chattels again behind my cariole, and set out before sunrise, by the opposite entrance to that by which I entered. The road crosses the river by a good wooden bridge, and beyond is a considerable suburb, and a country studded with neat villas of the merchants of Dronthiem. I took the road northwards, along the coast of the fiord which was skirted by low hills, or knobs of primary rock, containing much mica, against which there rests a compact chloritic clay, which, in its indurated state, appears to be the stone used in the cathedral, and in its soft state is the greenish till or subsoil of the arable land. Where this is laid dry, and made friable by cultivation, it appears to form an excellent soil. The crops are very luxuriant, but cultivation is much impeded by knobs of the primary under-rock. I have not, indeed, seen in Norway twenty acres of arable land in one field, without some obstruction from knobs of stone. The farms upon this slope appear excellent; the crops heavy and clean. Oats, bear (I have seen no barley), rye, red wheat a kind of bearded spring grain, and potatoes, make as good an appearance as similar crops do in the

districts of Scotland which are farmed in the ordinary way without any special improvements.

The hills of primary rock in some places run out into promontories which dip into the fiord. To scramble up and down these is not work for an alderman : when one does, however, get over the keel of such a ridge, he sees a quiet, beautiful scene below. The little land-locked bay is so shut in with rocks and woods, that it resembles a small mountain-lake. The entrance is hid by trees and the mark of high water on the white beach at the head of the cove is the only indication that it belongs to the ocean. There is generally room at its head for one fishing farmer, with his house at the foot of the rocks, a green spot for his cows and goats, and his little skiff at anchor before his door ; where the lucky fellow without ever knowing what a sea-storm is, or going out of sight of his own chimney smoke, catches in his sheltered creek the finest sea-fish beneath the shadow of the rocky forest that surrounds him. When the traveller drops suddenly upon one of these nooks his toil is repaid.

Besides these coves, there are extensive lateral valleys through which considerable rivers run into the fiord. The fiord itself is just a great valley filled with the sea, above 100 miles long, and from 3 to 12 broad. These Norwegian fiords are singular and inexplicable features. How could these immense rifts, 60 to 200 miles long, and in some places not a gun-shot broad, be made in the solid primary rock ? It was not by the action of the sea ; for some extensive branches of them are at right angles to the main fiord, and not exposed to that impulse of the sea by which it could have been excavated. It could not have been formed like other valleys, by the gradual operation of rivers running into the sea because there is here no back country to afford waters for so many large streams as must, by this supposition, have existed close, and often at right angles, to each other. The theory of the elevation of land by volcanic impulse from below gets over the difficulty more intelligibly than either of these two suppositions. It was not necessary that this volcanic power should break through the crust it elevated, and volcanic productions be found on the surface. Iceland might have afforded a near enough vent. I have been led to these observations by a singular rock which I found behind the Ferry-house, at which I stopped for the night, in the valley of Stordal. This is the greatest of the lateral valleys on this side of

the Dronthiem Fiord; running about sixty miles up the country to the dividing ridge, or kiolin (keel) of the peninsula, which sends its waters from one side towards the Dronthiem Fiord, and from the other towards the Bothnian Gulf and the Wenner Lake. The breadth of the valley here may be about three miles of alluvial soil resting, on the south side, against hills of micaceous schistus penetrated by veins of granite; and, on the north side, upon gneiss. Close to the river, shooting up through the alluvial soil, there is a huge mass of rock different in its texture from any I have seen in Norway. Having to fasten my pony under the lee of it for the night, I was struck with its appearance. The texture is vesicular: some of the vesicles are empty, others filled with what appeared to me whitish, decomposed feldspar, and the mass contains fragments of its own material, and of crystallised substance rendering it a conglomerate. It struck me that here, if any where, the crust has been broken through, and that this mass is a volcanic production. Indurated clay, mud upon mud, deposited from water, would have had a stratified or laminal texture, not a vesicular. Not knowing the ancient lava, I cannot speak confidently; but I know this mass is totally different in texture from the granite, the gneiss, the mica, the lime, or the indurated clay families, which are the usual rocks of Norway.

This valley of Stordal is partly the scene of one of the most gallant enterprises in modern warfare, which, not being very generally known in Scotland, I will here relate. One hears often in Norway of the Scottish war, and finds it an important chapter in the popular histories of the country; and one ransacks his memory in vain to find when and how it took place. The circumstances are as follow:—In the war between Christian IV. of Denmark and Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, which began in the year 1611, Gustavus sent a Colonel Munkhaven over to Scotland to obtain recruits for his service. Munkhaven raised about 3000 men in the north of Scotland, and embarked them in the end of the summer of 1612. He found, on his arrival, that affairs had been going on unfavourably. Gottenburg had been taken by the Danes; the whole Swedish side of the Sound was in their possession; Stockholm itself was threatened; and, from the North Cape to Calmar, the whole coast was occupied by the enemy. Munkhaven must have been an officer of singular military talent and vigour of mind: an ordinary man, under such circumstances, would have returned

to Scotland and disbanded his raw recruits. He would have been fully justified in doing so; and his conduct and success is one of the finest examples, in modern warfare, of the *nil desperandum* in military enterprise. He sailed northwards, and detached Colonel George Sinclair with 600 men to land in Romsdalen, and draw the attention of the garrison of Dronthiem to that quarter. From Romsdalen, Colonel Sinclair marched slowly up the valley of Lessoe into the Guldebrandsdal, ravaging the country on his way. Meantime Munkhaven, with his main body, proceeded northwards, sailed past the city of Dronthiem into the fiord, and landed at this place, Stordal, within a day and a half's march of that city. The garrison, especially in a Swedish war, formed a powerful division of the army; Dronthiem being, as stated above, the only military depôt north of the Dovre Fjeld. From the manner, however, in which it is commanded by the adjacent heights, a handful of men could demolish it. The troops in Dronthiem, finding an enemy on each side, and probably supposing Sinclair's division the main body, durst not move out and leave exposed this principal military depôt. Munkhaven marched his troops, therefore, up this valley without opposition, crossed the Kiolen, seized on the two provinces of Jemteland and Hergedalen, and annexed them permanently to Sweden; he then relieved Stockholm, which was in imminent danger of falling into the hands of the Danes, extricated his sovereign from a perilous situation, and enabled him to conclude the peace of 1613.

Colonel George Sinclair, with the forlorn hope of this brilliant enterprise, did not proceed so fortunately. He appears not to have used the ordinary precaution of seizing the principal inhabitants on his route, and causing them to march with his column, as hostages for the peaceful conduct of the people. He was attacked in a narrow pass of Guldebrandsdal by the peasantry of two or three of the adjoining parishes; and, although they were only armed with such weapons as the country could afford, they cut off him and all his troops. Two only, it is said, escaped alive. By another account, sixty were made prisoners, and were butchered in the course of the winter, which is not a probable circumstance. Sinclair's lady is said to have accompanied him; and it is added that a youth, who meant to join the peasants in the attack, was *prevented by a young lady to whom he was to be married next day.* She, on learning that there was one of her own sex among

the Scottish troops, sent her lover to her protection; Mrs. Sinclair not understanding his purpose, shot him dead.

It is possible that the papers of some of the Sinclairs in Caithness would give curious information respecting Munkhaven's levy, and the late of Colonel George Sinclair and his lady.

It is pleasing to observe that the people remember, and feel pride in this gallant exploit of their forefathers. It is told or sung in every house. A peasantry see nothing of the operations of war but what is before their eyes; and they may justly boast of having cut off a body of regular invading troops by their own unaided valour. But it is lamentable to find enlightened men in Norway seriously resting the defence of the country entirely upon this excellent spirit of the people, and its natural capabilities of defence. These may do much, if well applied, but are by no means sufficient in modern warfare. They forget that on this very occasion Colonel Munkhaven broke through their country with a mere handful of men, within a trifling distance of its principal military station, and turned the tide of war against them; and all this with the loss of only a forlorn hope of six hundred men, caused apparently by the rashness of their leader.

*Levanger, September 2.* — I arrived last night at this little town. Few situations in travelling excite more anxiety than that of driving alone through a strange country towards nightfall, both horse and man pretty well tired, and both nearly equally unacquainted with the language, or where to find a night's lodging. This was my situation last night. After leaving the Ferry-house at Stordal river, and crossing the river and valley, I got into a rough country covered with huge fragments, not rolled masses, of gneiss and of conglomerate broken down from the craggy steeps above. In any other region one would be very much inclined to call in the assistance of an earthquake to account for this phenomenon, but in this latitude frost would be sufficient. Some of these blocks have tumbled upon the top of each other, and are so nicely poised, that I at once exclaimed, "Here are the Rocking Stones of Cornwall." Two huge masses, near each other, are placed above similar ones, by such small points of contact, that the adjustment seems, at first view, artificial. The aspect of the cliff above, however, and the vast accumulation of similar *débris*, satisfied me that it was the work of chance.

I had imagined, as probably many other travellers do, that



beyond Dronthiem, one must be on the extreme verge of cultivation; that the country, forty or fifty miles northwards from that city, must be a sort of waste of moss, and rock, and morass, supporting, perhaps, a few cottars, with their cattle, near the coast, and a few Finlanders or Laplanders, with their reindeer, in the interior. I was astonished to find myself, towards sunset, in a fine arable district, with farms and capital farmhouses, having each its hop garden, and fields of excellent oats and bear, on a much larger scale than any I had yet seen in Norway. I found also many good roads crossing the main one, with guide-posts, bridges, road-drains, fences, and the spires of three parish churches in view at once. My Lapland vanished. My anxiety about a night's lodging ceased on the first glimpse of a land of kirks and manses. I drove on to the spire which had the greatest cluster of houses round it, found excellent quarters in a farmhouse near the village, and in half an hour I and my horse were eating our suppers. My fare was newly caught salmon, with a sauce of horseradish pounded into a cream, followed by excellent coffee; and all so nice, clean, and comfortable, that I determined to halt here for some time. As another inducement, I saw last night, as I drove between the fields of corn, a plough,—a genuine red-painted Scotch plough. There was no mistaking my countryman. On inquiring to-day, I find that I am right; there is a Scotch farmer who has been eight or nine years in this neighbourhood. One may learn more of Norway in an hour from such a man, than by travelling a hundred miles.

*Levanger, September 4.*—This is the only country town, except Little Hammer, at the upper end of the Myosen lake, that I have seen in Norway. The territory is not inhabited village-wise. In this respect countries differ remarkably. In some the agricultural population is clustered into villages, and the arable lands are necessarily at a distance from the dwellings; which must occasion great delay and loss in farming operations. Here the husbandman dwells in the midst of his lands, which must be more advantageous, and make even a difference in the wealth of an agricultural nation.

I walked through this little town to-day. The houses are remarkably good and clean. The little parlours, the kitchens, and *pantries would be suitable in an English maritime town; but the streets are unpaved and frightfully dirty.* Horses and carioles are

so general among the country people, that the comfort of the pedestrian is little attended to, even in the considerable towns, such as Dronthiem: while all that relates to driving, such as bridges, covered drains, water-courses, is kept in excellent repair, even on unfrequented cross roads.

The floors of rooms in Norway, and, I believe, in Sweden also, are, at least once a week, strewed over with the green tops of the fir or juniper. On a white well-scoured deal floor, the lively green specks have a pretty effect. The use is the same as that of the yellow sand, with which our housewives sprinkle their floors. It prevents the mud on the shoes from adhering to and soiling the wood. The gathering and selling these green juniper buds is a sort of trade for poor old people about the towns, just as selling yellow sand is with us. At funerals, the road into the churchyard and to the grave is strewed with these green sprigs.

In so remote a little town, I was surprised to find two working silversmiths. The small proprietors are fond of possessing plate, as silver spoons and tankards, or jugs, for ale, having the heads or covers, and often the whole, of silver.

The want of gardens, or a bit of ground before or behind a house, laid out in beds, and looking nice and trim, gives to all the dwellings an uncomfortable aspect. They look like wooden boxes set down upon a grass or corn field. A small inclosure for hops is attached to every farmhouse, but carrots, onions, cabbage, and all garden vegetables are little used. Probably, the short interval between winter and summer allows little time to attend to any but the essential crops. Farmers are bad gardeners everywhere.

This little town is situated on an inlet of the Dronthiem Fiord, which affords the best shelter for small vessels on this side of that gulf, and is a place of considerable importance. Dried fish, salted herrings, and all kinds of manufactured goods and foreign productions, are brought from Dronthiem to this town, which is a sort of commercial outport for the trade of that city. The Swedes come across the Fjelde in great numbers, when the snow sets in and makes the transport of heavy goods practicable on sledges. They bring iron and iron nails, copper, tallow, butter, cheese, skins, hides, frozen game and venison which will keep good until spring, and barter these products for the articles they consume.

*The upper part of Sweden, which throws its waters into the Baltic, is more easily and cheaply supplied by this channel than*



by the Bothnian Gulf. To a large portion of Sweden, perhaps even of Finland and the north of Russia, the Dronthiem Fiord affords a much readier communication with other parts of the world than the Baltic; it is never impeded by ice, and is the true seaport for those countries, being navigable at all seasons, and leading direct into the ocean. In winter, after the snow has fallen, the whole country across from it to the Bothnian Gulf and into the interior of Russia, is one railroad, such as art can never rival, as to the aid given to animal power. If the steam carriage should ever be brought to perfection, it is in those countries in which winter equalises and hardens the sledge roads over the snow for eight months of the year, that its application will produce the greatest changes in the channels of commerce. The distance across from the Dronthiem Fiord at this place to Sundsvald on the Bothnian Gulf, is only about 270 or 280 miles, by a new road now constructing across the Fjelde. This in winter is but a small impediment, compared to the long navigation up the Baltic and the Bothnian Gulf, which are only open for a part of the year, and to which vessels from America, or the Mediterranean, or even from Bristol or Liverpool, can scarcely reckon upon more than one annual voyage. This trade may become very important, if any political events should make the navigation of the Baltic unsafe. Already it is of such importance, that the first mercantile companies in Dronthiem have houses and warehouses in this little town, with a view to two great fairs held here in December and March. The resort thither of people from Sweden is said to be very great, when there is no disappointment in having snow for the transport of goods by sledges. The trade must be considerable which admits such good buildings for the sake of a business that lasts only three weeks in the year.

*Levanger, September 10.* — It is very unsatisfactory to travel over a country, seeing it as you would a panorama, but, from imperfect knowledge of the language, unable to gain information about what you see. I consider this place, or at least this district, as very interesting. It is evidently a point of contact between civilised life and what can scarcely receive that appellation. The inhabitants of the most unfrequented tract of land in Europe (for it is only along the sides or shores of the fiords that roads or business lead the stranger), come from the interior of the peninsula to purchase *here their necessities and luxuries.* The country is evidently

rich and well cultivated ; and the inhabitants, being removed from all foreign intercourse, unless at these fairs, must afford the best specimen of the genuine landholders of Norway, unaffected by any extraneous circumstances. Having the advantage also of an intelligent Scotch farmer, who has been settled in this neighbourhood for some years, to apply to for information, I resolved to remain here a few days. I had got, moreover, into clean and comfortable quarters.

I went one evening with my landlord to look at a farm about four miles up the country, which he intends to sell. He expects about two thousand dollars. I was surprised to see offered at this sum at least a hundred acres, besides a considerable tract of under-wood. Not above forty were cultivated ; the rest grass, impeded with bushes and stones, but yielding hay. Sown grasses are not introduced, and ray grass at least will not, I understand, endure the winter. I suspect there must be some fault in the management, for I found it growing naturally on the sides of a field, in which I was told it had been tried, and had failed. Timothy grass is the only kind cultivated, but not at all generally. The farmer depends for his hay upon natural grass, and as the fields are not top dressed, it requires a great space of land to produce any considerable quantity. As the straw is all housed, and consequently more dry and withered towards spring than that of crops stacked out of doors, a large quantity of hay is required. This is the cause, I understand, of so great a proportion of every farm being left unploughed.

I found a small hop garden even on this farm, and apparently the crop excellent. It is singular that a plant which is so delicate and precarious in the south of England, and requires the most expensive culture, should flourish here in latitude  $64^{\circ}$ , and with very little attention. It is not impossible that there may be races or families of plants, as undoubtedly there are of animals, more hardy, or at least more exempt from diseases, than others of the same species ; and that our hop farmers might obtain from this quarter a hardier plant, and one which perhaps would succeed farther north, than the British.

I must endeavour to become acquainted with the value of land in this country. It appears to me, from what I learned in my walk this evening, that many who emigrate with small capitals to the woods of *Canada*, and whose habits are not exactly suited to a life

of privation and toil, would have found all they wanted much cheaper here.

Summer lingers long in this country. On returning from our walk we found the family sitting out of doors at eleven o'clock at night, listening to two visitors, who sang and played the guitar. It was almost like the south of Europe. The evenings and nights, even in this month, have not the raw, damp, chilly air, which in Scotland would not make it at all agreeable to sit out of doors at midnight in September. The air is dry and warm, and I infer, from the little hurry or bustle about cutting down or taking in the crops which are standing dead ripe, that the climate is steady at this season. A Scotch farmer would be in a fever of anxiety and apprehension, if he had his fields in such a state.

*September 20.* — Being desirous of seeing as much as possible of this fine tract of country, while the weather is so delightful, I set off yesterday towards the north along the fiord. My stay at Levanger has advanced me considerably in the language.

The country is much better than nearer to Dronthiem, the soil superior, and the barren headlands of primary rock running into the fiord, not so numerous, steep, and rugged. Cultivation extends back into the country as far as the eye can reach, and is not confined to the hollows and skirts of high ground, but spreads over hill and dale. At the entrance of the valley of Værdal, I left the coast, and after driving a few miles through a tract covered with the most luxuriant crops, now in full harvest, I came to the river which runs through the valley, and is at this place as wide as the Tweed at Kelso. Seeing fresh traces of wheels on the sand, and a steeple a little distant on the other side, I took the river, concluding this to be the ford. When I was half across, a man came bawling about a boat, as I understood ; but I had got over the worst, and saved my fare, although with a little wetting. I whipped on to the little church, which the man told me was that of Stikklestad. It is a place celebrated in Norwegian history, for here king Olaf the saint was slain in the battle with his subjects.

Never was a monarch opposed and cut off by his people on juster grounds. He was raised by them to supreme power under the pledge of not interfering with their religious or civil rights. After a course of success, not unmixed with single acts of cruelty and *perfidy*, against all the small kings who had originally assisted him in reaching the sovereign power, he attempted to impose, by force

and cruelty, the Christian faith on his subjects. Superstition appears to have entirely altered a character, originally humane, brave, and eminently popular; and to have led him to acts so atrocious, that in an age not very distinguished for humanity, he excited an universal revolt. On his way from Sweden with an army to reconquer his kingdom, he was met at this place by the hostile peasantry, and fell without even showing the prudence and courage which had distinguished his early career.

The Danish Antiquarian Society has erected a monument on the spot where this bloody saint fell, which is also marked out by a rude monument of older date. They have added an inscription, implying, that the pious monarch, after labouring for fifteen years in the conversion of his subjects to the Christian religion, was slain in a tumult of his mutinous people, on the 29th June, 1033. The silence of the ancient monument is more honourable, and true to history.

Of all historical events, one would expect the exact date of this battle of Stikklestad to be the best ascertained in northern history, because all accounts of it concur in the remarkable circumstance, that a total eclipse of the sun began nearly with the battle, at half-past one in the forenoon, and continued till three, commencing with a redness in the sky, and increasing to a total darkness; and the date is usually given as the 29th June, 1033. But in Grundvig's translation of Snorro into the modern Norse, which I saw at Dronthiem, it is stated to be 29th July, 1033. But it has been calculated by the celebrated Professor Hansten of Christiania, that there was no such eclipse at either date visible at Stikklestad. The Saga and Snorro Sturlesen are proved incorrect even by their own accounts, which state that, at night, the darkness prevented the parties from continuing the fight or the pursuit. Now in latitude  $63^{\circ} 40'$ , it is not so dark at midnight, either on the 29th of June or of July, as to occasion any practical difference between night and day. As there is no bringing the sun to the saint, it has been found necessary to bring the saint to the sun. On the 31st August, 1030, there was a total eclipse of the sun, which would be visible at Stikklestad at the hours specified; and at that date also the sun would be so far below the horizon at night as to occasion darkness. There can be no doubt, therefore, that instead of the *29th June, 1033, as in all the historical accounts, and also on the Antiquarian Society's pillar, the real date was 31st August, 1030.*

What then shall we think of the authority of Snorro Sturlesen, or of the Saga, whence he draws his information, when we find such an error regarding a leading event, which had an important influence on a chain of succeeding events, and took place, if I am not mistaken, only about 148 years before his own birth? How much greater must be our doubt as to more distant events, some not committed to writing, we are told, until 240 years after their occurrence.

The church of Stikklestad, or some part of it, is probably of a date not much later than the fall of Saint Olaf. His body was transported to Saint Clement's church in Dronthiem, erected by himself. As he was canonised soon after, and became one of the most celebrated of northern saints, this stone church, so near to the field of battle, may probably be of ancient erection. The only part which struck me as curious, although, from my not knowing the date, of little interest, is the entrance gate, a round Saxon arch with peculiar fillet ornaments, similar to those on round arches in the transept of the cathedral of Dronthiem.

After satisfying my curiosity, and drying myself in the sun, on this memorable battlefield, I drove up the valley of Værdal for ten or twelve miles, to its junction with another river and valley from the south-west, called Indal. There is here a neat little church, with an old standing stone in the churchyard. About a mile higher, I found a ferry-boat, and crossed the river with my horse and cariole, to the house of a gentleman, for whom I had brought a letter from Levanger. He is an extensive proprietor in this quarter, and universally respected for his judgment and knowledge, and has been frequently one of the representatives of the city of Dronthiem in the Storthing. This gentleman not only understands the English language, but is better acquainted with English literature than many members of our own Storthing in Westminster; and I passed a very agreeable and instructive day with his amiable family.

I do not know in Scotland a valley so beautiful as this of Værdal: the crops of grain so rich and yellow; the houses so substantial and thickly set; farm after farm without interruption, each fully enclosed and subdivided with paling; the grass fields of so lively green, as free from weeds and rubbish, and as neatly shaven, as a *lawn before a gentleman's windows*; every knoll, and all the background, covered with trees, and a noble clear river running brisk

through it. There is a reach or two of Nithsdale in Dumfriesshire, about Elliock, which, on a small scale, resembles this valley; but the soft living green of the natural grass does not belong to, or is not long retained by, our sown grass fields. Such verdure is to be seen in the Welsh, but not so often in the Scotch valleys.

I find that all these beautiful little farms, with the substantial houses, and that air of plenty and completeness about them which struck me so much on my way up this valley, are the udal estates, and residences of the peasant proprietors, or bonder. They are small farms, usually of about forty or fifty acres; but each having besides a pasturage or grass tract in the Fjelde, where all the cattle that can be spared are kept through the summer, until the crops are taken in; and upon these out-farms there are houses and a regular dairy. This class of bonder are the most interesting people in Norway. There are none similar to them in the feudal countries of Europe.

On leaving this beautiful valley, and the hospitable mansion where I had passed the night, I took the first road across the country leading to the north. In the evening I got to a branch of the great lake called Snaasen Vand, which by my map extends eastward about forty miles, and pours its waters through a valley of fine land, but of short extent, into the head of the Dronthiem Fjord. The tract across from Værdal to this valley, may be thirty-five miles by the road I came. It is rough. Blocks of primary rocks, gneiss, or micaceous schist, covered with trees, divide the streams, and form the banks of the small lakes, into which all the waters in this country have a tendency to expand; a proof that they have hard primary rock to cut through, and no very sudden rise of level behind to give them force. On the banks of these streams and lakes there are farms, but evidently of inferior soil to that of the great valleys. I stopped twice to rest and feed my horse, for which the charge is four skillings, or three halfpence sterling; and I have never been at a loss for excellent cheese, butter, milk, and oat-cake. I passed one or two peat mosses just forming. The trees had fallen, obstructed the drainage of the water, and were half buried in black, decayed vegetable earth. Of proper black, compact peat-moss, however, I have not yet seen so much as would make a stack in the highlands of Scotland, nor so much heath as would shelter a covey of muirfowl. The fine



long unbroken stretches of purple heath, which cover our Scotch hills, are wanting, I believe, in Norway.

The cross roads by which I reached the valley of the Snaasen Vand, are not worse than many cross roads within forty miles of London. They are badly laid out for avoiding sharp ascents, but well constructed and kept up, over all Norway. It is, perhaps, one of the advantages which that country derived from being so long under the vigorous administration of an absolute government, that all public duty was, and continues to be, done with a kind of military promptitude. This has enriched Norway with roads and bridges, without which many tracts could not have been inhabited; and no vague sense of public advantage and convenience could, perhaps, have worked so effectively, either with the public functionary or the people, without the will and fiat of the strong unrestrained power behind to enforce the execution. Many of the most lonely forests and Fjelde, by those paths of communication are made, if not available for human use, at least not obstructive to it.

At the junction of the river of the Snaasen Vand with the Dronthiem Fiord, there is a good wooden bridge, with five arches, over the river; and on each side is a small cluster of houses, forming a little village called Steenkjær, once a place of great importance. After a long and fatiguing day's journey, for I had wandered considerably, I found good quarters at the merchant's house here.

*Steenkjær.*—I have remained a few days at this place to see the country. The road to the north terminates about four Norwegian miles beyond this village, after which the traveller must proceed by boats. There are roads only across the necks of some of the peninsulæ, and over some of the islands from ferry to ferry. Another road leads up the valley of the Snaasen Vand. Here ditching, draining, and clearing land were going on with great spirit. I did not expect certainly to be charmed with the crops in the sixty-fifth degree of north latitude; but the vegetative power, whatever be the cause, is more vigorous here than in the north of Scotland. Some of the largest establishments of saw-mills in Norway are supplied with trees from the forests around the Snaasen Vand. Of ordinary productions, rye, oats, bear, flax, hops, appeared great crops. This may well be in a soil and climate which raise such noble forests. Behind the house I in-

habited is a standard cherry tree bearing ripe fruit. It would be a rarity in Scotland to raise them, unless against a wall, even eight degrees of latitude south of this. Dronthiem is supplied with them from a parish twenty miles north of the town. Hops are cultivated here as a crop. Flax seed ripens so as to be fit for being sown. It is only in the south of Scotland that these productions would come to maturity. Yet I observe that the mountain ash, with us one of the hardiest of trees, growing where none of the pine tribe reach, high among the hills by itself, is in Norway a delicate tree, the only one upon which any care is bestowed. I see it planted in the hop gardens, and in sheltered situations. The common ash is also scarce on this side the Dovre Fjelde. Aspen, wild cherry, birch, and the pine tribe are the trees, juniper, wild raspberry, and wild rose the bushes, that generally prevail.

In this valley of the Snaasen Vand I found another Scotchman (where are they not to be found?) who has been six years in the country as a farm servant and tenant. I was glad of the opportunity of seeing his farm, because it is not like those of the two or three other Scotch farmers which I saw on the skirts of a town or village, like Dronthiem or Levanger, and has no peculiar advantages to prevent it from being considered a fair specimen of these small estates. There was also a measurement or plan of it to guide my inquiries.

Land in Norway is measured by the mæling. The mæling contains forty-nine square ells, the ell two feet, and the foot Norwegian is, I find, three per cent. longer than ours. Thus the English acre, of 43,560 square feet, contains four mælings and four-tenths. It is only near towns, however, that land is sold by the mæling. In general a farm is valued or sold at a sum, without much measurement. Each may be considered as consisting of three divisions: first, the infield, or what we should call the mains, or home acres, inclosed for the crops and the best hay; next, the mark, or outfield, also inclosed, and affording the out-pasture for the cattle. Parts of it also are occasionally fenced off, and broken up for grain, and when exhausted left to sward itself; and when the cattle are sent to the Fjelde, some hay is got from the mark. The housemen; or cottar tenants, have their land in this part, which is generally in a half cleared state, with bushes and small wood sprinkled over it, and is often of considerable extent. In speaking



of land or farms, the people seem to think nothing of the mark, and the mælings generally refer only to the infield or mains; but a purchaser or farmer would, I apprehend, find the best part of his profit in the mark. There is often a still rougher piece of land divided from the mark, as a range for goats and young cattle, called the out-mark. The third division is the seater. This is a pasture or grass farm, often at the distance of thirty or forty miles up in the Fjelde, to which the whole of the cattle and the dairymaids, with their sweethearts, are sent to junket and amuse themselves, for three or four months of the summer. There are huts on these seaters, such as the French call *chalôts*, whence our highlanders apparently got the word *sheelings*; and although only for temporary residence, they are generally substantial buildings, with every accommodation necessary for the dairy. The seaters are generally situated on the banks of some stream or lake in the Fjelde, and the people who reside there catch trout, gather *molteberries*, and make cheese and butter for the mistress, and, I dare say, have a pleasant life of it, up in the Fjelde, all in the fine still summer evenings. The seaters have generally also near them a mire or bog, on which some bog-hay is made and stacked upon the spot; and in winter, when frost has hardened the ground, and snow levelled the obstructions, it is driven home on sledges. The seater and mark are thrown in as appendages, when speaking of farms of so many mælings.

The farm of my countryman consists of 1276 mælings, or 290 English acres; but this does not include the seater, which happens here to be on the hills immediately behind the farm, is covered with fine trees, and is of a defined boundary, extending about a Norwegian mile in circuit. Of the measured land, 148 acres are cleared; but being farmed in the Norwegian style, one-third only bears crops of corn and potatoes. The remainder is always in grass for hay, for the winter support of the cattle. It is natural grass, not top-dressed with manure, and is mown when not above the length of one's finger, so that the proportion of arable land that must be given up to keep the cattle in winter is enormous; it is the system of farming in this quarter: 142 acres outside of the 148 infield are half cleared, being fenced off and ploughed in patches. It bears good grass, but is encumbered in some places with brushwood and stones. Three housemen, or cottars, paying from three to four of rent, and working at the low rate of eight skillings,

instead of twelve per day, with their victuals, have their land and houses fenced off in this division.

This farm supports twenty cows, seven horses, and a score or two of sheep and goats. The accommodation for cattle is excellent. They stand in a single row in the middle of a wide house, with partitions between each, and room before and behind greater than is occupied by the animal itself. The cowhouse is lighted by good glass windows on each side. The cattle stand on a wooden floor, below which is a vault, into which the dung is swept by a grated opening at the end of each stall. One woman here will keep twenty or twenty-five head of cattle quite clean, instead of its requiring six hours' work of two men, as in cleaning out our ill-constructed byres. All the cowhouses in Norway are on this roomy, convenient scale, built over a vault and with wooden floors; so that the animals, both cows and horses, require no litter; having the dry clean boards, instead of damp stones or earth beneath them. This is a saving of fodder, where it is so valuable from the length of the winter. In this, and in all large farms, the water is brought by pipes, or there is a pump in the cowhouse; and the woman who attends the cows sleeps in one corner of it.

This farm is distant from sea carriage about five English miles. The freight of grain to Dronthiem is about 2*d.* per quarter. The price of common labour is about 4½*d.* per day with victuals. A carpenter earns 9*d.*

The annual rent of this farm is 200 dollars. The taxes amount in all to about 36 dollars and 8 skillings, or 6*l.* : 14*s.* : 5*d.* sterling. Of this, tithe and all charges connected with the church establishment, amount to 8 dollars 4 skillings. The poor-rate is the keep, bed, and victuals of one old man for twenty-six weeks. Every farmer has to send a horse to the post-house upon the particular day when his turn comes, on receiving due notice; but the use of the horse is paid for. Every farm also of a certain size must provide a horse for the artillery or cavalry; but as it too is paid for by government while in service, it is considered an advantage rather than a tax.

Upon a property of the net yearly value of 200 dollars, or 37*l.* : 10*s.* sterling, 6*l.* : 14*s.* : 5*d.* is a heavy amount of taxes. But this is nearly all that is paid in any shape; the indirect taxes, such as our Excise and Custom-house duties, being inconsiderable. If our landholder could reckon, besides his poor-rate, tithe, land-

tax, window-tax, and direct assessments of every kind, all that he pays upon the commodities he uses, and all that his customers pay, so as to lessen the consumption and price of his produce, what proportion of his income would be really affected by taxation?

Such a property as that now described is considered worth about 4000 dollars. Within a mile or two of Dronthiem, adjoining the coast, I observed an estate advertised, with suitable houses and mills, at 36 dollars per mæling. This price I estimate at 29*l.*: 14*s.* sterling per English acre. The rent of land near a town can scarcely be ascertained; because it is the custom here, as of old in the north of Scotland, to leave a milking and working stock, seed, and implements, to the tenant at his entry, he paying back stock to his successor to the same value at the expiry of his lease. The milk near a town like Dronthiem, of 12,000 inhabitants, gives an important addition to the farmer's receipts; and that depends so much on the quality of his milking stock, that the rent per mæling may depend on the cow that is to eat its produce. I know 16*s.* sterling per English acre to be paid by one farmer in a favourable situation.

I have been particular in stating all I could learn about this farm, because I consider it fitted to be the representative of a large proportion of the estates into which this country is divided. From 2500 to 4500 dollars include, perhaps, the prices of all ordinary estates, and any thing very much above or below would be an exception. As to the dwelling-houses on such estates, the material for building is so easily obtained, that there is really no difference between the residence of a public functionary, of a clergyman, or of a gentleman of large property, and that of a bonde or peasant proprietor. The latter are as well, as commodiously, and even showily lodged as the former can be, and the properties upon which they dwell are as good. The others may have several of those estates, but seldom connected so as to form one exceeding the ordinary size. The division of property among children prevents the erection of any splendid mansions, or any thing more expensive than is proportioned to the property upon which it stands. As there are no domains to attach to a large mansion, and in a generation or two any estate would be reduced to the ordinary size, *a larger house than suits the ground on which it is situated would be out of place.* The Norwegians are, beyond a doubt, the most *generally well lodged* people in Europe; but none magnificently

Many farmers in Scotland, paying from 300*l.* to 500*l.* sterling of rent, have worse accommodations for themselves, their cattle, and crops, than people here whose estates could be purchased for 500*l.*

The harvest work in this district, and I believe all over Norway, is well done; and parts of their management might be adopted with advantage in our late districts, where so much grain is lost or damaged almost every autumn by wind or rain. For every ten sheaves, a pole of light strong wood, about the thickness of the handle of a garden rake, and about nine feet in length, is fixed in the ground by an iron-shod borer: it costs here almost nothing. A man sets two sheaves on the ground against the stem, and impales all the rest upon the pole, one above the other, with the heads hanging downwards. The pole enters before the band of each sheaf, and comes out at the bottom; the sheaf is put on with a pitchfork, and a whole field is picketed in this way with the greatest ease, and as fast as cut. The crop is in perfect safety as soon as it is on the poles; no rain or damp can heat or make it grow. Only a single sheaf is exposed to the wet. It hangs with its head downwards, is open on all sides to the air and wind, and thus dries as fast as the rain wets it. Gales of wind cannot shake it, making the heads of sheaves dash against one another, which often happens to corn standing in stooks; there is also not half of the handling and pitching about of the sheaves as in our harvest work; in which each sheaf is first dragged to the stook, and afterwards thrown into the cart. Here a sledge or car, on low wheels,

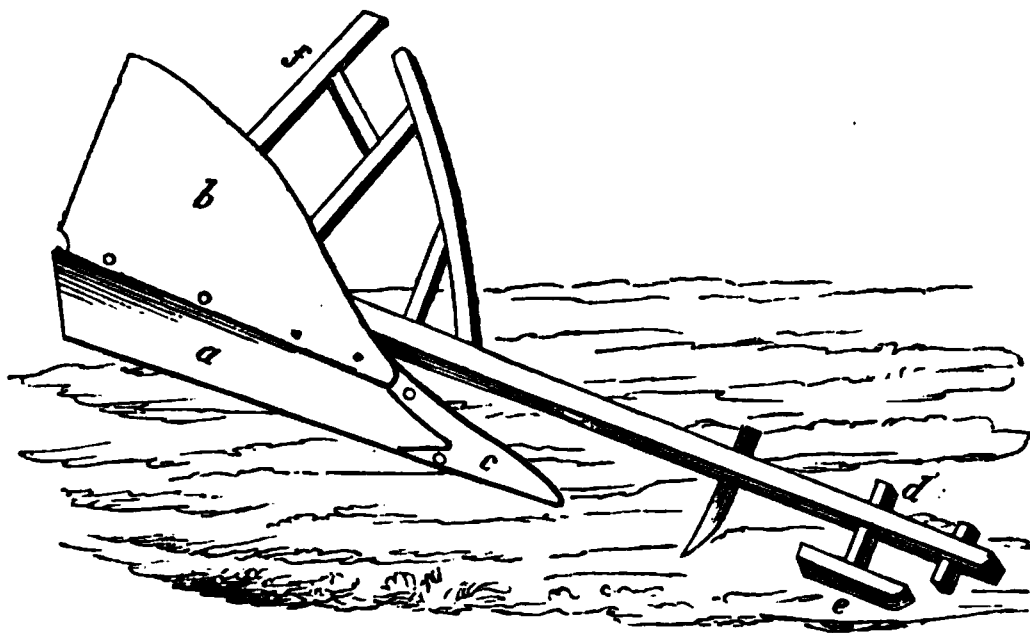


comes along the pole, which is lifted with all its sheaves, and laid into it at once; and each pole, when in the barn, is a tally for a threave of ten sheaves. The crop is all necessarily brought at once into large barns, on account of the deep snow in winter. The straw must be well withered, and quite dry when housed, which,

without this plan, could seldom be effected. The sheaves are somewhat less than ours.

Shearers here make good work, cut low, and all back handed; that is, they grasp the corn with the back of the left hand towards the hook, not the palm as with us; thus only the stalks contained in the hand can be cut over at one stroke. With us much more, almost an armful, is pressed against the edge of the hook, and cut over; the greater of which is strewed about the field, and lost in carrying it to the band; for it is only what the grasp can manage that comes safely to the sheaf.

The practical farmer will not think these observations trifling. The loss of grain in Great Britain from the field to the mill, would pay the tithe.

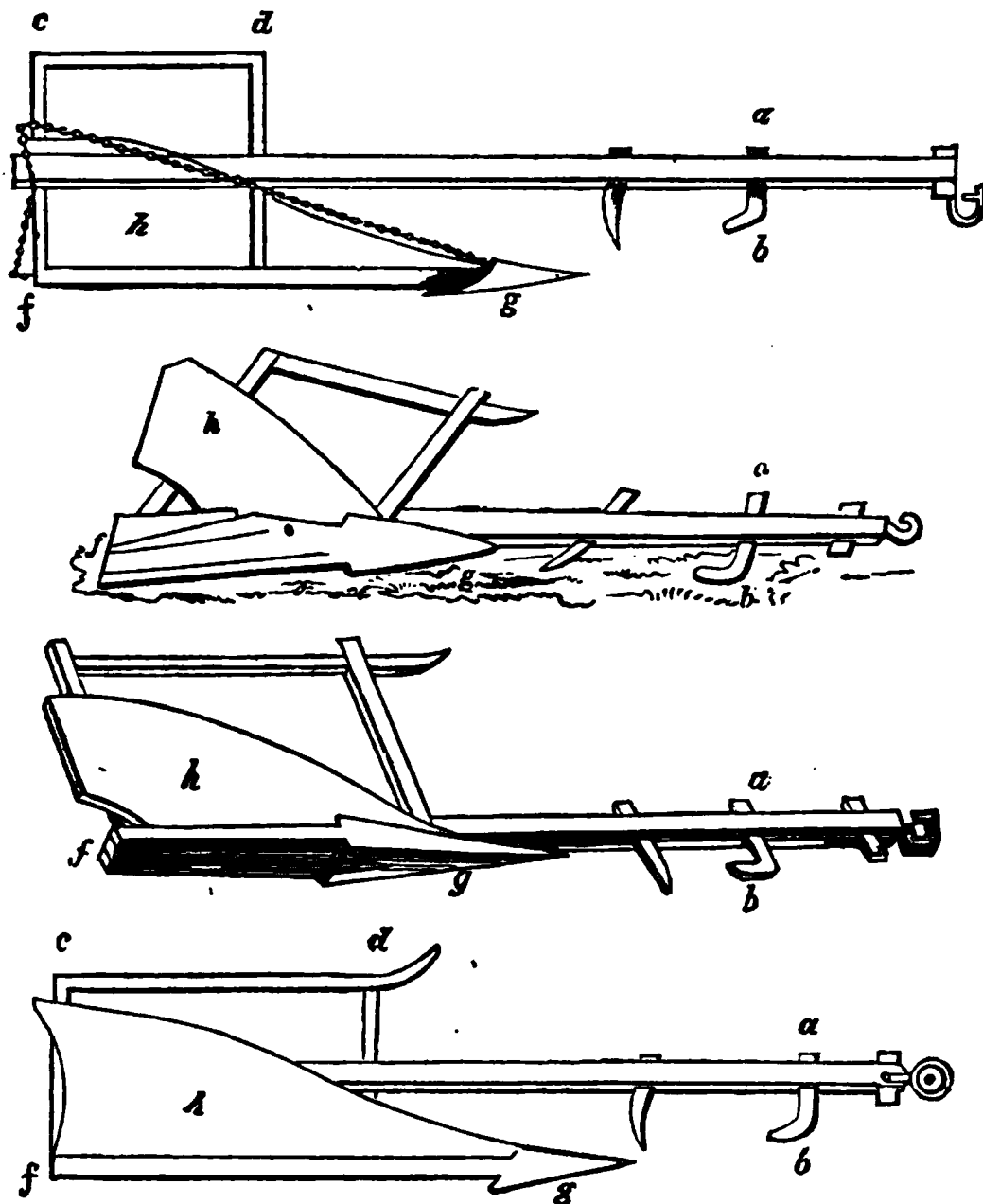


*Norwegian Plough.*

*a*, Sole, flat and of wood. *b*, Mould-board plated with iron; and *c*, share; both fastened to the sole with bolts. *d*, Regulator, of which the lower part, *e*, touches the ground. *f*, Handle, generally wanting.

The Norwegian plough is far from being a contemptible tool: the mould-board has an excellent shape, is clad with iron plate, and turns over the sod completely. It is a kind of paring plough, for the sole is flat, and generally covered with iron plate also, and the ploughing consists in taking the sod or earth at a certain depth, and turning it flat over. It is in fact the Norfolk system of not breaking the pan, as it is there called, of the soil, and never ploughing up or touching the subsoil. It would be rash to condemn this plan, where the subsoil is porous, as it generally is on the primary rocks, upon which clay is seldom the first layer, at least in this country. It might be disadvantageous to break into such a subsoil, *1* *deprive the soil above of the moisture necessary for vegetation.*

It appears, at any rate, rational to have a fixed depth of earth stirred by the plough and benefited by the manure bestowed upon a field, and not to leave it to the judgment of the ploughman, or



*Norwegian Plough.*

*a, b, Regulator. c, d, Frame, with which the ploughman removes obstructions. f, Sole, of wood, with iron straps on the under side. g, Coulter. h, Mould-board, longer than ours, and well shaped.*

the will of his horses. In the beam of the Norwegian plough, before the coulter, there is a wooden plug or wedge, which first touches the ground; and as this regulator is set high or low, the coulter behind it can take more or less depth. There are two stilts to this plough, the one before the other. They are joined by a rail, and the ploughman walks not behind, but by the side of his plough, and holding by this rail turns over as with a lever the stones, sods, or earth, that obstruct the machine.

The whole of the field is ploughed quite flat, not gathered into rigs, which is an error, as the surface water, not finding an issue,

sours the land, and retards the seed bed. A still greater disadvantage is, that the plough, not being a turn-wrest one, returns empty to the place it set out from, to begin each new furrow. The ploughman does not make a fresh one in coming back, but trails the empty plough on its side to the head of the field. He requires, consequently, just double the time to plough an acre that we take. In a country where time is so much wanted in spring to get the seed into the ground, where little ploughing can be done in autumn and none in winter, the loss by this absurd practice is incalculable. The farmers thus incur the expense of keeping a greater number of horses and servants than otherwise would be required. They use only two horses in the plough, without a driver, and are anxious to save time and labour; yet this wasteful custom holds its ground by the side of farmers who have adopted our mode from seeing Scotch ploughmen at work, and thus with the same implements and horses go over double the space that their neighbours do in the same time. Such is the power of custom even among peasantry not averse to improvement. The ease of the horses, of which they have a sovereign care, is the impediment to its adoption. They think it must be too much for them to work forwards, and return also, without rest.

*September 28.* — Sunday. Gigot sleeves, rumps, and ring lets! Where does the empire of fashion end? Not on the border of Lapland.

*September 29.* — Winter has surprised me. There was a sharp frost last night. The flies and the swallows are gone; and with them the prudent traveller should depart. I am not sorry, however, that winter has caught me in this part of Norway. I may contrive to pass it here, collecting, as I advance in the use of the language interesting information among a people living in social arrangements so different from ours. I have as yet seen but little of their real domestic condition, only the outside, I may say, of the country. The passing traveller is really very like the swallow, skimming over the land by day, roosting under the roofs by night, and returning home very little the wiser for his flight.

I may easily run back to Dronthiem and winter very comfortably. There is a good library, and the inn or house at which I lodged is comfortable; but I should there see nothing of the real state of the Norwegian people. A third-rate commercial town is the same sort of thing all the world over; clubs, and card parties,



and perhaps, although, as I have no letters of introduction, perhaps not, two or three great feasts in the course of the winter ; and then their blue and white cathedral staring you in the face in every street. A winter in Dronthiem does not please my fancy, like a winter here among these udallers, these children of partition.

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### CHAPTER III.

*Brusved Gaard.* — Polite Manners of the lower Classes. — Breed of Cattle. — Bible Society. — Potatoe Brandy. — Earthquakes in Norway. — Norwegian Constitution. — Storthing. — Qualifications. — Election Men. — Representation. — The Power of the Legislative. — Attempts to alter the Constitution defeated. — Amalgamation with Sweden not desirable. — Veto of the Executive suspensive only. — Constitutional Principles generally diffused. — The Press. — Newspapers. — Influence. — Free in Norway, not in Sweden.

*Brusved Gaard.* — I have lodged myself for the winter with a small proprietor, near the little town of Levanger. My landlord holds the office of lensman, of which the functions are, I understand, the collection of taxes, the execution of writs and orders of the executive authorities, and of all public business within the parish. The foged is the superior executive officer, and has several of these parishes in his district, and above him is the amtman, the highest officer of a district, which consists of several fodgeries. The judicial functions are distinct from the executive, and administered by judges called Sorenskrivers, who hold courts monthly in each parish. The court-room of this parish is in my landlord's house, so that I could not be in a better situation for seeing the business and mode of living of the country and the people : I live with the family ; and the traveller would be very fastidious who did not find himself very comfortable with them. I have only to regret the want of sufficient acquaintance with the language to converse with the many intelligent persons whom I meet. It is easy to gather the bundle of words in a foreign language that are necessary to procure what you want for yourself and your horse ; but a very different affair to converse with and understand educated men, especially on subjects like the peculiar institutions of a country and a state of society so different from those we are ac-



customed to. We have to acquire the ideas correctly, as well as the words.

Being stationary now for some time, I shall have little to enter in this journal but detached reflections.

I like the politeness of people towards each other in this country ; the pulling off hats or caps when they meet either strangers or friends. The custom is universal : common labourers, fishermen, private soldiers salute each other with a bow, and do not merely touch the hat, but take it off. This is carefully taught to the children, and even the school-boys bow to each other in the streets ; such a custom is not to be laughed at ; it has a humanising effect. The exterior form of good-will, although but a form, introduces a pause before any expression of ill-will or passion can be indulged. He who has made a bow and received a similar salute, is not so likely to launch out into a burst of abuse or violence, even against one who has offended him, as if the previous delay had not intervened. There is something good even in the forms of goodness ; and it is not unimportant, that, although only mechanical, they should be observed by the very lowest class in their ordinary intercourse.

The breed of cattle in Norway is fine boned, thin skinned, and kindly looking ; the colour generally white, sometimes mixed with red ; I have seen very few, if any, entirely black. The head and muzzle are as fine as in our Devonshire breed. There is so little coarseness about the head or neck of the bull, that the difference between him and the ox is less observable than in our breeds. These cattle are clearly of the same stock with the common unimproved breed which, with a few shades of difference, may be traced through the greater part of Britain, France, and Germany. I had expected to find the original stamp of our highland cattle, but have seen nothing resembling them in any one point, colour, pile, eye, horn, or shape. It is very singular, that a variety of domestic cattle so strongly marked should be confined to so small a locality as the Highlands of Scotland. The cattle here are very carefully attended, and form an important branch of the husbandry, as dairy produce enters much into the food of every family, and is more certain in this climate than that of grain. The cows, sheep, and goats, are more tame and docile than with us, from the constant *care and attendance* bestowed on them during the long period they *must stand within doors* ; partly, perhaps, also from the instinct *which in a country abounding in wolves makes the defenceless*

animals seek man for protection. The good disposition of the Norwegians has, I think, also some influence; they maltreat nothing. The inferior and timid animals, such as the sheep, seem to have confidence, and not to fly from them. The magpies hop about the houses in a half tame state, and are never pelted at by the children.

The gates across the public roads to prevent cattle from straying from one field to another, are often very annoying, as you have to alight in travelling almost at every twenty yards to open one, yet I never saw one of them wilfully injured, or even wantonly left open: the people have a fine disposition to injure nothing.

Being in want of books, and of a few other articles, which I could not find in our village, I went to town, that is, to Dronthiem, for a few days.

I was surprised on inquiring at the only bookseller's shop for a New Testament in the Norwegian tongue, to find that he kept none. I thought at first he had misunderstood me, but really found that he did not keep any of late years. As he understood German, I asked him how, in a population of 12,000 people, the only bookseller kept no stock of Testaments and Bibles. He said that country booksellers did not find it answer, as the Bible Society in London had once sent out a stock which was sold much lower than the trade could afford, and it was only after the Society's Bibles were sold that they could get clear of what they had on hand; hence they could not venture to keep any now. It is plain, if any benevolent society were to supply a parish with boots and shoes below prime cost, until all the shoemakers in the parish had turned to other employments, the parish would soon be barefooted, and that they would do more harm than good, unless they had funds to continue the supply for ever. This bookseller, a very respectable man, laid no stress upon the circumstance; but simply explained it, as he might have answered any other inquiry about books; and a bookbinder, whom I afterwards saw, gave me the same reason. Men of the first capacity are connected with our Societies for the distribution of the Scriptures, and it may well deserve their consideration, whether such distributions may not in the long run do more harm than good. If the ordinary mode of supplying human wants, by affording a fair remuneration to those who bring *an article to where it is wanted*, be invaded, they may be interfering with, and stopping up, the natural channels by which society *ust in the long run be supplied with religious books.*

I went to see the process of distilling brandy from potatoes in a small work in Dronthiem. The potatoes are first washed quite clean, then steamed, and crushed between two cylinders. They are then in the state of pulp, or soup; which is run off into vats to ferment along with a small proportion of malt. I found that to eight barrels of potatoes, equal to four imperial quarters, they used in this distillery two vogs, equal to seventy-two pounds weight, of good malt. The fermentation requires generally three days, and is produced by yeast: the process then goes on as in our stills. The produce from this quantity of potatoes and malt varies much, according to the quality of the former. From eight to twelve, and even sixteen pots, each pot four-fifteenths of a gallon, is the usual return from one ton or barrel, viz. half a quarter of potatoes. Every farmer is entitled to distil the produce of his own farm; and pays a trifling licence duty, if he buys potatoes and distils as a trader. A still is kept on every farm, not merely for the sake of the spirits, of which the consumption in a family is very great, but for the refuse or wash to the cattle. The spirit is distilled twice for the use of the family, and flavoured with aniseed. It is strong and fiery, but not harsh or ill-tasted. What has been only once distilled has not so raw and unpleasant a taste as new whiskey. The Norwegian gentry seem to prefer it as a dram, when twice distilled, to Cognac brandy. I never saw it mixed with water. The best French brandy is so cheap, that punch, which is the liquor generally handed about in parties, is never made of any other spirit. Very good ale is brewed in gentlemen's families; but in many districts it has a tartness caused by the admixture of oats with the bear. A crop of half oats and half bear is very common in places subject to early frosts, from an idea that when these occur, one kind of grain is not so readily injured as another, and something may always be got from the ground.

Since I was last in Dronthiem, a distinct shock of earthquake was felt there along the coast, and in the islands to the north, on the 3d September; and one on the 17th September, in the islands to the south. I have no great faith in our country earthquakes in England. One old woman fancies she felt the house shake: and all the old women of both sexes, for twenty miles round, make it a point of honour not to have been behind in their observation. But I have no doubt of these Norwegian earthquakes, because the same newspaper contains letters from places which could have had no

communication with each other, mentioning the circumstances, and agreeing in the time. A correspondent of the *Morgenblad* newspaper, who has kept a register of the weather for many years, says he reckons seven distinct earthquakes in Norway since 1797.\* This will be interesting news to some theorists in geology. He gives a very plausible reason for shocks of an inconsiderable kind being so little noticed. A person touching the earth only by the superficies of the soles of his shoes, or by the points of contact of the wheels of his cariole, may not be sensible of a very considerable vibration of the ground, while one standing on a wooden floor which touches the ground over a superficies of perhaps six hundred square feet, is sensible of the slightest vibration. I have already observed that it is impossible to look at the features of this country,—its fiords and its valleys, at right angles to each other,—its inland perpendicular cliffs, with others facing them, and no back country to throw down a body of water to have excavated the space between,—without being impressed with the idea that at some period this surface has been torn, and raised, and depressed by earthquakes.

The Norwegian people enjoy a greater share of political liberty, have the framing and administering of their own laws more entirely in their own hands, than any European nation of the present times. I shall attempt to give a brief outline of their constitution. The Parliament, or *Storthing*, is elected and assembled once in three years, and sits for three months, or until the business is despatched. A special or extraordinary *Storthing*† may be summoned in the interval, if extraordinary circumstances, as the death

\* Earthquakes are recorded to have been felt in Dronthiem on the 18th July, 1686, and on the 1st April, 1692. On the 14th September, 1344, the river Guul disappeared in the earth, and on its bursting out again destroyed forty-eight farms, and above 250 persons. This event is supposed to be that referred to by Arugrim Joneæus, in *Crymogæa sive Rerum Islandicarum libri III.*, p. 130., in mentioning the earthquake which took place in that island in 1339:—*Eodem temporis momento in Norwegia terræ motus rura et habitationes rusticos quinquaginta evertisse scribitur, in loco qui vocatur Guularaas*: although the dates of the events do not correspond. The disappearance of the river, or some other remarkable phenomenon in this Guul valley, appears to have taken place *eodem temporis momento* with the earthquake in Iceland. — *Kraft's Beskrivelse over Kongeriget Norge.*

† An extraordinary *Storthing* consists of the same members as the previous ordinary *Storthing*. There is no new election; but the extraordinary cannot, like the ordinary *Storthing*, initiate any legislative measure. It can only discuss the matters laid before it by the Executive.

of the sovereign, war, or peace, should require it, but its power do not extend to any alteration in the laws or constitution. Each Storthing settles the taxes for the ensuing three years; enacts, repeals, or alters laws; opens loans on the credit of the state; fixes the appropriation and administration of the revenue: grants the fixed sums to be applied to the different branches of expenditure — the establishments of the king, the viceroy, or members of the royal family; revises all pay and pension lists, and all civil and clerical promotions, and makes such alterations as it deems proper in any interim grants made since the former Storthing. It also regulates the currency, appoints five revisors, who shall every year examine all accounts of Government, and publish printed abstracts of them. There are laid before it verified copies of all treaties, and the minutes of all public departments, excepting those of the highest military command. The Storthing impeaches and tries before a division of its own body all ministers of state, judges, and also its own members. Besides these great and controlling powers, fixed by the ground-law, as it is called, passed and agreed to by the king and nation on the 17th May, 1814, the Storthing receives the oaths of the king on coming of age or ascending the throne, or of any regents appointed during a minority; and in case of a failure of the royal line, it could proceed, as in 1814, to elect, in conjunction with Sweden, a new dynasty. This body, when elected, divides itself into two houses; the whole Storthing choosing from among its members one-fourth, who constitute the Lagthing, or upper house; their functions resembling those of our House of Lords, deliberative, and judicial in cases of impeachment; the other three-fourths constitute the Odelsting, or House of Commons; and all proposed enactments must initiate in the two divisions united in one house. A counsellor of state may on the part of the executive give in writing any proposals for new laws, but has no vote; and the initiative of laws is not vested in government alone, either in theory or practice, although it has manifested a strong desire, ever since this constitution began to operate, to obtain the abrogation of this part of the ground-law, but without success. In addition to these extensive legislative and controlling powers, the Storthing enjoys a right not known in any other European monarchy. After a bill has been passed in the Storthing or united houses, it is sent to the Lagthing or upper house, where it is deliberated upon, and passed, *rejected*, or sent back with amendments to the lower house, nearly



as in our two houses of Parliament; it then requires the sanction of the king to become law. But if a bill has passed through both divisions in three successive Storthings, on the third occasion it becomes the law of the land without the royal assent. The ground-law, sworn to between the king and the people in 1814, fixes and defines this right so distinctly, that it cannot be got over, without overturning that compact. It presumes that, if, during six successive years, the nation by its representatives three times declares a measure beneficial, the king's ministers must be wrong, and the nation right. This right has not remained dormant. The abolition of hereditary nobility in Norway was made law by its exercise. This legislative body is elected in the following way.

Every native Norwegian of twenty-five years of age, who has been for five years owner or life-renter of land paying scat or tax, who is a burgher of any town, or possesses there a house or land to the value of 150 dollars (30*l.*), is entitled to elect and to be elected: but for this last privilege, he must be not under thirty years of age, must have resided for ten years in Norway, and must neither be in any department of the state or court, nor on the pension list, nor in the counting-house or bureau of any officer of the state, or of the court.

The country is divided into election districts, corresponding to the *amts* or counties, and sub-districts, corresponding to the *parishes*. Registers of the qualified voters in each sub-district are kept by the minister, and also by the *foged* or *baillie*. Each town with 150 voters makes a sub-district: but if the number of voters is under 150, it must be joined to the nearest town. In or before the month of December of each third year, the electors or voters assemble in the parish church, and proceed, after the constitution and ground-laws are read, to choose their election-men, in such proportions, that in towns one is chosen from among themselves for every fifty voters. In the country, every 100 voters, or under, the sub-district contain only a smaller number, elect one; from 100 to 200 voters elect two; from 200 to 300 voters elect three; and so on. In case an election-man, from sickness or other cause, cannot attend the district meeting, he who had the next number of votes is his substitute. In towns within eight days, and in the country within a month, after these election-men are chosen, they assemble at the place appointed for the district or county election; and there elect from among themselves, or from among the other

qualified voters in the district, the representatives to parliament or Storting, in such proportion that for towns one-fourth of the number of election-men are chosen ; that is, from three to six elect one, from seven to ten two, from eleven to fourteen three, and from fifteen to eighteen four representatives, which is the greatest number any town can send to Storting. In the country one-tenth is the number any district is entitled to send. From five to fourteen election-men elect one, from fifteen to twenty-four two, from twenty-five to thirty-four three ; and above that number four, that being the greatest number any district or county can send. These proportions are founded on the principle, that the towns in Norway should, as nearly as possible, return one-third, and the country two-thirds, of the whole body, which should not consist of under seventy-five, nor above one hundred members.

The Storting meets on the first business day of February, and continues its session until April 30. All the meetings now described take place *suo jure*, by the terms of the constitution ; and not under any writ or proclamation from the king. An extraordinary Storting, convened by royal authority, can only pass interim acts, until the next regular Storting, by which they must be ratified in order to continue in force. The election and meeting of the regular body cannot be postponed or controlled in any way by the executive power, and do not depend on any shape on its co-operation. This is really the Magna Charta of Norway. Its constitution, containing such safeguards for the political liberty of the people, was formed with wonderful celerity. The states assembled for the purpose by order of the Viceroy, Prince Frederic-Christian of Denmark, held their first meeting on the 10th of April, 1814, and on the 12th a committee was appointed to prepare it. This committee was so prompt, that next morning it was ready with the principles of a constitution, which the Assembly took into deliberation until the 16th, and on the 30th of April, the constitution was on the table, and on the 17th of May was ratified by the Assembly of the States.

When one looks back to the universal delirium about political liberty, which had seized the European mind in 1790, and affected the mode of thinking of almost every individual in every country, it seems not a little extraordinary that almost the only result which approaches in reality to the theories of that period, has been *the Norwegian constitution*. Prince Frederic of Denmark having

from the sovereignty, and the union of Norway and Sweden as two independent kingdoms having followed, the same union was received by the late Swedish monarch, as the compact between him and his successors on the one part, and the people of Norway on the other, on the 4th November, 1814. It was sanctioned by the Allied Powers, and sworn to by the late king of Sweden, when Crown Prince; and again on his accession to the throne, and on his coronation in the cathedral of Dronthiem. It is the most regular and formal compact ever entered into by a people and a king; because there were no previously acquired rights of conquest or inheritance, on the part of the sovereign, and no allegiance due on the part of the people.

When the excitement of the great events of the years 1814 and 1815 subsided, and monarchs and their ministers began to look to their own affairs, it was soon perceived by the cabinet at Stockholm that Sweden had lost in Finland a valuable province, and had not gained one in Norway. Nothing was talked of but the union of the two nations; and this became the favourite topic of the Swedish court. If there be any meaning in the word union, it must be to render Norway an integral part of the kingdom of Sweden, governed by the same laws, with the same constitution, and subject to the same taxes. It was forgotten by the Swedish ministry, that the very structure of society and polity in the two countries is founded on totally different principles: the one on the feudal, and in the other on the udal principle; so that if both desired it, they could not assimilate their institutions without such a total subversion of all social arrangements and property in one or other, as would exceed the most violent revolution of modern times. The Swedish legislative body consists of nobility, clergy, burgesses of towns, and peasantry, sitting in distinct chambers, and voting by chambers, at a general assembly, to give to a legislative body or diet, so constituted, the power to impose taxes and frame laws affecting the property of a subject, having no representatives in such a diet, and no similar representation of the community in its social structure, could not be tolerated by the most arbitrary government, in an age when property, especially in a commercial country connected with others as Sweden, must be respected. To find in Norway what was lost in Finland, was no doubt the object of the Swedish cabinet; and it was considered that in Sweden and Finland together, before



the disjunction of the two countries, there were reckoned 1500 noble families in a population of 3,000,000, or one in four hundred, and each noble family had to seek for one or more of its members an office or function yielding a subsistence suitable to their rank, it is not difficult to understand what was sought for in Norway. That country had for four centuries been a kind of nursery for the Danish court, in which the young nobility and candidates for office found appointments and a living, until they could be provided for at home. It was forgotten that Norway could not be amalgamated in this sense, and her native administration transferred to Swedish functionaries and bureaux at the court of Stockholm, without a deliberate breach of one of the most solemn compacts ever entered into; without a breach of faith which would be deemed infamous through all generations. It was forgotten, too, that however advantageous such an amalgamation might be to the Swedish nobility or nation, it was adverse to the true interests and wise policy of the family on the throne. Since the year 1560, that is, in the course of 275 years, the Swedish nation has made away with five sovereigns: viz. in 1568, Eric XIV. deposed and imprisoned; in 1599, Sigismund driven from the throne; in 1718, Charles XII. killed, and, as now generally believed, by the hand of an assassin; in 1792, Gustavus III. assassinated; in 1809, Gustavus IV. de-throned. The reigning dynasty should wish to avert, as far as human prudence can, the recurrence of such calamities, by acquiring an independent stronghold to fall back upon; a distinct kingdom, in which the political circumstances which may in the course of human affairs agitate the Swedish nation, should not necessarily find a corresponding feeling. If the ex-king Gustavus IV. had possessed such a resource, it may be doubted whether the exclusion of his dynasty from the Swedish throne would have been so complete and permanent. Norway, as Norway is, as a nation beginning its independent existence with a new dynasty, whence it dates all the prosperity and good government enjoyed under a constitution which it justly and enthusiastically cherishes, is of a value vitally important to the present reigning family, should foreign wars or domestic troubles ever shake the Swedish throne. It appears, then like infatuation, to endeavour to amalgamate this country with Sweden; to separate the king's name in Norway from that pride in the national independence, and that enthusiasm for the constitution, which are the ruling feelings in every Norwegian mind.

dynasty scarcely warm in the regal seat cannot expect from its subjects, in the present age, the same kind of affection and loyalty which is hereditary, as it were, in the European mind, towards the more ancient and historical dynasties. These sentiments are not less ardent or less efficient, but of a more rational character. They are founded on compact, — on benefits given and received. The people and the sovereign of the new dynasties are two solemnly contracting parties; and it is upon the reason, not upon the senses, of mankind, that the power of new monarchs is founded. It was the mistake of all the Buonapartean dynasties, that the new monarchs wished to be old monarchs; and it was not in human nature that they should be so considered by their subjects. Men who twenty years before had pulled on their own boots and breeches, added nothing to the stability of their power by surrounding themselves with all the attendance, etiquette, and pomp of sovereigns born and bred to royalty. They neglected that bond with their subjects of rational and mutual support in their respective rights, on which alone constitutional power can be founded, and attempted to reign on the principle which the old dynasties in this age find scarcely sufficient. The Norwegian people did not at all enter into the views of the Swedish ministry. They were beginning to flourish under the wise legislation of their Storthings. They were paying off their national debt, diminishing their taxes, controlling the expenditure of their own revenue, and applying it only to objects within their own country. Trade, agriculture, fisheries, mines, and the national bank of Norway, were all prospering; and the nation was happy, and enthusiastically fond of its constitution. This was not a period to talk of amalgamation with a country notoriously in a bankrupt state, its currency depreciated, its legislation in the hands of a privileged order of needy and dissipated nobility and of time-serving clergy. Sweden is still under its ancient regime; while Norway is practically in advance of the age in the enjoyment of institutions favourable to political liberty.

The attempt to introduce measures of amalgamation was begun at the meeting of the Storting of 1821. It is fixed, as before stated, that the executive power has not a final veto, but only a suspensive faculty, till the law is passed by three successive Storthings. It had been proposed and passed in both chambers of the Storting of 1815, to abolish hereditary nobility for ever in Norway. The feeble remains of this class were of foreign, and

almost all of very recent, origin ; and, with few exceptions, had property to maintain a dignified station in society. Owing to the law of the division of land among the children, large estates entailed upon the possessor of the family title, could not exist ; and a body of titled and privileged persons could only subsist as placemen or pensioners. The royal assent was refused to the proposed enactment in 1815, and again in 1818, when it passed through the second Storting. In 1821, if it passed through the third Storting, it would become law, with or without the royal assent. Every means was used to induce this Storting to abandon the measure. It was considered the struggle which was to decide the future existence of the Norwegian constitution. The king repaired to Christiania. Four thousand Swedish, with two thousand Norwegian, troops were marched to the neighbourhood of that city, and it was reported that they were furnished with ball cartridges as if in an enemy's country. The irritation was extreme. At this critical moment, when the Swedish cabinet was on the point of sacrificing their sovereign's coronation oath, and his future reputation, and of kindling a civil war in the Scandinavian peninsula, the Russian minister at the court of Stockholm, and the American chargé d'affaires, unexpectedly drove into the city of Christiania. Their sudden appearance, the altered tone of the Government, and the withdrawing of the troops, gave rise to reports that the powers had interfered in favour of Norway. It is extremely probable that Russia, having, in conjunction with the Allied Powers, guaranteed the articles of the constitution formed at the union of the two kingdoms in 1814, might interpose in support of the guarantee. She might do so the more heartily, because it was in her interest that Sweden should derive any additional strength from such an amalgamation. It is probable that the interference of the United States of America was not official ; although the appearance of their minister was useful to Norway, by showing the sympathy felt for a people about to struggle for the preservation of rights solemnly guaranteed to them. The Swedish cabinet gave way. The Storting passed the measure for abolishing hereditary nobility for the third time ; it became law ; and Norway remained a democracy, federally united with the monarchy of Sweden.

The concession was made with an ill grace. A proposition was immediately made to the Storting, in sixteen articles, tending to effect an entire change in the constitution. If that constitution

was adopted in haste, it had not been hastily framed. It bears in every provision the mark of profound deliberation, and the most careful consideration of every possible circumstance which might affect its stability. The hand of power may overturn it violently; but it is not to be shaken by any action within itself which human foresight could have provided against. One of the fundamental principles or ground-laws is, that an enactment which affects its existing form cannot be passed by the same Storthing in which it is introduced. It must be propounded in one regular and ordinary Storthing, and must stand over for decision in the next, after an interval of three years; and as there exists not merely a toleration of the freedom of the press, but the printed publication of all proceedings of Storthing is made imperative, the nation can never remain in ignorance, or send representatives uninstructed as to any such proposal. The propositions laid before the Storthing, to be considered and adopted by that of 1824, appear to have been hastily drawn up, and ill adapted to the existing state of property and social relations in the country. Of this nature was the establishment of an hereditary nobility, the power to be vested in the king of removing all public functionaries from place to place, and of depriving them of office (judges excepted) *ad libitum*. An hereditary nobility could not exist along with the udal law, by which all land and other property is governed; and by which estates, and titles themselves, if they were a beneficial property, must first go to the survivor of the two parents, and then be divided among the children. The Danish government, although feudally constituted, and invested with an absolute legislative power, never was able, during nearly 400 years, to make a nearer approach to the establishment of a feudal nobility, than to empower such large landholders as chose, to entail their estates, or settle them *in fidei commissa* on the heirs to the titles they possessed, or might obtain; and so little was this power valued, so little analogy had it to the way of thinking and spirit of the people, that at the end of 400 years an entailed estate, or one taken out of the *odelsbaarn-ret*, and placed upon the footing of a feudal property, was scarcely to be found in Norway. The proposition that functionaries should be removable at the pleasure of the executive power, was equally incompatible with the state of society in Norway. It is probably a remnant of the state of things when the Hanseatic towns possessed a predominant influence there, that almost all trades and profes-

sions, both in the towns and country districts, are exercised by privilege. The lawyer, the apothecary, the inn-keeper, the retail shop-keeper, the wholesale dealer, the fishcurer, the shipmaster; in short, those in every calling exercise it by a privilege empowering them to do so in their peculiar districts; and these persons might, under this law, be included as functionaries, or embedsmænd, and be removable from place to place, or be deprived of their functions or privileges at the pleasure of government. By the udal law, also, the property of a deceased person is taken charge of by a public functionary, the sorenskryver, to be divided among the heirs; thus the property of his whole district, by the course of mortality, comes in trust for a time under his official charge. The highest respectability, and independence, and minute local knowledge, are required in such functionaries. To make them removable at the pleasure of ministers residing in Stockholm was evidently not a proposition founded upon any due knowledge of the business of the country. The other propositions were, to give the King an absolute veto on all acts of Storthing; to give his ministers alone the right of initiative, or of proposing laws; to limit the business of the Storthing to such acts as the King should submit to it, before other business could be taken up; to give the King the nomination of the presidents and secretaries of the two chambers of Storthing; in short, to reduce that assembly to a mere form, similar to the states in some of the smaller German principalities. It could not be seriously expected that a nation would abandon constitutional rights under which it was flourishing and contented, and which were the conditions upon which the King received the Norwegian crown. The next Storthing, in 1824, took into consideration these propositions, and appointed a committee to report upon them. The report of this committee is perhaps the most able paper that has emanated from a legislative body in our times. It never, in a single expression, loses the respectful and proper spirit due to propositions coming from the sovereign; while it leaves not a single principle upon which the proposed alterations are founded unexamined. It overturns, one by one, the reasons given for them; and does so with such coolness, temper, and apparent absence of all feeling but that of investigating and referring to the principles of the constitution, that it may justly be held as a model of a state paper. The Storthing unanimously adopted the report of its committee, and rejected



each of the alterations in the ground-law of the constitution proposed by the King's ministers.\*

The advantages, even to the sovereign power itself, of a free representative constitution were strongly marked during these transactions. The late monarch was never blamed, his popularity was never diminished, the loyalty and affectionate respect of his people were never in the slightest degree shaken even among the most ignorant of the community, by events which, under a government differently constituted, might have kindled an excitement in the public mind injurious to the royal authority, and, perhaps, to the peace of the country. The nation was already imbued with that first principle of all representative government—that the ministers are alone responsible for acts done in the name of the King. It was perfectly understood throughout Norway that, in an aristocratical country, like Sweden, the monarch cannot always choose his ministers. Only a limited number of individuals have the family connexion, influence, and power, to carry on the machinery of such an aristocratic government; and among these few, the chance is small of finding men acquainted with the state of society and property in a nation destitute of nobility. The confidence of the Norwegians in the judgment and character of their late sovereign was unlimited; and they were not deceived. When the real state of any point of national interest had been developed, and it is to be remembered, that every measure had to go through two foreign languages, the Swedish and French, before it can come to the late King's understanding, he invariably took the right and liberal course. With ministers, who from their rank and station in Sweden, from being bred up in a totally different system of social arrangement, and perhaps, too, from the prejudice of caste, were supremely ignorant of the state and feeling of their high spirited neighbours, it is wonderful with what prudence and tact he struck in when needful, and prevented violent collision. The reign of Carl Johan will be a fine theme for the future historian, when time has unlocked the secrets of cabinets, and given to the world the hidden springs of state measures.

The Norwegian constitution, since these transactions, has gained strength by repose. Its principles have been unfolded and fixed

\* Constitutions Committeens Indstillinger angaaende de paa 3 ordentlige Stortinge fremsatte Constitutions forslag der vare udsatte til afgiørelse paa det 4 ordentlige Storting. 1824.

by practice ; in successive Storthings men of great legal eminence have directed their attention to its development. It has outlived that dangerous period in the existence of a free constitution, when first principles and natural rights are referred to and reasoned upon. The constitutional or ground-law, as it stands, its expressions and meaning in each clause, are alone referred to, in explaining or discussing political points. The commentary on it by Stang is a work conceived and executed in this spirit ; and is deservedly held in high estimation as a model of close reasoning.

The liberty of the press is one of the articles of the ground-law. It is free for every man to print and publish what he pleases. There cannot consequently be any censorship, or any suppression of publications. But every man is responsible for what he chooses to publish. For treason or blasphemy he is amenable to public justice ; but the ground-law defines that to constitute the offence, it must be open and intentional. Defamation or libel also on private character must be *open, intentional, and false*, to constitute the offence.

The state of the periodical press in a country gives a true measure of the social condition of the people, of their intelligence, their ripeness for constitutional privileges, and even of their domestic comforts. The newspapers, since I came here, have been my principal and most instructive reading. In Norway there are upwards of twenty ; but some only give the advertisements and official notices of the province or town in which they appear : even these are not without interest to a stranger. It is curious to see what is to be sold or bought, and all the various transactions announced in an advertising newspaper. Of those which give also the foreign and domestic news, the most extensive circulation appears enjoyed by a daily paper called the *Morgen Blad*, published in Christiania. The cost of a daily paper sent by post is seven dollars, or about 28s. sterling, yearly. There is no duty on newspapers ; and as there are six or seven published in Christiania alone, this price is probably as low as competition can make it. In paper and type, this journal is superior to any French or German one that I have seen ; and its articles of foreign news, and its editorial paragraphs, are often written with great ability. From the importance attached in all these newspapers to little local affairs, it is evident that the mass of the people, not merely an



educated few, are the consumers. There being no tax on advertisements, the most trifling matter is announced, and a publisher appears to have a kind of brokerage trade at his counting-house, and to be empowered to sell or buy for parties, or at least to bring buyers and sellers together. I have seen it advertised, with a reference to the editor's counting-house, that there was a turkey cock to be sold, a cow in calf wanted, and such trifles as show, that the class to whom they are no trifles, read and have the benefit of newspapers.

The most entire freedom of discussion exists. Public men and measures are handled freely, but I cannot say injuriously or indecorously. The Norwegian newspapers, and especially their numerous correspondents, are much occupied with objects of local interest, and keep a watchful eye over the conduct of men in office, from the lensman of a parish to a minister of state. No neglect or abuse passes unseen and unnoticed; and if the accusation, even of an anonymous correspondent, appears well founded, the highest functionary feels himself morally obliged to bend to public opinion, and explain the transaction. If he is unjustly or unreasonably blamed, he finds pens drawn in his defence without trouble to himself. The public functionaries have been made to feel that they are the servants, not the masters, of the public. Under the absolute government of Denmark, although authority was mildly and judiciously exercised, the functionary naturally felt himself the delegate of the master. The interest or accommodation of the public was a secondary consideration. The old functionaries, bred in this school, cannot understand the influence of public opinion, and feel rather awkward when summoned before this tribunal, perhaps by an anonymous writer, to answer for real and obvious errors in their official conduct. The temperate but firm spirit with which these controversies are carried on, the absence of any outrage on the private feelings of public men, even when their public conduct is attacked or exposed, do honour to the good taste and good sense of the nation, and prove that a press as free as that of the United States, may exist without scurrility or brutal violation of the sanctity of private life. Such newspapers as the American people read would not find editors or readers in this country. The people are advanced beyond that state, in which nothing is intelligible to them that is not mixed up with party and personal feelings. This sound state of the public mind, and of the

press, may be ascribed in a great measure to the influence of the leading newspapers.

The only restriction which the executive government attempts to exercise on the periodical press—and the attempt shows a great want of tact—is that some conceived to be in a strain friendly to the views of government are allowed by special royal permission to be sent free of postage, whilst others, without such permission, must pay that tax. It was proposed in the last Storthing, that all periodical publications should be allowed a free circulation through the post-office; and the measure was only negatived by a small majority, for a reason that does honour to the Storthing. They had already voted the post-office revenue *in toto*, as part of the ways and means applicable during the ensuing three years to the purposes to which the executive government applies this branch of revenue. The majority then did not consider it fair to burden, or render less productive, any branch of these ways and means, by conditions not contemplated when previously voted. They have shown themselves thus a right-thinking, fair-dealing people. It is not doubted that the next Storthing will burden the post-office with the free conveyance of all newspapers before granting its revenue. It seems, therefore, ill judged to make a matter of favour of what will probably soon be made a matter of right.

In Sweden, the press is under a very strict censorship. It is somewhat amusing to see published in the Norwegian newspapers the articles for which, in the sister kingdom, the publisher has been prosecuted, his newspaper suppressed, his business, and the bread of many depending on it, interrupted, as if the peace of empires had been violated; yet here the same articles are, as matter of course, given at large, commented on, circulated, read, and forgotten, without producing the slightest ill consequence. Prosecutions at the instance of government have been attempted, as in other countries, against the editors of newspapers; but the ground-law is distinct, as to what constitutes an actionable offence against church, state, or individuals, in printed and published matter; and a peculiar principle in the jurisprudence of this country, which I shall endeavour to explain at another time, makes the judge responsible for, and obliged to defend, as a party, the correctness of his legal decision before the Supreme Court, and that court, a constituent part of the state, independent both of *the executive and legislative*, rendering it impossible, which it is

haps, in Great Britain, that judges, in their decisions upon offences, should be swayed by political feelings and party. Such prosecutions have, accordingly, in every instance, terminated in this country on the most impartial principles, and leaning either towards government or towards popular

as newspapers, there are a considerable number of periodical and occasional works published. There is a Penny Magazine of great circulation; the matter, and even the plates, I take, or borrowed, from its English namesake; and there is a weekly magazine upon the same cheap plan. There are also monthly journals on literary, antiquarian, agricultural, and many subjects; and in almost every newspaper there is the element of some new work or translation. This gives a false impression of the advance of the mind in this country. Literature that can be strictly called Norwegian may not as yet be of a very high class, compared to the standard works of other countries; but there are attempts which at last may reach the mark, — and literature is but young in Norway.

#### CHAPTER IV.

Representations. — Holberg. — Winter. — Sledge-Driving. — Snow-  
— Laplanders. — Reindeer Venison. — Reindeer Farming — Ex-  
Weddings. — Betrothals. — Checks on Population. — Housemen —  
Orphan Children. Their Condition in Norway. — Light and Darkness  
— Sublime. — English Poor-Rates. — Use of Coal instead of Wood  
— Effect on the Condition of the Poor. — Family Room or Hall  
Norwegian House in the Morning. — State of Manners among the  
— Forms of Politeness. — Station of the Female Sex in Society. —  
Employments. — Small Estates. — Number of Landholders in Scot-  
land Norway compared. — The Effect on the Condition of the Females  
— Small Estates — Berend Island. — Coals. — White Bears. — The  
— Sobriety. — Crimes. — Yule. — Norwegian Entertainments. — Ar-  
— A Sledge Party. — Ease and Uniformity of Living. — Norwegian  
— Incomes. — Education. — No Dissent. — Confirmation. — Sun-  
— Observance in the Lutheran Church. — Educated Labourers in  
— in a worse Condition than Uneducated. — Remedy.

October, 1834. — The Norwegians are fond of theatrical  
representations. They are in that state of mental culture in which

the drama flourishes. In the modern state of society in Europe it has lost its importance ; and the present generation, when reading the works of writers of the last age, can scarcely comprehend, how men of sense should then have treated it as an important national object, exercising an extensive influence on the morals and character of a people. This influence was probably always over-rated. In the days of Louis XIV. the court, and the city in which it resided, were considered, both in France and in other countries, to be the only intellectual part of the nation, where the soul of the people was centred ; and the interest excited there was supposed to extend through the most remote ramifications of society. Yet it must, even at that period, have appeared a ridiculous assumption, that dramatic representations, witnessed, perhaps, by some ten or twelve hundred individuals frequenting the theatres in the capital, could have such vast influence on the morals or character of the nation. The truth seems to be, that such representations afford a kind of intellectual enjoyment to the uneducated, who without it would perhaps remain in a state of mental torpor ; and therefore it was, in a certain stage of society, a valuable means of civilisation, or of cultivating the public intellect, so far as it extended ; not from the influence of any morality or wisdom inculcated by the drama, but because it furnished intellectual enjoyment at a period when there was no other. It withdrew at least a small portion of the people of a few towns, for a small portion of their time, from ordinary occupations and mere physical enjoyment. In proportion to the diffusion of education, and of the means and pleasure of reading, the demand for the pleasure of scenic representation necessarily declined, and became confined to a smaller portion of the public ; to that portion which can only follow written ideas with some difficulty and without any amusement. Rare talent in an actor collects crowded audiences, even at the present day ; but it is to witness the art of the representation, not the matter represented. The quantity and quality of the amusement furnished by our periodical publications and our novels at a vastly cheaper rate, account sufficiently for the decline in the demand for theatrical amusement. Excitement more intellectual, of longer endurance, and more easily accessible, may be had for a shilling by a person of ordinary reading habits, in the shape of a periodical work, than he could obtain for five shillings in the best appointed theatre that ever existed. It is thus a proof of only a moderate advance in

mental culture among a people, when their theatres are very flourishing. It is in Italy, in Austria, in Denmark, in Norway, and in the great commercial towns, Hamburgh, Liverpool, or Bordeaux, that theatres are well attended; and not generally in England, Scotland, or France. The Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, and Blackwood's Magazine, have emptied the benches of Covent Garden and Drury Lane, and ruined all country theatres in England and Scotland. In Norway, although the national literature is rich in Danish works of the highest merit, books are scarce, owing to the expense and difficulty of transmission. The drama holds, therefore, a high place. Besides the public theatres, there are societies of amateur performers in all the towns. There is even in this village, of five or six hundred inhabitants, a party sufficient to attempt the representation of short dramatic pieces. This shows that the middle class are at their ease, and possess leisure.

Holberg is the oldest and most prolific of their dramatic writers. He was a native of Bergen, and died about the middle of the last century. His comedies, especially the shorter ones in three acts, are full of life and bustle; and many would require very little adaptation to act well on our stage. He was the first who gave impulse to Danish literature. For the quantity and variety of his writings, and his influence on the literature of his country, he is compared by the Danish critics to Voltaire; but there is something more required than quantity, variety, and influence in the literature of Denmark to make a Voltaire.

*November 14.*—Winter is come: the snow falls incredibly fast. The whole cloud seems to come down at once upon the land; and in a few hours everything but trees and houses and precipices is brought to one common level. Sledges are jingling in all directions; the horses have bells on the harness, such as are used in a waggon harness in the west of England. All the world seems gay, and enjoying the sledge-driving as if it were a novelty to them. There is some peculiar pleasure in the uniform smooth motion of sledging, skating, sailing, swinging, or moving in any way over a smooth surface. We see sailor boys, by themselves, enjoy the pleasure of this motion in a sailing boat on smooth water; the novelty can make no part of the pleasure to them; and parrots and monkeys appear to have pleasure in swinging. Sledging is horse-power applied to skates. Of our English or Dutch skates I



see very little use made, even by the children ; and the nature of the country, with the quantity of snow, must make our kind of skating an amusement not generally enjoyed. But snow skating is going on briskly, at every farmhouse, with young and old. The snow skates are slips of light thin wood, about the breadth of one's foot, and about six feet long, gently curving upwards at each end. There is a loop in the middle, into which the foot is slipped. On flat ground the skater shuffles along pretty well, much better than he could walk, as his feet do not sink in the snow. Up hill he has slow and fatiguing work, and on hard snow and steep ground would slip backward, but for the resistance of the hair of a piece of hide which is bound under the skate in climbing steep ascents. Down the mountain he flies like an arrow. He has only to guide his flight with a pole, so as not to run over a precipice. It seems to require great dexterity and practice to run well on these snow skates. On a road with the ordinary variety of surface, a good skater will beat a horse in a sledge. There was formerly a militia regiment of these snow skaters, consisting of the young men who lived nearest the Fjelde, and were accustomed for eight months of the year to this exercise. It was dropped, as the only peculiar service of such a corps, that of conveying orders as estaffettes, is one for which every common soldier bred in the district was equally fit. The Laplanders begin to make their appearance on snow skates. A family of them came sailing down the hill the other day to our village, the men trailing little sledges, with their children and goods packed in them : they came to sell reindeer skins, which are used as coverlets of beds by the common people, and for mittens, and fur boots, and to beg and get drunk. At the great fairs held in this place in December and March, a considerable quantity of the staple article of their products, frozen joints of reindeer venison, is sold to the inhabitants of the lower districts. Every family lays in a considerable stock, which will keep sweet for several months, and is the best meat which the country produces. The beef and mutton, although small and fine grained, are not in general fed for the butcher, and not good after the cattle are housed. Poultry are not numerous, partly because there is no waste or spilt grain for them, partly because a woodcock or capercailzie at 48 skillings or 1s. 6d. sterling, a woodhen at 16 skillings or 6d. sterling, a Ptarmigan at 10 skillings or 4d. sterling (and these are the town prices), make cheaper and better food. At and after

Christmas reindeer venison is the only good meat, and is the principal dish at all entertainments. These animals form, therefore, a valuable stock ; and at present one is worth between four and five dollars, which is more than a third of the price of a good cow. When one considers that it would be easy to draw a line through this peninsula of eight or nine hundred English miles in length, by an average breadth of fifty, with scarcely any interruption from cultivation ; and which space produces such a valuable stock, with pasture fitted to it, and within reach of markets for its sale ; one cannot help asking the question, whether such an immense and evidently not worthless territory can possibly be turned to the best account, for human wants, and to the country to which it belongs, in the hands of about 6000 Laplanders (for this is supposed to be their total number), actuated by no motives but the love of brandy and the fear of the wolf. A century ago, the Highlands of Scotland, which now contribute so large a supply of animal food to the community, were less valuable than this tract is now. A sheep stock, the Fjelde probably never could carry to advantage ; but surely, intelligent active men like our Scotch shepherds, studying the nature of the domesticated reindeer, and obtaining extensive and defined pasturages for them, would learn to turn them to better account. As practical shepherds, these poor Laplanders are so imbecile that they will not shoot the wolf, which in one night may tear a flock to pieces, but seek only to frighten or fly from him ; and not from cowardice, since they will shoot the bear, but from a superstitious prejudice. As flocks both of rein and red deer exist wild in the Fjelde, the devastation of the wolf on tame flocks, properly attended, cannot be so destructive as to prevent reindeer-farming from being carried on like sheep-farming in the Highlands of Scotland. The Laplanders pay a trifling scat or rent to the Crown, according to the number of the flock. I have heard of 1500, and even in one instance of 4000 head, as belonging to one person.

*November, 1834.* — The family I lodge with went to a wedding some days ago. The feasting will continue the whole week. The same custom of expensive weddings and funerals, among country people, prevailed formerly very much in Scotland ; and was discountenanced, perhaps not very wisely, by the clergy. It is in fact beneficial for society when, either to be married or buried with respectability, some considerable expense must be incurred, and,



consequently, a certain previous saving and industry must be exerted. It is true that a young couple, who spend on their marriage day what might have kept their house for twelve months, do what people in a higher station consider very imprudent; but in acquiring what they then spend, they have acquired what they cannot spend—the habit of saving for a distant object, and not living from day to day. By this one festivity, too, they form a bond of connexion with the married people of respectability in their own station, and which those of good disposition and intentions retain through life. They are transferred out of the class of the young and thoughtless, into the higher class of the steady and careful. The penny or subscription weddings, common in the south of Scotland, deserved much greater reprobation. Among the secondary checks upon improvident marriages in this nation, the most powerful is, that in the Lutheran Church marriage includes two distinct ceremonies; the betrothal, and the final ceremony. The one precedes the other generally for one, two, and often for several years. The betrothed parties have, in the eye of law, a distinct and acknowledged status, as well as in society. It is to be regretted that a custom, so beneficial to society, should have fallen into disuse in the English Church. It interposes a seasonable pause, before\* young parties enter into the expenses of a family and house. It gives an opportunity of discovering any cause, such as drunken or idle habits, or poverty, which might make the marriage unsuitable; and perhaps, as a sort of probationary period, it is not without its good effect on the character and temper of both sexes. If we reckon the prolific age of a female at twenty-two years, or from eighteen to forty, the interval of a year (and in the less opulent classes it is often several) alone reduces to the amount of between four and five per cent. the increase of population.†

\* It may be news to the sentimental reader to be informed that the English expressions “true love” and “true lover” are not derived from the sentiment or passion Love, or from the fidelity of the Lover, not from the Scandinavian synonym to Amor, but from the synonym to Lex. Our word love is derived from Lov, Law; and the true from troe, to contract, plight; so that “troloved” or “trolov” meant originally contracted or pledged in law: and in old times a man might be a “true lover” to his bond for ten pounds, as well as to his sweetheart.

† The betrothal of parties long before the actual celebration of the marriage appears to have had its origin before the introduction of Christianity, from a custom of all the young men going out on piratical expeditions to distant

Agricultural labour, also, especially on the simple footing on which it stands in Norway, carries within itself a preventive check on the excess of population ; which labour applied to other branches of industry has not. It is evident at once, whether the land upon which the labourer is employed is sufficient, under ordinary circumstances, to yield him subsistence. The Norwegian farmer does not pay a rent ; nor is he usually employed in prospective improvements, but simply in raising food, so that he can see at once whether the land is sufficient to produce subsistence for himself and his labourers. The labour in husbandry is carried on principally by housemen. These have a house and land, generally in life rent, for which they pay a rent principally in working so many days upon the main farm, the day's work being valued at a fixed rate. No proprietor having, for instance, four such housemen, and finding them sufficient, would build a house, and give away land to a fifth, for work which he did not want ; and no labourer would enter upon land and work which he saw would not give him subsistence. Manufacturing labour has not this advantage. The weaver or cutler is producing, without himself or his employer seeing whether his labour is to produce a subsistence. The more he produces, the more he may counteract his object by glutting the market. Where agriculture is carried on as a manufacture, a succession of good crops may also glut the markets, ruin the tenants, and even reduce the money wages of the labourer : but, in the simple Norwegian system, to live on the produce of the

countries. Its practical effect on society at the present day is similar to what is so beautifully described by Malthus in the chapter on the effects which would result to society from the prevalence of moral restraint. (See chap. 2. book iv. of *Essay on the Principle of Population*;) The female has at an early age her certain known and fixed station in married life, although that station may not be entered into for several years. Each party has rights in law over the other, which cannot be broken like a simple private engagement. In society each enjoys the consideration which the actual marriage would give. The suavity of manners towards each other in domestic intercourse, which I have so often remarked, may perhaps be caused by this often long state, not of courtship exactly, for there are no fears or doubts, but of desire to please and be agreeable to each other, which becomes habitual at last, and continues after the parties have passed over from this into the married state. But every good has its evil. Among the unmarried servants in husbandry, who are waiting for a house and land to settle in, as housemen, it too often happens that the privileged kindness between betrothed parties is carried too far, and the betrothed is a mother before she is a wife. But these are the exceptions. The general effect is undoubtedly good on the morals, manners, and numbers relative to subsistence, of the *community of Norway*.

land is the main object ; and the labourer is paid in land ; a good crop is an unmingled blessing : neither good nor bad crops, however, affect the proportion of population to the land that can in ordinary seasons subsist it. It is amusing to recollect the benevolent speculations, in our Agricultural Reports, of the Sir Johns and Sir Thomases in our midland counties of England, for bettering the condition of labourers in husbandry, by giving them at a reasonable rent a quarter of an acre of land to keep a cow on, or by allowing them to cultivate the slips of land on the road-side outside of their hedges. Here respecting an estate not worth, perhaps, forty pounds sterling a-year, — I shall quote the first description that comes to hand in the *Morgenblad* newspaper, of land to be sold, — “houses for housemen, with enclosed land to each, that extends to the keeping of two cows and six sheep all the year, and to the sowing of one and a half ton of corn (the ton is half an imperial quarter) and six tons of potatoes.” This I conceive to be the average condition of the agricultural labourers in Norway ; and I do not think any are without two cows, or an equivalent number of sheep or goats. If the main farm is too small to require the full value in labour, the houseman pays the balance in money earned by working for other people, and by the sale of his surplus produce. From four to six dollars is the general rent of such holdings ; and they are usually held on leases for the life of the houseman and his wife. The standard of living for the labourer’s family being so high, the minimum of accommodation for a working man’s family, according to the notions and customs of the country, being so considerable, the unmarried must wait, as house servants, until a houseman’s place falls vacant, before they can marry.

These checks against excessive population, which society in every state seems to form, as it were, for itself, are attended in every state of society with nearly the same evil consequences. In London and Paris, the expense of a family, and the high standard of even the lowest mode of living, are a check upon improvident marriage ; but with the evil of a greater proportion of illegitimate births. One-fourth, or between one-fourth and one-fifth, of the children born in these cities are illegitimate.\* In Norway, the

\* *Stockholm*, whatever may be the cause, has the pre-eminence over all cities or assemblages of mankind in which marriage is held to be a religious or moral institution, in the disregard shown to it. In the year 1834, the pro-

same causes produce the same effects. The proportion of illegitimate to legitimate children is about one in five. In one parish, Sandal, in Nordmor, it was, in the five years from 1826 to 1830, one in  $3\frac{2}{3}$ ; and this proportion, though I have not here the means of verifying the conjecture, exceeds probably that, in the same period, of the most dissipated manufacturing parish in Manchester or London: yet it was in a country parish of 2,400 inhabitants, without a town, or manufacturing establishment, or resort of shipping, or quartering of troops, or other obvious cause. What should be inferred from these facts? Simply that the conventional restraints upon marriage happened to be in too strong operation during that period; that houses and assured subsistence, according to the habits of the country, for a family, happened to be as scarce as in any parish of London or Paris, and produced the same effects. The following were the proportions of houses and land to inhabitants in this parish in 1825. It will give some idea of the distribution of property:—Number of inhabitants, 2,465; number of estates entered (matriculated) for scat or land tax, 95; number of actual proprietors cultivating their own land, 121; number of tenants cultivating land, for rent, 47; number of housemen with land, 114.

The evils of illegitimacy are alleviated to the offspring by the state of the law in Norway. Children are not only rendered legitimate by the subsequent marriage of the parents, as in the Scotch law; but the father may, previous to his contracting a marriage with any other party, declare, by a particular act, that his children are to be held legitimate. This is very generally done; and these children enter into all the rights of those born after marriage, and share in his property. I believe there are no instances of children being left to the miseries of illegitimacy if the father has property.

*December 10.*—There is something sublime in the long darkness of these northern nights, and the short intense snowy light of day suddenly breaking it for a few hours, and again all is darkness. The contrast is so great in so short a time, that one might fancy

portion of illegitimate children, born in Stockholm, to the total number of births, was as 1 to 2.26; and the 5 years from 1824 to 1830 showed a proportion very little different. What may it have been in Otaheite in those years? There must be something very peculiar in the moral condition of the Swedish nation, or in that of the lower classes, with regard to the means of subsisting a family.

the roll of the planet from light into darkness was felt as well as seen. He must have been a bold man who first inhabited a northern latitude in winter.

*December.* — In talking of the pressure of the English poor rates upon landed property, and of the system of supporting even the able-bodied pauper in some counties out of the poor-rate, we forget to take into consideration, that this evil is in a great measure inherent in the very nature of English landed property; and enormous as it is, has its compensating good. England is the only country in the world which draws its whole supply of fuel from below the soil. In all other countries the extent of land producing fire-wood is very large. It has been estimated that one-fifth of France is so occupied. When we consider that a crop of trees can scarcely be cut oftener than once in twenty years, so that the wood consumed by twenty-five millions of people in a year is but a twentieth part of what necessarily occupies the soil, the proportion of one-fifth seems not over-rated. The effects, upon the condition of the labouring classes, of this difference, are very important: the English poor-rate, and the support of even able-bodied paupers, is one of them: a smaller evil accompanying an incomparably greater good. All the land occupied in other countries in the growth of fuel crops, be it less or more, is necessarily scattered over the territory. Every parish, every farm, must have its fire-wood within itself, or at an easy distance, it being too bulky for distant carriage. The preparing of this fuel, the felling, lopping, cross-cutting, drawing out of the woods, barking, sawing, cleaving, carting, measuring, storing, are operations going on the whole year round in every neighbourhood and every household. It is not labour of skill confined to any particular class, like the mining and water-carriage of coals; nor is much of it hard labour, fit only for the young and able-bodied. It is a general labour-fund for all the working class, to which, in every neighbourhood, the poor can turn at all seasons, and which is at every man's door; and to which even the poor themselves, in the wood-burning countries, must contribute. It is in effect a poor-rate. We are not fully sensible in England of all the advantages we enjoy, from being so richly provided with a fuel drawn from below the soil. We generally consider it only with reference to our manufactures; not to our household affairs. Wood is very expensive firing, even if got for nothing. The labour and expense of preparing it for fuel, the perpetual chop, chop, chopping,



all day long in every family, amount to a tax heavier than a poor-rate. In this neighbourhood, where every farm has either wood within itself, or has the right to take it from the common forest within a mile's distance, the fathom of six cubic feet of billets for the fire costs six orts, or 4s. 6d. sterling. This value of coals in a coal country would go farther than the same of wood here: that is, if coals were used in stoves, and with the same economy.

In Dronthiem, firewood of fir costs in general eight or ten orts, and birchwood one-third more. In a small house of the middle class of people there, the year's fuel will cost from seven to ten pounds sterling. In other wood-burning countries, as in France, the cost of keeping one room comfortably warm, on an average of situations, is estimated at about fifty francs a-year. In this neighbourhood, I consider the price to be the minimum, owing to the abundance of wood and of cheap labour. The greater part of the cost, by far, is the wages of ordinary labour, laid out in the neighbourhood where the wood is consumed. It is perhaps too moderate an estimate, that in every parish in Europe, excepting in England, every fire that smokes all winter pays fifteen shillings to the working poor, and generally to those in its immediate neighbourhood. Taking cities into the account, it is probably much more. This is the poor-rate of those countries. England enjoys the inestimable advantage of her coal fuel; but must take with it the accompanying evil of a poor-rate to support even the able-bodied labourer in idleness who is out of work. If we can imagine every country parish and every town in England using wood fuel only, we see at once that there would be a never-ending supply of work in every district, which would supersede all poor-rates, excepting for the poor. The fuel of England certainly employs a much larger capital, and a much greater proportion of the population, directly and indirectly, taking into account the manufactures existing by its agency, than if the fuel, as in other countries, was wood only; but the employment is differently distributed. It goes to the support of branches of the population bred to their particular lines of business, and living in particular districts; and not to the support of the ordinary working population all over the country, as in wood-burning countries. The distribution of the wealth and employment of a country has much more to do than the amount with the well-being and condition of the people. The wealth and employment of the British nation far exceed those of any other nation;

yet in no country is so large a proportion of the inhabitants sunk in pauperism and wretchedness. We may conceive two communities, consisting each of ten individuals, one possessing a capital of 1000*l.*, the other of 10,000*l.* There can be no question but that the most wealth and the most employment is in the latter society; but if the 1000*l.* of the first are so distributed that each individual has 100*l.*, and in the latter the 10,000*l.* belong entirely to one individual, and the other nine are working to him for subsistence at the lowest rate to which competition for his employment can reduce their labour, which is the best distribution of wealth for the happiness of these communities? which is the best constituted state of society? The distribution of the employment of providing this necessary of life, fuel, is by nature so determined in England, that only particular classes of labourers in particular districts can partake in it; and as a small counterbalance to the immense advantages which property derives in all other ways from this gift of nature, we may reckon the necessity of finding work, or subsistence if work cannot be found, for a considerable number of able-bodied labourers in the nation. The general use of coal as fuel, and the suppression of monastic establishments in England, took place in the same generation; and it seems more reasonable to account for the pauperism which the introduction of the Poor Law in Queen Elizabeth's reign attempted to remedy, by the abstraction of this general branch of labour from the ordinary occupation of the labouring poor, than by the loss of a few porringers of victuals from the doors of the suppressed monasteries. Be that as it may, the institution of a poor-rate in England is coeval with the general introduction of coal as fuel. The finding of work for able-bodied labourers, or subsistence if work cannot be found, seems a necessary drawback attached to the additional value given to all property by this valuable fuel.

*December.*— There is something pleasing and picturesque in the primitive old-fashioned household ways of the Norwegian gentry. The family room is what we may fancy the hall to have been in an English manor-house in Queen Elizabeth's days. The floor is sprinkled with fresh bright green leaves which have a lively effect; every thing is clean and shining; an eight-day clock stands in one corner, a cupboard in another; benches and straight-backed wooden chairs ranged around the room; and all the family occupations are going on, and exhibit curious and interesting con-



traces of ancient manners, with modern refinement, and even elegance. The carding of wool or flax is going on in one corner; two or three spinning wheels are at work near the stove; and a young lady will get up from these old-fashioned occupations, take her guitar in the window seat, and play and sing, or gallopade the length of the room with a sister, in a way that shows that these modern accomplishments have been as well taught as the more homely employments. The breakfast is laid out on a tray at one end of this room, which is usually spacious, occupying the breadth of the house, and lighted from both sides. People do not sit down to this meal, which consists of slices of bread and butter, smoked meat, sausages, dried fish, with the family tankard, generally of massive silver, full of ale, and with decanters of French and Norwegian brandy, of which the gentlemen take a glass at this repast. This is the breakfast of old times in England. The coffee is taken by itself an hour or two before, and generally in the bed-room. While the gentlemen are walking about, conversing and taking breakfast, the mistress is going in and out on her family affairs, servants enter for orders, neighbours drop in to hear or tell the news, the children are learning their catechism, or waltzing in the sunbeams in their own corner; and the whole is such a lively animated scene, without bustle or confusion, all is so nice and bright, and the manners of people towards each other in family intercourse are so amiable, and with such a strain of good breeding, that the traveller who wishes to be acquainted with the domestic life of the Norwegians will find an hour very agreeable in the family room.

*December 20.* — The good manners of the people to each other are very striking, and extend lower among the ranks of society in the community than in other countries. There seem none so uncultivated or rude, as not to know and observe among themselves the forms of politeness. The brutality, and rough way of talking to and living with each other, characteristic of our lower classes, are not found here. It is going too far for a stranger to say there is no vulgarity; this being partly relative to conventional usages, of which he can know but little: but there is evidently an uncommon equality of manners among all ranks; and the general standard is not low. People have not two sets of manners, as we see in England among persons even far above the middle class: one set for home use — rude, selfish, and frequently surly; and

another set for company—stiff, constrained, too formally polite, and evidently not habitual. The manners here are habitually good even among the lower ranks. It is possible that the general diffusion of property (the very labourers in husbandry possessing usually life-rents of their land) may have carried down with it the feelings, and self-respect, and consideration for others that we expect for ourselves, which prevail among the classes possessing property, although of a larger extent in other countries, and which constitute politeness. It may also be ascribed to the naturally mild and amiable character of this people; and, perhaps, also to their having retained in their secluded glens many usages and forms of politeness which once prevailed generally in the good society of ancient Europe, but have been properly discarded as unnecessary restraints upon the intercourse of the educated and refined classes of modern society; although when these forms and usages are, by the spirit of imitation, banished from the secondary classes also, among whom there is sometimes a want of the refinement and cultivation that renders them unnecessary, the improvement is not always happy. Among these usages, exploded now in other countries, that which first strikes the stranger is, that, on getting up from table, each person goes round the whole company, and shakes hands with every one, with the complimentary phrase, “Tak for mad,”—thanks for the meal; or “Wel bekomme,”—may it do you good. This form is universal. The infant is taught to make its bow or curtsey to its mother, and say, “Tak for mad.” The husband and wife shake hands and, say “Tak for mad” to each other. In a large party it has the appearance of a dance around the table, every one going round to pay the compliment. I have observed that it is paid to the smallest child at table, as gravely and ceremoniously as to grown people. In the treatment of children, they seem not to make that difference which we do between the child and the grown-up person; and which divides life often into two parts, little connected with each other. The children seem, from the first, to be treated with consideration and respect, like grown persons. They are not, on that account, little old men and prim little ladies; but are wild, romping, joyous creatures, giving as small annoyance or trouble as children can do. “Tak for sidste” is another exploded form of politeness, still universal here. It means, “thanks for the pleasure I had from your company the last time we met.” It is a compliment of re

cognition, which it would be extremely rude to neglect. The common people give, *Tak for sidste*, to the Swedish peasants of Jemteland, who have come across the Fjelde, and whom they have certainly not seen since the preceding year's snow; and then possibly only in taking a dram together. A labourer never passes another at work, or at his meal, without a complimentary expression, wishing him luck in his labour, or good from his meal. In addition to these, perhaps not altogether useless, forms, there are the ordinary inquiries after friends at home, and compliments and remembrances sent and received, in due abundance.

This high estimate of the state of manners in this country may appear inconsistent with the statements of other travellers, representing females, even in the highest classes, as holding a lower position in society than in other parts of Europe. Dr. Clarke mentions, that they do much work which, with us, in any class of society above the lowest, would be considered servant's drudgery, such as not sitting down at entertainments, but waiting on the guests; and one lively traveller in Norway, Derwent Conway, reckons the life of a Norwegian fröken, or young lady of rank, little better than that of an English chambermaid. He tells of one fröken sending an apology for not accepting of an invitation, as it was slaughter month, and she had to stay at home to make the black-puddings. If we inspect the arrangements in Norway with regard to property, this apparent inconsistency will disappear; and the female sex will be found to have in fact more to do with the real business of life, and with those concerns which require mental exertion and talent, than women of the same class in England.

In Norway the land, as already observed, is parcelled out into small estates, affording a comfortable subsistence, and in a moderate degree the elegancies of civilised life; but nothing more. With a population of 910,000 inhabitants, about the year 1819, there were 41,656 estates. We must compare this proportion of population to landed property, with the proportion in Scotland about the same period, in order to form any just idea of the different state and condition of the middle and lower classes, in these two small countries. The population, in 1822, of Scotland was 2,093,456, of whom those holding landed property, as freeholders, amounted to 2,987. Of these, also, many did not actually *own land, but held fictitious votes, two or three on one estate.*

On the other hand, many estates afforded no freehold qualification and therefore 2,987 cannot, perhaps, be taken as the exact number. Suppose we triple it, to cover all omissions. We should still have only 8,961 estates of land in Scotland. But if the population of Scotland of 2,093,456 had held the same interest in the soil which the 910,000 of Norway have in the land of their country, there would be 95,829 estates in Scotland — one for every 22, instead of one for every 700, of the population. In a country in which soil and climate are so unfavourable to agriculture as in Norway, the income of these small estates cannot be considerable; and as the produce is consumed in the family, unless to the extent required for paying taxes, and buying groceries, — and much is done by bartering, — the owners themselves cannot perhaps tell the yearly worth of their estates. The salaries of such public functionaries as must, from the nature of their offices, be rather above than below the ordinary scale of income of the gentry of the country, will probably give the best idea of what is a sufficient income in the higher class. An Amtman, who, like the French Préfet, is the highest officer in the province, and ranks with a major-general, has a salary of 1600 dollars, or 320*l.* sterling. He has also a house and land generally in his province, attached to his Amt, but, as he must keep at least two clerks at his own expense, his income cannot be reckoned above 1600 dollars. A Foged, who has the charge of the police, of the collection of taxes, of the Crown estates or interests, and of all public concerns in a district of from 10,000 to 15,000 inhabitants, has a salary of 800 dollars. A member of Storting is allowed, as a suitable maintenance when attending that assembly, two dollars and a half daily; which is at the rate of 900 dollars yearly. It may be concluded from these incomes, that 800 or 900 dollars are about the incomes of the highest class of landed proprietors. These small estates are scattered on the sides of glens, and lakes, and fiords, over a vast extent of country, and are at great distances from towns, or even the nearest country shop. Every article, consequently, that can be required in a twelvemonth must be thought of and provided. The house, like a ship going round the world, must be victualled and provided for a year at once. There is no sending to the next shop for salt, or tea, or sealing wax, or whatever may be wanted, *as the next shop is probably forty miles off.* It requires no ordinary exertion of judgment to provide out of a small income all that

required in a family for that period, and not too much. The captain of a ship of war prides himself on doing this for a month's cruise; the female who does it for a household, from ten to thirty, and with limited means, cannot stand her position in society; her mental powers and intelligence are less awakened than those of the female of Britain, who is obliged to think for the week, and send to the next street for what is wanted when the want occurs. In the real business of life, the influence on those concerns which occupy the male sex, the female sex in Norway stands on higher ground than among the lower ranks in Britain, and has a more active and important part to perform. The question is not whether the females of families in Norway of the higher class, with incomes not generally less than 800 dollars, have the luxuries and refinements of females in Britain, and whose families have not in general under perhaps 200 dollars a year. Such a question answers itself. But the question is, whether, in the very peculiar state of society in Norway with its property, the females hold a just position in society, have influence and participation in its affairs which develop their powers, and place them as intelligent beings in a suitable position to the other sex. If one considers how little of the real business of life in Britain, owing to the complicated and extensive nature of the different kinds of property, is ever understood by the head of any family above the middle class, and how entirely the leisure of the upper classes is occupied with objects of amusement only, the advantage of the intelligent beings having business and duties to perform, is manifest on the side of the Norwegian females. In the secondary pleasures of music, dancing, dressing, they are not deficient. They have naturally pleasing voices, and in every family, in every village, singing and dancing are going on all the winter evening. Music is taught in the country by the organists attached to each church, and seems, as well as dancing, to be more generally understood and practised than in England or Scotland. In taste and in dressing, the best account that can be given is, that they are much in our taste, that a traveller from Britain, unless he is a milliner travelling for orders, would not be struck by any thing. In France, Germany, or any other foreign country, a unobservant is struck with something in the arrangement of the hair, in the colours worn, in the kind of taste and style of dress different from what his eye is used to at home: but a Norwegian, young or old, might walk into a room, in Scotland or



England, without attracting any notice on account of her dress or appearance.

The observation of Dr. Clarke, that at the entertainments in Dronthiem and Christiania, the ladies waited on the guests, and did the offices proper to servants in England, was naturally suggested by his seeing only the entertainments given to him by a few of the wealthy mercantile families of those towns, at which, very probably, the profusion and luxury of foreign habits and modes of living, may be blended not very harmoniously with the simplicity of the Norwegian. In this back country, the incongruity would not have struck him, because every thing is in keeping with that simplicity of living, which would make it not at all remarked, except for its spirit of hospitality, that the ladies were attending on their guests.

*December.*—Norway possesses an island, Berend Island, situated between Spitzbergen and North Cape, about two hundred and eighty miles from the latter, which would be very interesting to the geologist, and is not altogether so inaccessible as he may suppose. It is about thirty English miles in circumference, and presents a formation totally different from the primary rocks of which the Norwegian peninsula, and, it is understood, Spitzbergen and other polar lands, are composed. The whole island appears to be a mass of coal. It is not the fossil wood, brown coal, or *surturbrand*, found in Iceland, Germany, and some parts of the west of England, but mineral coal. The merchants of Tromsøe and of Hammerfest send out vessels occasionally to the ice in pursuit of the white bear and walrus; and they sometimes bring back a quantity of these coals, which crop out in the very cliff, and are got at without any difficulty. Attempts have been made to leave a few men to winter in this island, in order to kill the white bears which come there on the icebergs; but in two or three instances they have been unfortunate, the whole party having been found dead on the return of the vessels. This is supposed to have been the effect less of extreme cold than of scurvy; and of the people not being under discipline, indulging too freely in strong food and spirits, and taking no exercise. The very respectable proprietor of Steenkjær Gaard, with whom I am acquainted, wintered about fourteen years ago in Berend Island with a party of five men. He *was then a clerk to a merchant in Hammerfest, and was sent out with the party on speculation for the purpose of killing white bears during the winter.* They took with them a hut and pr

tions, and were left on the island in September, and taken back next July. The speculation did not succeed, as they killed only seven white bears. I thought at first it must be the walrus that the merchants sought to catch, the white bear being described by our voyagers as too formidable an animal to speculate upon. But these descriptions appear incorrect. Almost every year vessels go to the ice on this business; and two men with lances can always dispatch the animal without difficulty, one taking him in front, and the other on the side. They sometimes use small dogs, as in tracking the common bear in Norway. In all the ursine tribe the most tender parts are those behind, exposed when they walk, and are vulnerable even by the smaller animals. When the dogs bark, and attack the bear behind, he sits down instinctively to cover his hind parts, and to defend himself with his fore paws.

The proprietor of Steenkjær told me that, excepting for three days, they did not find the cold intolerable, or much beyond what they had been used to at Hammerfest. The coals, which they took from under the soil within a foot of the surface, were exactly like the small Newcastle coals, but what is quarried out of the cliff is in large pieces, like Scotch coal. It is very sulphurous. They tried to burn it in their stove, but were nearly suffocated one night in their beds, by the vapour escaping into their hut, and having plenty of drift wood for fuel, they did not use it again. This coal has been occasionally used by the English company which is engaged in a mining concern of copper ore at Alten. It has also been occasionally brought to Dronthiem. The locality is remarkable for such a mass. It is a treasure totally useless in an economical point of view, but it might furnish the naturalist with valuable facts.

*December.* — This has been a busy month in our little town. The fair, to which it owes its existence, is held during the first three weeks of December. Small vessels arrive daily with bales of dried fish (the sethe or gadus virens), pickled herrings, and goods of all kinds, from Dronthiem. The country proprietors from the remote glens come down with horses, cheese, butter, and other produce of their farms, which they sell or barter for their year's supply of fish and groceries; but the peculiar feature of the fair is the constant coming and going of long strings or caravans of covered sledges, thirty or forty together, which in shape exactly resemble large coffins. These belong to the Jemtelanders, in-



inhabiting the Swedish side of the Fjeld, about the banks of the rivers which fall into the Bothnian Gulf. They cross the Fjeld when snow has made sledge-travelling practicable with the heavy goods, and purchase cottons, muscra, groceries, and all kinds of manufactures, and colonial produce, and fish, and transport them to the numerous winter fairs in the interior, as far as the Russian frontier.

The distillation of spirits being unrestricted in this country, as carried on in every farmhouse, renders the price very low, - about 1-6d sterling the gallon. I expected to have seen a great deal of drunkenness and disturbance in an assemblage of four or five thousand people of two distinct nations. This proved not to be the case. In the morning I have not seen one intoxicated person. In the evening the country people returning home appear elevated or in liquor, as at our fairs, but not so as to be unable to take care of themselves. I have not seen one of the soldiers, subaltern's party of whom are here during the fair, in the slightest degree affected with liquor, either on duty or off; yet the discipline is any thing but strict. The only individuals I have seen thoroughly drunk, or in the state in which well-clad artisans may be seen staggering through the streets of Edinburgh every day are the Laplanders. They are selling skins, gloves, and such trifles, and run to the spirit shop with their friends the moment they dispose of an article. Yet these people have something more about them. I wished to buy a pair of snow-boots of reindeer skin to draw over my own in travelling. A Laplander having asked three orts for them, I offered two orts twelve, thinking I had two prices, like other dealers abroad; but the man instantly walked away evidently hurt at such a supposition. I have had an opportunity, from being acquainted with the local authorities, of ascertaining the amount of delinquencies committed during the fair. There has been one case of theft, one of driving a sledge without bells, and thus injuring a woman, one of bringing a diseased or glandered horse for sale. This is not a formidable catalogue for such an occasion. The division of property among the children has not, in the course of a thousand years, brought the fair-going people in Norway to the state of the fair-going people in Ireland. If the distillation of spirits from potatoes were allowed to the Irish people as here, where every one may distil without restriction, what would be the consequence? The whole nation would

be drunk for the first fortnight; but the permanent consequences might possibly be beneficial. It would give a positive value to a vast mass of property, the potatoe crop, which has now only the kind of negative value of being consumed by man and pig, in place of other more transportable kinds of food. It would make potatoes, like grain, a saleable product. The growers would not consume it, as now, in breeding curly-headed boys and girls; but would distil part of it for use or for sale. If all restraints on the use of spirits were removed — and the artificial price occasioned by duties and excise regulations is perhaps the most exciting one — it is very possible that, after the novelty of the situation was over, the consumption would be less considerable than it is now. There would be no treating, no public-house drinking; for there would be no rarity nor difficulty in getting the liquor, which could be had at home at little cost. It would undoubtedly improve the condition of the Irish people, by giving a valuable property to the poorest cottar, out of a product which is now only applied to the rearing of a superfluous population; and notwithstanding the evil consequences of placing, as it were, the glass brim-full in the hands of the people, the good might counterbalance the evil.

*January, 1835.* — The fair was quickly followed by Christmas, or Yule, as it is called here, as well as by the Scottish peasantry, which was kept in great style for fourteen days. Each family is in busy preparation for three weeks before, baking, brewing, and distilling, and the fourteen days of Yule are passed in feasting and merriment, giving and receiving entertainments. In this neighbourhood there are about thirty families, who, from station, office, or education, form the upper class of society. In this hospitable and amiable circle, I have received during the winter such attentions as a stranger, without letters of introduction, would only receive in Norway. I was fairly knocked up in Yule by a succession of parties, which seldom ended before five or six next morning.

There is something indelicate, and perhaps not very honourable, in describing minutely private societies and modes of living of families in a foreign country, where the stranger is invited in the kindest spirit of hospitality, and not that he should make his remarks, however flattering they may be to his entertainers. This difficulty, however, need not be felt here, because the mode of

living is so simple and uniform in every family, or party, that our description can have nothing peculiarly referable to any one.

You are invited by a list carried round by a man on horseback, and, opposite to your name, you put down that you accept or decline. You are expected about four o'clock, long after dinner, for which twelve or one is the usual hour. The stranger who will take the trouble to come early will be much gratified, for there is nothing on the continent so pretty as the arrival of a sledge party. The distant jingling of the bells is heard, before any thing can be seen through the dusk and snow; and sound rapidly approaching, is one of the most pleasing impressions on our senses. Then one sledge seems to break as it were through the cloud, and is followed by a train of twenty or thirty, sweeping over the snow. The spirited action of the little horses, with their long manes and tails, the light and elegant form of the sledges appearing on the white ground, the ladies wrapt in their furs and shawls, the gentlemen standing behind driving in their wolf-skin pelisses, the master of the house and the servants at the door with candles, form a scene particularly novel and pleasing. Coffee and tea are handed round to each person on arrival; and the company walk about the room and converse. It appears to me that there are never any of those dismal awkward pauses in company here, nor of that reliance on one or two good talkers, or hacknied subjects, such as wind, weather, and news, which characterise our ordinary society in England and Scotland. Everybody seems to have something to say, and to say it; and conversation does not flag. This arises probably from the temperament of the people; and the total absence of pretence in their character, that is, of wishing to appear more or less important, more or less rich, more or less learned, or more or less any thing, than they really are. After the party is all assembled, the Mellem-maal, or middle repast, is brought in. This is a tray with slices of bread and butter, anchovies, slices of tongue, of smoked meat, of cheese; and every one helps himself as he walks about. The gentlemen generally take a glass of spirits at this repast, which is a regular meal in every family. The gentlemen then sit down to cards. I have not seen a lady at a card-table. The games usually played are boston, ombre, shervenzel, which seems a complicated sort of piquet, and three-card loo. The stakes are always very small. Those of the elderly gentlemen who do not play light their pipes, and converse. The younger

generally make out a dance, or have singing and music, usually the guitar, with an occasional waltz or gallopade, or polsk, a national dance much more animated than the waltz. Nor are handsome young officers wanting, in mustachios and gay uniforms, who would not touch tobacco or spirits for the world, and seem to know how to act the agreeable. Punch is handed about very frequently, as it is not customary to drink any thing at or after supper. The supper is almost invariably the same. A dish of fish, cut into slices, is passed from one guest to another, and each helps himself. The lady of the house generally walks down behind the company, and sees that each is supplied. After the fish is discussed, the plate is taken away, and one finds a clean plate under it; the knife and fork are wiped by a servant, and the next dishes begin their rounds. They consist always, in this district, of reindeer venison, capercailzie (the male of which is as large as a turkey, the female so remarkably smaller that it passes by a different name, Tiur or Tiddur signifying the male, and Roer the female); also blackcock and ptarmigan. These are cut into pieces, laid on a dish, and passed round; and the dish is followed by a succession of sauces, or preserved berries, such as the Moltebeer, which is the *Rubus chamæmorus* of botanists, the Ackerbeer (*Rubus arcticus*), the Tyttebeer (*Vaccinium vitis idæa*). These are such very good things that there is no difficulty in acquiring a taste for them. A cake concludes the supper. The lady of the house scarcely sits down to table, but carves, walks about behind the chairs, and attends to the supply of the guests. This is the custom of the country; she would be ill-bred to do otherwise. It is not from want of servants, for every house is full of neat, handy maidens. They approach much more nearly to the nice, quiet, purpose-like English girls, than the Scotch. When one is satisfied that it is simply a relic of ancient manners, not the result either of vulgarity, or ignorance, or inferior station in society, one is easily reconciled to a custom which adds certainly to the real comfort of the guests. Three or four sturdy, corpulent footmen sweating under their liveries, behind the chairs of a dinner party, do not strike the imagination so agreeably, that one can accuse a people of want of refinement, because, by their customs, the attendance of servants is almost entirely dispensed with. Two old maiden ladies in a market town in England taking tea and toast together on a Saturday evening, would have ten times more attendance and



the servant girls to dance waltzes and gallopades to it. I was surprised to see them dance so well; but in their roomy houses they have, from infancy, constant practice during the winter evenings.

This festival was considered, at the introduction of Christianity into Norway, as heathenish, and not connected with Christianity. The Yule feasts were not only prohibited, but those who gave them were punished with death or mutilation, by King Olaf the saint; and the cruelties committed by that tyrant in suppressing them led to the revolt against him. It is supposed not to correspond to the actual period of our Saviour's birth, but to have been adopted to commemorate that event, because it was already established universally in Europe as a religious festival, and came at a time of the year when it did not interfere with agricultural labour in any country. In the fragment of an old saga of the Norwegian kings, translated into Norse from the Icelandic, by P. Munch, and published in the second volume of "*Samlinger til det Norske Folks sprog og Historie*," Christiania, 1834, the reason is given why, in that age, Yule feasts were considered heathenish:—"Here it may be proper to answer the question which Christian men make, what heathens could know about Jule or Yule; seeing that our Yule is derived from the birth of our Saviour. The heathens had also a festival in honour of Odin. Now Odin had many names: he was called Vidrir, also he was called Haar and Thrådje, also Jolner; and Jule is called after Jolner."

*January, 1835.*—The Norwegian Church is an establishment not uninteresting in the present times. In principle and doctrine it is more purely Lutheran, perhaps, than the Church of England, as it has never been touched by the hand of power, nor altered by the spirit of innovation, but remains as it was originally moulded after the subversion of popery. It is interesting, because if the Church of England should, as far as regards the machinery of her establishment, and without touching her efficiency or doctrines, be ever remodelled by those who are now occupied with plans of reforming Church endowments, she would probably much resemble this Lutheran Church.

There are in Norway 336 prestegिल्ds or parishes. Many of them are exceedingly large, extending, in this part of Norway, from the sea coast up to the Swedish frontier; and containing from 5000 to 10,000 inhabitants. In considering this low provision for religious instruction, it must be remembered that the



pure Lutheran Church, as it exists in Norway, is essentially ceremonial; as much so almost as the Roman Catholic. The altar is decorated with crosses and images. The priest, arrayed in embroidered robes of velvet, on the back of which a large and rich figure of the cross is conspicuous, celebrates high mass under that name, which sounds strange in a Protestant church, before the altar, on which candles are lighted, as in the Roman Catholic churches. The Lutheran, in short, appears to Presbyterian eyes a Catholic translated into his own language, with a few abridgements. To support this ceremonial with decent splendour, so that it should not fall into the ludicrous, there are several expensive appendages necessary, which it would exceed the means of a small congregation to support. A clerk to deliver certain parts of the service, and an organist or singer, or both, are necessary for performing the ceremonial with decent solemnity and effect. It is also to be considered that, although the country be poor, the property is distributed among the people. Every man generally has a piece of land and a comfortable house, on which he no doubt values himself. It is not as in Scotland, where the mass of the population of a country parish is without any property, and consequently, a moderate income is sufficient to place the clergyman and his family far above the station of the many, and no income that could be raised in his parish would, even if that were desirable, place him in the situation of the rich few. Hence in Norway it is, perhaps, necessary that the income of the clergyman should be decidedly high, to maintain him in a suitable station in society; and that could not be the case, from whatever source his income may be derived, if his parish was small.

It is not foresight, or wisdom, that produces these political or economical arrangements in a country, but the accumulating experiences of time, working upon statesmen ignorant, perhaps, themselves of the true causes and results of their arrangements; and this it is which makes prudent men dread the meddling too freely with old institutions.

The incomes of the clergy run, in country parishes, from 800 to 1600 dollars. The bishops, I understand, have about 4000 dollars. 800 dollars, or 170*l.* sterling, is sufficient for a family living in the best way according to the fashion of the country, and in its best society. In Bergen, Christiania, and other towns there are, of course, large incomes, and a more expensive scale of

living; but the towns are too small, and the large incomes acquired in commercial or professional pursuits too rare, to have such influence upon society as in England; and the division among the children necessarily makes frugality and moderation the prevailing principles of living. Hence Norway is a cheap country; a circumstance which, as it is justly observed by Arthur Young, depends not so much upon the prices of provisions and other articles, as on the prevailing mode of life among the inhabitants.

The incomes of the country clergy are derived from a small modus of payment of grain, in lieu of tithe, from each farm. Tithe of fish is paid in Finmark and Nordland, and some parts of Bergen Amt, as there is no other produce. But tithe of agricultural produce is commuted into a payment of grain, not reckoned burdensome, as it is not above two or three bushels for the largest farm; yet, from the great number of farms in a parish, it makes a considerable income. There are fiat prices, as in Scotland, by which payments in grain may be converted into money. In every prestegild, also, there are several farms, besides the glebe, which belong to the living. These are let for a share of the produce, or for a fine at each renewal, and a trifling yearly rent, or feu-duty. One of these farms is appropriated, in every parish, to the minister's widow for her life. A third source of income is from Easter and Christmas offerings, and pretty high offerings or dues for marriages, christenings, and funerals. Those presented at Christmas and Easter are voluntary; but it seems there is a kind of pride among the Bonder to make a handsome one, a dollar or two, at Yule. The mode of presenting it is not very decorous. The clergyman, in his embroidered robes, is on his knees at the altar, after the service is performed, apparently absorbed in meditation and prayer. The people go round the altar in procession, and, as each deposits his offering on the altar, the clergyman makes a little nod of acknowledgment. It is proposed, instead of these offerings, to establish a fixed payment by law, as a more economical and agreeable way of paying this not inconsiderable part of the clergyman's income.

It will give the most precise ideas, perhaps, of the extent, population, and means of instruction in Norwegian parishes, to state such information as I have collected on these heads in this fogderie. A fogderie is a bailiwick, or district, under a foged, who has charge of the collection of taxes, police, and all executive

functions in his district. There are five parishes in this fogderi. The largest is about fifty-six miles in length, and fourteen : breadth ; the smallest about ten miles square. The population of the five parishes was, by the census of 1801, 18,346 persons ; by the census of 1815, 18,495 ; and by the census of 1825, 22,880.

The remarkable increase in the population during the ten years from 1815 to 1825, in a district in which there is no town or manufacture, may be ascribed, I conceive, to the general prosperity of the country, the increase being general over Norway, under its new constitution, and to the improved condition of the people by having the free use of their agricultural produce in every shape. The distillation of spirits from potatoes has given the arable lands the benefit of a kind of rotation of crop, or, at least, of a large portion of every farm being carefully worked and well manured ; and has afforded to every farm a supply of manure within itself, as the cattle are fed on the distillery refuse,—a supply unknown under the former system, when distillation by the farmer was prohibited, or was a trade monopolized, as now with us, by a few large capitalists. The land is producing, in consequence, more food, and supporting in more comfort this great additional population. It is a striking instance of the benefits of a free legislation.

In these five parishes, inhabited by 22,880 persons, there are fifteen churches, the largest having five, and the smallest two. It may also be interesting to the curious in statistical details, and may show the state and distribution of property, to be informed that in these five parishes there are 1184 estates paying land-tax ; and that these are occupied by 1370 farmers, of whom 773 are udal proprietors of the land they occupy, and 597 are life-renters or tenants ; and these farmers have 1474 housemen, holding land in life-rent for their own and their widows' lives, and paying rent in work, and 278 unmarried farm servants not holding land. Of the lands held by tenants, several belong to the Church, of which the clergyman has the benefit : some to the State ; and the public functionaries, the amtman, foged, sorenskriver, and military officers of the districts, have official residences, with land, as part of their emoluments, and which they may cultivate or let ; finally some to private proprietors, who possess more than one estate and let, generally on life-rent with a fine, the land they do not occupy.

The regular income of those five parishes is enjoyed by five

ministers; but to do the duty in the most extensive of them, they are obliged to have an assistant, or chaplain. There are seven clergymen at present to minister to the 22,880 inhabitants. These chaplaincies, which are equivalent to English curacies, are the appointments which candidates, or young ministers who have passed the examinations and are ordained, first obtain. From these situations they are promoted to the more laborious and least lucrative of the regular church livings; those situated in Finmark, Nordland, or among the islands; and after serving for some years in these toilsome and inferior charges, they are considered to have a claim to be translated, when vacancies occur, to the more desirable and valuable livings. The effect of this arrangement, although just and considerate as far as regards the clergyman, is bad for the people. In Finmark and part of Nordland there are three languages, the Norwegian, the Finnish, and the Lappish; and the clergyman, with a prospect of removal in eight or ten years, has little inducement to overcome the difficulties of two barbarous tongues, in order to be in a state to instruct his flock. The want of efficient religious instruction among the Laplanders, and the slow progress of the translation and use of the Scriptures in their language, may be ascribed to this cause.

Among the regular clergy, there is one who has a superintendence over the concerns of four or five of the adjoining parishes; and the state of the church property, buildings, and regular discharge of clerical duties, come under his cognizance: he communicates with the bishop of the diocese, and has a small allowance for performing these services, as dean or probst. It appears to be the only dignity in the church, except that of bishop. There are five bishoprics in Norway. The income of a bishop, as already stated, is about 4000 dollars, which practically is, in this country, equivalent to as many thousand pounds sterling in England, viewed in comparison with the salaries of the highest functionaries in the country. The patronage is in the hands of the bishops and of the Norwegian council of state, of which a committee has charge of all the affairs of the church. The bishop recommends, and the council presents, to the vacant livings; but every appointment, with all the candidates' applications and certificates, with the grounds of preference of the party to whom the living is given, must be inserted in the protocol of the committee of the council of state, which is examined and revised at each

Storthing by a committee appointed for church affairs. There is a superintending power in Norway, also, of the public, exerted through the press, which checks any abuse of patronage in civil or clerical appointments. There being no party spirit, as in England, confounding right and wrong in every question, there is but one opinion, decidedly but temperately expressed, on public questions, which no individual in office, however high, could resist. This influence is more sound and effective in Norway than in any country in Europe in the present day.

It is a peculiar characteristic of the Norwegian Church, that there is no dissent from it; no sectarians. A few years ago, a person of the name of Houghan had a few followers; but his doctrine on religious points did not differ from that of the established church. It was his object to inspire a more religious spirit, and more strict observance of the church doctrine; so that his followers were similar to what is called the evangelical part of the community of the Church of England. But even this slight attempt at a division, within the pale of the church itself, appears to have had no success.

There are several reasons for this peculiarity of the Norwegian Church. The principal, perhaps, is, that it has no temporal power; no political existence as a part of the state; no courts, or laws, or interests of its own jarring with those of the other classes of the community, and raising animosity between them and the clergy. The clergy are, in political rights or privileges, on the same footing as any other class of the community. The Lutheran religion is part of the state; but not the ministers who are employed to teach it. They are represented in the Storthing like other citizens, and, having no separate interests as a body of clergy enjoy individually the confidence of the people, and an unity of interests with them. They are often sent to the Storthing as their representatives. This unity of worldly interests prevents dissension in spiritual matters.

Another cause of the great influence of the clergy, and of the total absence of religious dissent, is the great consideration in which the rite of confirmation is held. It is not here, as it practically is in the Church of England, a mere ceremony in which the bishop knows nothing personally of the parties he is admitting into the church, and the parish priest knows little more than that they were baptized and are of due age. There is here :



strict examination by the bishop, or the probst or rural dean, into the young person's knowledge of his moral and religious duties, his capacity, acquirements, and character; and it is only after a long previous preparation by his parish minister, equal almost to a course of education, the confirmants being instructed singly as well as in classes, that the individual is presented for this examination. I was present lately at a confirmation of about twenty young persons in our parish church by the probst. The examination, in presence of the congregation, occupied nearly two hours. It was not merely asking and replying, by a string of set questions and answers from the church catechism. It resembled more the kind of examination used in teaching the reading classes in the Sessional School in Edinburgh. It was a sifting trial to know if each individual attached the real meaning to the words he was using, and actually did understand what he had been taught on the subject of religion. It was evident that considerable pains had been taken with the instruction of each individual. To pass such a confirmation, implies that the young person is well grounded in the principles of his moral and religious duties, and is of good character and understanding. It is, in common life, equivalent to the taking of a degree in the learned professions, being in fact a certificate of capacity for discharging ordinary duties and trusts. It is accordingly so considered in Norway. "A *confirmed* shop-boy wants a place,"—"Wanted, a *confirmed* girl who can cook,"—are the ordinary advertisements to or from that class of the community; and the not being confirmed would be held equivalent to not having a character, either from want of conduct, or of ordinary capacity. Something similar prevailed formerly in Scotland, but not to the same extent. A young man, of the labouring class, usually took a certificate of his good character from the minister when he removed to a distant parish. The confirmation in Norway certifies much more, as, in the face of the congregation, the confirmant has shown that he can read, and has the use of his mental faculties to an ordinary degree, according to his station, and has moral and religious principles to direct him. It is extraordinary that the Church of England has not, like this Lutheran sister in the north, kept fast hold of a rite which connected her so closely with society, its education, and its business. This simple discharge of an unexceptionable duty shuts out dissent from the Norwegian Church.



When we consider the great extent of the Norwegian parishes the merit of being laborious, zealous, and effective, cannot be denied to the Norwegian clergy. The church service is the smallest part of their duty, although the sermon is long, and delivered, as in Scotland, without papers. They have school-examinations, Sunday-schools, meetings of those who are in preparation for being confirmed, often at great distances from their dwellings, and a superintendence of the probst, or bishop, which prevents any neglect or indolence in attending to those duties.

It is my impression, that the Norwegian clergy are a highly educated body of men. As far as my experience goes, the clergy and students of divinity are acquainted with the literature of Europe, have read the standard works in the French and German languages, and are at least as well acquainted with English as our clergy in general are with French.

The study of the great works on divinity, philosophy and church history, which have been written in the German language, is a necessary part of the course here for the student of divinity. The classical studies are also carried on to a later period of life than in Scotland, by those intended for the clerical profession, and under teachers of a high scholarship. There are five high schools in the principal towns in Norway, in which the rectors and teachers are men, such as Holmboe, Bugge, Fresner, of known eminence as classical scholars: the student of divinity must be prepared in these schools for his professional studies, and is seventeen or eighteen years of age before he is considered fit to leave them for the university. In proportion, also, to the other professional classes in the community, the clergy of Norway are richly endowed, and the church has always been the highest profession in the country, that to which all talent is naturally directed. Law and medicine do not, as in Scotland, withdraw youth of promising abilities from the clerical profession. It is a necessary consequence, that candidates are educated up to its value, and estimation in society.

In this part of Norway the most eminent preacher is Bishop Bugge. His manner of delivery is singularly impressive, even to a stranger who can but imperfectly follow his discourse. It is calm, very earnest, yet almost conversational; and is a style of public speaking very similar to that of Dr. Chalmers: his reputation as a preacher is similar.

It is a peculiarity in all Lutheran countries, which strikes the traveller, especially from Scotland, that the evening of the Sunday is not passed, as with us, in quiet and stillness, at least, if not in devotional exercises. He must be a very superficial observer, however, who ascribes this to a want of religious feeling. It arises from the peculiar and, in the pure Lutheran Church, universally received interpretation of the Scriptural words, that "the evening and the morning made the first day." The evening of Saturday and the morning of Sunday make the seventh day, or Sabbath, according to the Lutheran Church. This interpretation is so fully established, and interwoven with their thinking and acting, that entertainments, dances, card parties, and all public amusements, take place regularly on Sunday evenings. A Lutheran minister gives a party on Sunday evening at his house, at which you find music, dancing, and cards, without more scruple, or conception that there is anything objectionable, than a Presbyterian minister has when he eats a slice of mutton for dinner on a Friday, and would equally think it superstitious to object to it. We are very apt, in religious concerns, to measure our neighbour's judgment by our own.

Yet, whether this interpretation of the Scriptural words defining the Sabbath, be theologically right or wrong, it is politically wrong, and injurious to society. The half-day of Saturday is little regarded. The labourer cannot leave his work, make himself clean, and go to a distant church, for a portion of a day. The half-day of Sunday, also, is more liable to be encroached upon than if the whole were, as with us, a day of rest, on which no manner of work was to be done.

The progress of education among the working classes in Britain will probably make it necessary to unite the two plans at no distant time; to make the half of Saturday a period of rest by political institution, as well as the whole of Sunday by divine institution. The educated working man in Britain is, at present, in a worse condition, in consequence of his education, than the untaught labourer, who has only his animal wants to supply. Take the most simple case. The educated working man generally wishes to read a portion of the Scriptures daily in his family. This is surely the most simple and immediate result of education. He must occupy some portion of time in doing so, over and above the time which his family, in common with the families of all the ignorant

and uneducated of his fellow-labourers, must take for the ordinary business of life, for sleeping, cooking, eating, washing, marketing and such household occupations. But this time will cost him money, or money's worth. It cannot well be less than half an hour, including the assembling of the family, if he is to read at all. Now half an hour a day comes to three hours a week, and in half a year, of twenty-five working weeks, it comes to no less than one week, of six working days of twelve hours; and by so much, by one week's work in twenty-five, can the untaught labourer undersell the educated one in the labour market. It is this advantage of uneducated labour which it seems to be the object of trades unions and combinations to exclude. The educated labouring man of the present day is, in fact, well entitled to say to the rest of the community, — You have educated me, you have given me the wants, and tastes, and habits of a moral, religious, thinking being; you must give me leisure to use these endowments without prejudice to my means of subsistence; otherwise, you have sunk my condition below that of my fellow-labourer, who requires only what is indispensably necessary for existence. It is very possible, that when the formation of trades' unions, for raising their rate of wages, lessening the number of working hours, and such objects as are scarcely compatible with the unrestrained productive power of capital employed in manufactories, is traced to its causes, there will be found to be intimately connected with the wants and habits of a people advancing in mental culture. It is very possible, that a day may come when it will be necessary to decide whether the education of the people of Great Britain shall be abandoned, as incompatible with the utmost productive powers of labour; or those powers, as called into action by capital, shall be regulated by law. The uneducated man can work fourteen hours a day, having no demands upon his time, but for food and rest; while the other cannot exceed twelve hours, if he is to enjoy any benefit or gratification as an educated man. This dilemma, in fact, exists now, although Lord Brougham, Mr. Hume, and the other friends of the education of the people, are afraid to look it in the face. The uneducated labourer reduces the educated labourer to work the same number of hours that he works, in every trade; and that number is not compatible with any of the purposes or uses of education, not even that of giving religious or moral instruction to his own family. If the Church of England were to make good a claim of

the half of Saturday, preserving at the same time the whole of Sunday as at present, and make it a period of rest from all work, it would be a remedy for the hard fate of the educated working man.

## CHAPTER V.

King's Birthday. — Manners of the Middle Class. — Ball and Supper. — Loyalty. — Jealousy of National Independence. — King's Style. — Carl. III. or Carl. XIV.? — Budstick. — Hue and Cry. — Remarkable Landslip. — Peasantry. — Udal Property. — Udal Laws. — Early Maturity of Udal System. — Civilisation of the Northern Invaders. — Scalds. — The Grey Goose. — Its Enactments. — Jury Trial. — Its Origin in Udal Law. — Present Administration of Law. — Court of Arbitration. — Sorenskrivers' Court. — Jury Trial. — Christian V. — Law Book. — Liberal Institutions for 1687. — Ireland and Norway. — England and Denmark. — Punishment of Death abolished. — Loss of Honour an effective Punishment. — Stifts Amt Court. — The Hoieste Ret Court a part of the State. — Peculiar Principle of Responsibility of Judges.

*Levanger, January 1835.*—I was invited to join an entertainment given on the 26th of this month, in honour of the King's birthday. I was glad of the invitation, as the party consisted of the tradesmen and dealers in the little town; a class distinct in society from the gentry of the country. These distinctions, although not founded on birth or privilege, there being no nobility or privileged class — nor on fortune, as the peasant proprietors have estates, and houses and means of living, equal to the highest of the community — are, notwithstanding, as exactly observed here as in the most aristocratic countries. Education, manners, the belonging to the class of *people of condition*, that is, to the cultivated and educated part of the community, appear to form a natural division without any effort, exclusive spirit, or feeling of jealousy. Individuals seem naturally to congregate with those who suit them best. There is nothing of the mixture of persons of incongruous stations, habits, and education, which, even according to the most favourable accounts of society in America, must be repugnant to the taste and comfort of individuals bred in the classified society of Europe: and there is no mixture in the same individual of manners and habits drawn from very different sources and situations,

and which do not at all harmonise together—a mixture more commonly found among the English than any other people. There is nothing to pretend to, and therefore no pretence. The one class has no preference above the other, in power, or wealth, or comfort, or influence; and to appear to belong to the one class rather than to the other, could never enter the mind of any one. The ease and similarity of manners in all persons, rich or poor, and their habitual civility to each other, arise from this equality. They mix together as little as in other European countries. The clergy, the public functionaries, the half-pay officers, the rich, the educated, do not habitually associate with the peasant proprietors, or the retail dealers in the country. It is a matter of taste and congruity; however, not of any feeling of superiority.

Our entertainment consisted of a procession of about forty sledges, in which we drove a few miles into the country, and had tea and coffee at a public-house, and we returned to a ball and supper in the village. It was six o'clock in the morning before our gay doings concluded. We had abundance of wine and punch, yet I did not see a single instance of excess among the sixty or seventy persons present. If I had not known that the company was composed entirely of the tradesmen and dealers of the little town, their journeymen, apprentices, wives, and daughters, I should not have discovered it from their appearance or deportment. The ladies were as well dressed, and danced as well, and the gentlemen as considerate and well-bred towards each other, as in any other society. It was evident that it is habitual to this class, as well as to the higher, to behave with propriety in their ordinary family intercourse, and that they had not to assume a set of manners foreign to their usual habits. This class in Norway, not being pressed by competition to give that unremitting attention to business which the same class must give with us, have in fact more leisure, enjoy more social intercourse, and are more polished. Good manners go deeper down through society than in other countries.

The Norwegians are unquestionably a loyal people attached in the highest degree to their sovereign and his family. There is, however, an excessive jealousy among all ranks of the slightest infringement of their national independence by the sister kingdom of Sweden. This spirit, which was probably excited by the weak and abortive attempts to amalgamate the two countries, displays

itself sometimes on the most trifling occasions. The great coats lately issued to a Norwegian regiment happened to have yellow buttons instead of white, as formerly. Yellow is the national colour of Sweden; and this was seriously noticed as an attempt at amalgamation. On the official seal of some Swedish department, and on some coins lately struck in Sweden, the arms of Norway, a lion, are quartered with those of the province of Gothland, a flowing river, under the arms of Sweden; just as the Hanoverian horse and Irish harp are quartered on some of our coins under the English arms. This, which probably arose from the fancy or taste of the seal engraver and designer, was reported and resented from one end of Norway to the other, and will probably influence the spirit of the next Storthing. The Norwegians have a distinct commercial flag, but daily regret that they have no separate commercial relations and diplomatic representatives abroad. The inferior place which their national devices, as the flag, the arms, and the style, occupy in all situations in which the connection of the kingdom with Sweden brings them together, is a subject of constant annoyance. The Swedish government shows many childish and impotent indications of dislike to the constitution and independence of Norway. It is not by such a spirit that the amalgamation, even if desirable, could be promoted. The 17th of May is the anniversary of the adoption of the Norwegian constitution. It is celebrated at home and abroad by every Norwegian; but the troops, and the public officers immediately under the control of the executive government, exhibit on that day no appearances of public rejoicings; the officers, however, not under the control of the executive, as those of the custom-houses, display even the national flag. The glaring opposition and disrespect to the national feelings is deplored by all wise and moderate men, who are the more firm in resisting even the smallest innovation proposed from such a quarter. This spirit displayed by the Swedish cabinet has consolidated the Norwegian constitution more perfectly in twenty years, than could otherwise have been done in two hundred; for opposition naturally begets opposition, and when applied fruitlessly, begets an increased determination to hold fast to rights. It is an idle dream on the part of Sweden to expect that, by such means, a nation consisting of but one class of people is to be amalgamated with, and governed by, one in which a



numerous aristocracy and a corporate body of clergy are the legislators.

Among the subjects of great discontent to the Norwegians is one not altogether so unimportant as may at first sight appear. In all public acts, monuments, seals of office, &c., the King is styled Charles XIV. He is undoubtedly Charles XIV. of Sweden, but of Norway, Charles III. A case in point is that of James VI. of Scotland; who, upon the union of the crowns, became James I. of England, and after his accession all deeds or acts were under the title of James VI. of Scotland and I. of England. The Swedish cabinet appears, therefore, to be wrong, as far as precedent should regulate such matters. If Norway were a feudal country, in which all title deeds to estates ran in the name of the king, such a misnomer might produce in time very great confusion. If ever His Majesty had occasion to sue a party in an English court of law, as Napoleon sued Peltier, and sovereigns often prosecute loan contractors and other parties, and if such suit were entered under the style of Charles XIV., king of Norway, it would, probably, occasion the loss of the case. Nay, if a Norwegian subject had occasion to file a bill in the English Court of Chancery, with affidavits made before a Norwegian consul, or other competent authority, whose commission to take such affidavits ran in the name of His Majesty Charles XIV., King of Norway, very great delay and expense, at least, might result to the Norwegian subject. The act of union of the two crowns, and the proof that Charles XIV. of Sweden was also XIV. of Norway, would be required. In the event of naval war in Europe, in which, as in the last, neutral vessels had often claims for detention, unjust capture, &c., pending in the English Admiralty Courts, it might occasion great delay, as no court of law could repel such a weighty objection as a mistake in the commission under which the affidavits and certificates that determine the case were taken.

*February, 1835.* — There is a very simple and very ancient way of assembling the people in this country for public business. A *budstick*, or message-stick, of the size and shape of our constable's baton, is painted and stamped with the royal arms, and made hollow, with a head to screw on upon one end, and an iron spike on the other. The official notice to meet, the time, place, and object, are written on a piece of paper which is rolled up and *placed in the hollow*. This is delivered from the public office or

courthouse of the district to the nearest householder, who is bound by law to carry it within a certain time to his nearest neighbour who must transmit it to the next, and so on. In case of two houses, equally distant, it must be previously determined by the foted at which he shall deliver it. If the owner is not at home, he is to stick it "in the house-father's great chair, by the fireside;" and if the door be locked, must fasten it to the outside. Each is bound to prove, if required, at what hour he received, delivered, or stuck it. He who, by his neglect, has prevented others from receiving the notice in time to attend the meeting, pays a fine for each person so absent. There are fixed stations at which the budstick rests for the night; and it cannot be carried after sunset, or before sunrise. The householder to whom it comes last takes it back to the office. In a country so extensive, with its population scattered in valleys, divided by uninhabited Fjelde, and with few paths of communication, this primitive sort of gazette is the most expeditious mode of publication. In the Highlands of Scotland, the stick, burnt at one end, and with blood on the other, was a similar device for assembling a clan in arms.

It is probable that the haro, or cry used in Normandy for assembling the people to repel invasion, or to prevent violence, and from which we derive our ancient legal term, still in use, of raising the hue and cry, was something of the same kind; some peculiar cry, or shout, to be passed from mouth to mouth, on hearing which all were bound to assemble at appointed stations; and to raise which haro, without causes of the nature fixed by law, was a highly punishable offence. Our term of hue has puzzled the antiquaries. Probably the word meant, what it now does in the Norse language, a cap, hat, or covering of the head, whence our English word hood is derived. To raise the hue and cry was, probably, to accompany the cry by raising, or waving, the cap; a custom still universal in England, when people shout. These circumstances are trifling, but they give an idea of the state of society at a time when, from the absence of effective law, the whole community was obliged to give protection to property and to the safety of individuals by active interference.

*February.* — A very remarkable accident occurred on the 23d of this month, about twelve miles from this place. A farmhouse, with forty or fifty acres of land, was suddenly swallowed up, or sunk in the earth, and three people perished. I walked to the

spot next day, and am at a loss to account for the event. The farm called Gustad, was situated upon an alluvial bank, sloping gently towards the fiord, which formed a small round bight, or creek, before it. Behind this bank rises a pretty steep hill, or rock, of chloritic schist. This steep slope, on which the bank rested, has, I imagine, been continued under water in the little bight, in which, as the fishermen told me, there was formerly a depth of ten fathoms. As there is a considerable quantity of snow on the ground, and not frost enough beneath to freeze running water, it is conceivable that water from the hill behind has circulated between the bank and the rock on which it was resting, and the farm and bank, being thus loosened, have slipped forward over a precipice below the surface of the sea. But there are difficulties in this explanation. Two hundred mælings, or about forty acres, of land would be an enormous landslip, to be occasioned by such a trifling rill of water as the background could produce; and the slope of the land towards the sea appears, from what is left, to have been so gentle, that such a mass could scarcely have slid forward, even if loose; and the soil is not of the nature of what is called a running sand,—it is vegetable mould upon a blue tenacious clay. There is, also, no chasm between the edge of what has stood and what has given way: which one would expect, if one portion of land had projected and slipped forward from another portion. There is a difference of level, of about fifteen feet, between a little attached part of the house, standing on its original site, and the ruins of the rest, sunk, but appearing in the rubbish; yet there is no change in the horizontal distance between the two. A slip of one portion of land from another would have left a chasm, I conceive, between: or, at any rate, the house upon the land that had slipped should have been found lannched forward from its original situation. It appears more like a perpendicular sinking, than a slipping forwards. Another circumstance difficult of explanation is, that the side of the round creek, opposite to this slipped land, was formed by a flat spit or tongue of land, not above two hundred yards in breadth, and running out into the fiord. This little peninsula had no background to throw down rills or springs, but was merely connected by a small ridge with the mainland: it was quite flat, and but very little elevated above the level of high water. The side of this peninsula next to the creek, into which the land of Gustad descended, has also slipped inwards, as it were

towards a common centre. These circumstances suggest rather a sinking of the fundamental rock itself, upon which the land rested, than a slipping off from the rock by the force of water beneath.

March, 1835. — The peasantry of Norway have always been free. From the earliest ages they possessed the land in property, and were subject only to the general jurisdiction of the country. They were never *adscripti glebæ*, as in the feudal countries of Europe, or subject in person or property to local judicatories. The small kings who were expelled, or their independence annihilated, by Harald Haarfagre in the ninth century, appear never to have attained the powers and privileges of the great feudal lords in other countries, but to have always depended in some degree upon the great Things or meetings of the landholders, in the enactment of laws. Property and power necessarily go together; and, by the udal laws, the land was always the property of the people, not of a feudal class of high nobility: this gave them at all times, even under the nominally absolute government of Denmark, much weight in legislation. The very different state of the peasantry in the rest of Europe during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, being mere slaves, attached to the soil, under the feudal lords and barons who possessed the whole property, sufficiently accounts for the extraordinary success which then attended the enterprises of the most inconsiderable bodies of the northern pirates called Danes. The people of other countries had nothing to defend against these Norwegian invaders.\* Rolf Ganger, the great great grandfather of William the Conqueror, was aided by the peasantry in the conquest of Normandy. It would probably be found by those who should follow out such researches, that this was the true cause of that extraordinary supineness, at which the reader of the history of the middle ages wonders, that allowed in repeated instances a few hundred men landing on a coast to dictate conditions, levy tribute, and conquer territories from a whole nation. It was only the classes of nobility and clergy who had any real stake in the country.

It is not surprising that the people of Norway have in all ages clung tenaciously to their udal system and rights. During the four hundred years that Norway was under the Danish crown,

\* Histoire des Expéditions maritimes des Normands et de leur Etablissement en France au dixième siècle, par G. Depping. Paris, 1826.

that government deemed it wiser to respect that system, and even to collect and give effect to the ancient laws regarding it, than attempt its subversion, and amalgamation with her own feudal constituted state of society and property. Hence the folly of the Swedish cabinet in making such a proposal within ten years after the union of the two kingdoms. The attempt, like every one that fails, has only strengthened what it proposed to overturn. It has led the Norwegians to think upon and to estimate their peculiar social state, as compared to that of the sister kingdom and of the rest of Europe. It has developed the principles on which they had to legislate in unison with their udal system of social arrangements; and the conviction that they had nothing to envy or to adopt, is a result, it must be allowed, which the Norwegians may fairly come to, on comparing their social condition with that of the Russian, German, Swedish, or English peasantry.

Udal or odel, as a term applied to land, to landholders, and to the privileges attached to udal land, appears to have been originally the same word as the German word adel, signifying noble; and it carries an equivalent meaning in all its applications. Udal land is noble land, not held from or under any superior, not even from the king, consequently paying no acknowledgment, real or nominal, as a feu-duty or reddendo; but held, as it has been proudly expressed, by the right by which the crown itself is held. Udal land is possessed, consequently, without charter, and is subject to none of the burdens and casualties affecting land held by feudal tenure direct from the sovereign, or from his superior vassal. It is subject neither to fines on the entry of new heirs or successors, nor to escheats, nor forfeiture, nor personal suit and service, nor wardship, nor restrictions to baronial courts or other local judicatories, nor to baronial mills or other feudal servitudes, nor to any of the ten thousand burdens and vexatious exactions which in the middle ages, and even in some degree to the present day, have affected all property held under the feudal tenure. There being neither superior, nor vassal, nor feudal service connected with such land there existed no legal necessity for the law of primogeniture. It is well known that, in all countries feudally constituted, the right of the sovereign, or feudal superior, to have a vassal of an age to perform the military service in consideration of which the land was granted, was the foundation of the rule of primogeniture. The *eldest son* alone could, generally, have attained the age to per-

form this service. This right was even superior to that of hereditary succession, and in virtue of it a *delectus personæ* was, in the earlier ages, exercised. The fiefs were not hereditary of right; and even at the present day this principle is, by fiction of law, so far effective and acted upon, that female heirs are, in many feudal cases, excluded from succession; and in all feudal countries the eldest male heir has to pay an acknowledgment to the feudal superior, on his entry as vassal in the land. Udal land not being held for military service to any superior, no *delectus personæ* as to who should inherit it was competent to any authority, and consequently no preference of the eldest male heir could grow into the law of succession to land. On the contrary, all the kindred of the udalman in possession are what is called *odelsbaarn* to his land, and have, in the order of consanguinity, a certain interest in it called *odelsbaarn ret*. Hence, if the udalman in possession should sell or alienate his land, the next of kin is entitled to redeem it on repaying the purchase-money; and should he decline to do so, it was in the power of the one next to him to claim his *odelsbaarn ret*. It is only of late that this right of redemption has been limited as to time; it must be exercised within five years of the sale: and it has been also determined, that the value of all improvements, as well as the original price, must be paid. The effect of this *odelsbaarn ret* is evidently to entail, in a certain degree, the land upon the kindred of the udalman. This same right exists, in fact, in Hungary, where land is held in large masses by a nobility, as well as in Norway, where it is held in small portions by a peasantry; and necessarily has the same effect of continuing the land in the class which at present possesses it.

It appears to me not improbable, that the peculiar class of persons among the Scandinavian people called Scalds or Bards, arose out of this *odelsbaarn ret*. In the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, the colonies of military emigrants which issued from Scandinavia had spread over Iceland, the Faro Islands, the Orkney and Zetland Islands, and Hebrides, the kingdom of Northumberland extending over a third part nearly of England, Normandy, and many districts between the Seine and the Scheld. Roving parties of these Northmen appeared, occasionally, on every coast, from Constantinople to the White Sea. Some made permanent settlements under their sea kings; others only scoured the coasts as pirates for a few years; but each had some *odelsbaarn ret*, or



interest connecting him more or less with land at home. To transmit from one generation to another, before the art of writing was in use, the memory of family descents and relationships, was a business essentially connected with the preservation of rights of property, where *odelsbaarn ret* existed; and among a body of military emigrants, enriching themselves by the plunder of the fairest provinces of Europe, the rights of succession to property by redemption were of high importance. It is probable that the Scalds were not merely the wandering bards or minstrels, witnessing and singing the warlike exploits of those whom they accompanied on distant expeditions, but were a class of men whose business it was to witness and record all events affecting claims of property, — the writers to the signet of their day. We probably hear only of the poets among this class of those who attended the courts of the Scandinavian monarchs, and have transmitted to us saga of important historical facts; and we conclude that the class of Scalds consisted of poets entertained at court for the honour and pleasure of the sovereign: just as if we were to conclude that the clerks of the Court of Session in Scotland are a class of poets, because Sir Walter Scott was a clerk of that court. The class of recorders of the ordinary events of births, deaths, marriages, and other circumstances affecting property, must have existed in a state of society in which property was not, as in feudal countries, entirely in the hands of a small number of nobles, and the succession to it regulated by simple rules, and confined to a few individuals. This class, before writing was in general use, must have been numerous, and important in society where udal law prevailed.

It is possible that we estimate erroneously the state of society in the tenth and eleventh centuries in Scandinavia. We take our ideas from the narratives of the monkish historians of the period, who represent the heathen Northmen, who ravaged the coasts of England and France, sparing neither churches nor monasteries, and conquering provinces from the supine inhabitants, with numbers apparently the most inadequate, as barbarians little better than wild beasts, without law or religion. There must be exaggeration, as there is evident inconsistency, in these representations. These barbarians were evidently the only people in Europe, at that period, possessed of the arts connected with the navigation of vessels on distant voyages. If we consider all that is included in this art, all that must have been set to work before

two or three hundred men could be transported to the coast of Normandy or of Kent, the ship building, rope making, sail weaving, iron forging, watercask making, provision curing, all of which arts, and many more, must have reached considerable perfection before bodies of men, however enterprising, bold and hardy, could by any possibility have undertaken and accomplished such voyages; if we consider, too, that there must have been effective social arrangements by which such bodies of men were collected, and held together and made available for attack and defence, as well as for navigation; we must conclude that the term barbarism was more applicable to the invaded than the invaders. The inhabitants of England and France must have been behind those of Norway in the exercise of the useful arts, the enjoyment of property, and the operation of general and equitable laws. If the state of law among the people be a measure of barbarism, these followers of Odin appear to have stood on a much higher step of civilisation than their Christian contemporaries. Private wars had been abolished by Harald Haarfagre in the ninth century, 250 years at least before the right of the great nobles to wage war against each other had ceased in other countries. The local judicatories and privileges of the nobles had also been abolished, and the whole country governed by general laws adapted to the four great divisions of the kingdom in which the Things were held, from the period of the same monarch's reign. These were advances towards civilisation which the Christian countries of Europe had not made at that period. The judicial combat between individuals, or *Holmgang*, as it was called by the Scandinavian people, from the parties going to small uninhabited islets, called *holms*, to fight out their cause without interruption, was subject to regulations or laws not introduced until long after the tenth century in the judicial combat of the other countries of Europe. A party challenged to the *Holmgang* could, in the tenth century, appoint a substitute to fight for him; and the party worsted could ransom his life for three marks of copper, or for a consideration previously agreed on. The duel, the point of honour, the spirit of chivalry, the science of heraldry, all which are generally considered to have been the genuine offspring of the ancient feudal constitution and modes of thinking, appear really to have had their origin among these northern invaders, and to have been engrafted by them on the feudal system which they found and adopted. The internal ar-

rangements in Norway for calling out the whole force of the country for military purposes, appear to have been much superior to those of any of the countries they invaded. Haco, foster-son of Athelstan of England, had divided Norway, about the year 956 or 960, into land and sea districts, with subdivisions, which were required to furnish each a ship, a certain number of men, certain arms, certain quantities of provisions, according to the local capabilities of each division of the district; and these arrangements appear to have been effective and perfect, long before any similar arrangements for the defence of their coasts were adopted by other nations. In countries where the feudal lords maintained a kind of independent rule within the state, such a general arrangement for a common object was scarcely practicable; yet without it a country could scarcely be said to exist in security and civilisation. Such various and complicated arrangements being matter of fixed law among the northern people, and the various arts which must have been exercised generally, and with some degree of perfection among them, before they could have fitted out such distant and frequent expeditions by sea, may well justify the doubt, whether the monkish historians who represent them as barbarians, destitute of the habits, ideas, or arts belonging to civilised life, were not themselves more barbarous as to all that regards law, liberty, and security of person and property.

It may surprise those who are full of preconceived ideas of the rude state of the northern freebooters who ravaged the coasts of Europe in the tenth century, to find that law was in a more advanced state, and its power much more effective, among them, than in the countries they were ravaging. They were not merely in that state of civilisation when its first principles are acknowledged and acted upon, unless where power or violence interfere, which was the state of the rest of Europe at that period. Among the Scandinavian people the forms of law were fully established, and any flaw or irregularity in the forms of procedure before the courts produced the loss of the case in the first instance. This was a development of law of which England, France, and Germany could not then boast. Before the year 885, the power of law was established in Norway over all persons of all ranks and classes, while in the other countries of Europe the independent jurisdictions of the great feudal lords were not broken down till after a contest of ages. The power of the small kings, as they are aptly termed

in Scandinavian history, to set law at defiance, or to perplex its regular march by local jurisdictions, was completely annihilated by Harald Haarfagre, who subdued and expelled that class entirely from Norway, and remained the sole sovereign of the country; a position which other European kings attained only four centuries later. These small kings themselves appear never to have held the same full jurisdiction within their own dominions as the great feudal nobility of other countries: they were subject to laws established at the general Things or courts of the people, of which four were held in Norway yearly, in the different districts into which the country was divided. Each district was governed by the code of laws given out from these Things, as best suited to the peculiar local circumstances of their division of the country. The "Grey Goose"\* is the somewhat whimsical name given to the ancient Icelandic law book compiled for the use of that oldest of modern colonies, from the edicts of those Things, and principally of that of the Gule district, as these Gule Things' laws stood in the reign of king Haco, the foster-son of Athelstan of England. Haco began his reign in the year 936. Iceland had been discovered in the year 874, and colonised by the nobility and their followers, who fled from the persecution of Harald Haarfagre who died in 934. It appears from the Grey Goose, that, so early as the year 1004, law was so firmly established, and its procedures so regular and defined, that a special court of justice was established, for disposing of such cases as had been adjudged in the first instance, on defects in the technical forms of procedure before the ordinary courts of law, without reference to the law or merits of the cases. Law and its administration must have been long settled before its forms could have grown into such importance and intricacy. It also appears from the Grey Goose to have embraced, before the eleventh century, subjects which probably no other code in Europe, at that period, dealt with. The provision for the poor, equal weights and measures, police of markets and of sea-havens, mutual rights of succession to property situated in Norway or Iceland for the natives of each country, punishment of beggars or vagrants, provision for illegitimate children, wages of servants and support of them in sickness, inns for travellers, roads and bridges, pro-

\* Nordisk Tidsskrift for Oldkyndighed, 1 h. 1 B., 1832, om Graagaasen ved Schlegel.

tection of pregnant women and even of domestic animals from injury, are subjects of which the Grey Goose treats. In the short period which had elapsed from the first colonisation of Iceland society could not have advanced to such a state as to produce necessity for such a code of laws in that island. They are the laws of the mother country, adopted, as far as circumstances might be expected to require them, by the colony. These laws were collected into one code by Magnus VII., Lagabæter, or the law improver, who died in the year 1280. They were again collected, improved, and published in a general code, in the year 1604, by Christian IV. In 1687, the present code, drawn up from all the older and previously existing ones, and adapted to the changes which time had produced, was given out by Christian V. It is comprised in one pocket volume, and is to be found in every peasant's house in Norway. It has evidently been intended for the use and understanding of the common man. The arrangement is simple and distinct. Each law occupies a single paragraph of a few lines. The professional lawyer only can be acquainted with the numerous modifications and additions to this body of law by subsequent enactments, or with the application of the law to special cases; but, generally, no man in Norway can be ignorant of the laws affecting his property, or of his legal rights or duties. It appears at first view a singular anomaly, that throughout all this code, emanating from and sanctioned by absolute monarchs, some of whom were even despotic and tyrannical, there runs a perpetual strain of reference, in all matters affecting person or property, to that which is the main protection of all civil liberty, the trial by jury. It may be doubted whether England does, — certainly Scotland does not, — at this day, enjoy all the essential advantages of jury trial in matters regarding property, so fully as Norway has done from the earliest times. The anomaly disappears when we consider, that a reference to a jury is, in fact, an unmeaning excrescence, when engrafted on the feudal law, in which there is positive rule and principle to be referred to in every matter respecting property; and that it is the natural emanation of the udal system, from which both England and Norway derive this mode of trial. In the administration of the laws relating to udal property, under the principle of partition among children, and under *odelsbaarn ret*, the boundaries, extent, and value of the property to be inherited, and also of each of the portions into



which it has to be adjudged to the several heirs, are essential points in almost every case; and these cannot possibly be determined without a reference to skilful men, locally acquainted with the subject, and having no interest or favour for any party,—in short, to a jury. This udal law causes a great variety of interests, and of adjustments among heirs, which cannot be brought under any fixed rule. When an individual dies, for instance, his estate must be valued and divided among his lawful heirs: but one may wish to have it sold, and its price divided; another, to have a portion of the land itself; one may be willing to buy the shares of the others, but only able to pay by instalments, or by yearly portions of the produce of the land: all these are adjustments in equity, to which law can only be applied in a very general way; and which a jury, or what is equivalent to one, the finding of impartial skilful men, can alone determine. A reference to the judgment of such men is, accordingly, the basis of all law proceedings in Norway, as fixed by Christian V.'s law book; and, from the very nature of the law of succession to udal land, it evidently must be coeval with the existence of such property. Whatever might be the form of the government, it could not cease while the rights of property were acknowledged. In the administration of the feudal laws respecting property, this necessity of a reference to a jury totally falls away. The rule and application is the same, be the extent or value great or small. There is no necessity for any local knowledge; nothing to determine by rules of equity. A jury could only be called upon to find that an heir bears the relationship he claims to stand in to the deceased; which is a question seldom doubtful. To this source, probably, the English jury trial owes its origin. It is far-fetched to ascribe it to imaginary principles, handed down from the ancient Germans, by which every man was considered entitled to a trial by his own peers. A much more pressing necessity than any connected with criminal justice arose daily under the udal law, of adjusting the value, extent, and other circumstances of property to be inherited. The Northmen, for several generations before the reign of Canute the Great, possessed a large proportion of England; and the conquest by their descendants under the Norman was not likely to alter the tenure of land, and the institutions and laws arising out of it, which were common to both



divisions of these military emigrants, at no very distant period, in their native land.

The administration of law in Norway is on a good and simple footing. There are points in it which deserve the consideration of those eminent men who consider the British courts susceptible of some improvement.

The court of first instance, the lowest in Norway, if it can be called one, is the parish court of mutual agreement. This is a modern institution, which does honour to the wisdom and liberal spirit of the Danish government. It is the first great and decided improvement upon the old modes and forms of administering justice which has been attempted by any of the ancient governments of Europe with success. It is a legacy from her former masters, for which Norway should be grateful. In every parish, the resident householders elect, every third year, from among themselves, a person to be the commissioner of mutual agreement. He must not practise law in any capacity, and his appointment is subject to the approval of the amtman, or highest executive officer of the district. In towns, or large and populous parishes, there are one or more assessors, or assistants to the commissioner, and he has always a clerk. He holds his court once a month within the parish, and receives a small fee of an ort (ninepence) on entering each case. Every case or lawsuit whatsoever must pass through this preliminary court in which no lawyer or attorney is allowed to practise. The parties must appear personally, or by a person not professional. Each states his own case, and his statement is entered fully, and to his own satisfaction, in the protocol of the commissioner who must then endeavour to bring the parties to an agreement, by proposing some middle course upon which both may agree. He acts, in short, as a private arbiter would do, and gives his opinion or judgment accordingly. If both parties agree to his finding, or advice, it is immediately taken to the local court of law, or Sorenskrivers' court, which is also held within each parish, to be sanctioned, revised as to rights of any third parties, and registered; and it has, without expense, the validity of a final decision. For instance, if a person owes a simple debt, he must be summoned by the creditor to the court of mutual agreement. The debtor may explain that he cannot pay the claim in money, but will pay it in corn or goods, or against a certain time, or has counter claims which extinguish part of it. All the statements of both parties

are entered fully by the commissioner in his protocol, and to their own satisfaction. He then proposes what he conceives may suit both parties ; such as a reasonable time to sell the corn or goods, or a reasonable deduction for the counter claims. If both agree, the proposal is immediately registered. If one agrees, but the other does not, the party not agreeing appeals to the local or Sorenskriver's court, which sits once, at least, in each parish in every quarter of a year ; but he will have the expense of both parties to pay, if the terms of agreement proposed and rejected are judged not unreasonable. In this higher court, but which is, properly speaking, the lowest legal one, the parties appear, if they choose, by their law agents, or procurators ; but in this, and all the subsequent or higher courts through which a case may be carried, nothing is received but the protocol of the court of mutual agreement ; no new matter, statements, or references to evidence, but what stand in the commissioner's protocol. This is the best part of the institution. It confines the lawyer to his law, and brings the facts of the case, as understood by the parties themselves, before the court, without trick or disguise. Much legal talent is expended in our courts in cross-examining witnesses, brow-beating the dull and honest, involving in contradiction the equally honest of quicker temperament, and working on the personal temper of witnesses, in order to bring out such an appearance of a case as may deceive the judgment of an ordinary jury. This is all a very fine display of talent, but altogether inconsistent with the substantial ends of justice. It may happen that the practised judge himself cannot always disentangle the truth from the contradictory statements which the ingenuity of the lawyer has contrived to twist round it. All this chicanery, which is the glory, and ought to be the shame, of the British bar, is cut off by the simple Norwegian arrangement, by which the only facts admitted to proof, or to legal argument, are those stated, together with the evidence on which they rest, in this protocol.

A multiplicity of small courts of law is undoubtedly an evil, and an evil so great, that Mr. Macculloch, a high authority on all points of political economy, proposes that, in England, no small debts, or no sum below a certain amount, such as 50*l.*, should be recoverable at all by legal process, excepting wages and similar obligations. This, to be sure, would be curing the evil of giving undue credit, the thralldom in which the workman is thus kept by

the master manufacturer, and the ruinous expense to the labouring class in suing or being sued for small sums; but it would be curing it as cutting off the head would cure the tooth-ache. It would be monstrous, and opposed to all improvement in the social condition of a country, that the capitalist alone should have the benefit of law and justice, while the poor should be cut off from it and brought back to that barbarous state in which, from the want of law, credit cannot be given or taken in the daily transaction between man and man. It is true that the improvident, and even the provident, workmen were kept in a state of thralldom by their employers while the system of paying wages with shop goods, or with a portion of the manufactured article, was legal; but it is equally true, as was ably stated by Mr. Hume, that to put down that system by positive legal enactment was a direct violation of the very first principles of free trade. It was a glaring inconsistency, as labourers in many of the most important branches of productive industry, as in husbandry, were still paid, and could only be paid, in the way that was declared illegal. It was also a prohibition against small capitalists engaging in any branch of manufacture, as they require this double use of their capital,—the producing the goods, and the securing purchasers, in their workmen, to carry on business with their moderate means. It is also true, that the multiplicity of small courts of law, and the cheap and easy access to them, foster a spirit of litigation, furnish a kind of excitement, similar to that of gaming, which is, perhaps, as pernicious to the character and happiness of a people as the denial of law itself would be. When Lord Brougham wished to see the day when cheap law might be had at every man's door in England, his Lordship probably meant a cheap equitable adjustment of differences—cheap equity, not cheap law; some establishment, in short, similar to the courts of mutual agreement, which would obviate the recourse to law, and repress, not encourage, the spirit of litigation. The small debt, or justice of peace, courts in Scotland, however useful, do not answer this end. They are courts of cheap law only, administered in general by the same local judge, the sheriff substitute, who on other days deals out the same commodity in his own court, but at a greater expense. This has a very different effect upon the spirit of a people from an institution in which an arbiter of their own appointing, who has nothing *to do with law*, endeavours to reconcile them before they go into

court of law, and whose office is of so much weight that they cannot pass it by, and can go into a court only with the statements made to him. In this institution, probably,—modified and altered, of course, to suit the different circumstances of the country,—may be found the true remedy of the evil complained of by Mr. Macculloch.\*

The next court is that of the Sorenskriver, or sworn writer, which is the lowest legal one. This judge sits under appointment from government; but, like all other public functionaries, is not removable at pleasure, even from one district to another. He must have taken a degree in civil and in Norwegian law; and licensed procurators practise in his court. Norway is divided, for the administration of law, into four provinces, or stifts, and sixty-four sorenskriveries. Each sorenskriver's district comprehends several parishes, or prestegields, and each prestegield generally has a court-house, in which the sorenskriver holds a court at least once every quarter of a year. The sorenskriver, like the Scotch sheriff, is the criminal, as well as civil, judge of his district: but the police, the arrest and keeping of prisoners, and all executive functions, form the duty of the Fogeds. Norway is divided, for this purpose, into four provinces, or stifts, being the same as for the administration of the law, and into eighteen amts, and forty-four fogederies. In Scotland, there is a very awkward mixture of the duties of judge and executive officer in the sheriff. The same individual whose feelings, or passions, or vanity, perhaps, have been excited in the discharge of the executive duty of detecting and securing a criminal, has immediately to sit as judge in the case, although in that capacity he ought to be divested of all feeling or personal knowledge of matters brought before him. In civil cases, that, for instance, of a nuisance, or encroachment on public property, the sheriff has first to order the matter to be brought judicially before him, and then delivers a judgment upon his own indictment. This awkward admixture of the incompatible duties of the executive and administrative, is avoided in Norway by the fogeds,

\* In 1831, the number of cases brought before the parish courts of mutual agreement in Norway was 65,446, in 1832, 63,507; in 1833, 55,083. of these, two-thirds were settled by the arbitration court. In 1834, the number was 44,000 of these, 32,393 were settled by the arbitration court; 19,259 were sent out, to be referred to the courts of law, but of these, only 2,876 were finally carried by the parties into a court of law.

who, being resident in their fogderies, exercise all executive public functions in them. They collect the national and local taxes, take charge of the crown property and all public concerns and report to their immediate superior, the amtman of the amt who again reports to the stift's amtman, or amtman of the province to which the amt belongs. The sorenskriver's court is of great importance. Besides judging civil and criminal affairs, it is also the court of registration for all debts affecting property in his district, and for ascertaining the value of, and the succession to, all property of deceased persons, according to the udal law of succession. It is necessarily, therefore, a jury court. The following is the constitution of the Norwegian jury, as established by Christian V.'s law, and as it has existed since the year 1687. The amtman, or the foged and sorenskriver under his authority, in the open court-house, on the last court-day of the year, names eight resident men in the parish (each parish being a thing-laug, or court-district), to be the law-right men, and to attend all meetings of the court in their district during the following year. The eight are to be taken, without selection, as they stand in the list for the payment of scat, or tax, in the parish; and others can only be named in the same order from the list, to replace any of them who may be incapacitated by having an interest in the matter to be judged, or other legal cause. This standing jury acts under oath, and judges along with the sorenskriver in all matters relating to life, honour, property, and udal rights; but in all inferior cases, excepting those specially appointed by law, the sorenskriver alone judges, like our justice of peace, but they attest his judgment, forming a constituent part of his court. In judging with the sorenskriver, it is to be observed, this jury does not merely give in a verdict, or finding, under his direction, as judge, but the plurality of the voices determine, he himself being only one of the number; and instances are not wanting of his opinion being over-ruled.

These are liberal institutions\* for the year 1687, and for a mon-

\* The present Danish monarch, with great good taste, made a parting present to his former subjects in Norway, of the manuscript of Christian V.'s Law Book. It is splendidly written on folio parchment, and bound in massive silver; the boards of that metal, finely adorned, folding back on concealed hinges. Whether we consider the book itself, altogether a most magnificent piece of workmanship, or its contents, the period at which it was compiled and promulgated, the spirit of freedom in which all its enactments are conceived, and

arch invested with absolute legislative power. We may well ask where is the boasted superiority or priority of the English jury trial? Denmark, in truth, has little to reproach herself with, in her government of Norway during a period of nearly four hundred years. She may well turn to England, by whose influence, or with whose sanction this long-established connexion was dissolved, and ask whether Ireland, which has stood for about the same period in the same relation to England as Norway to Denmark, would be left at the present day by the English government in the same state in which Norway stands; the people in the enjoyment, almost universally, of property, of the most perfect domestic tranquillity and personal security, and of ease, and comfort, and exemption from great poverty or crime, having ancient laws and institutions conceived in the very spirit of liberty, and carrying all the blessings of liberty and of justice, cheaply administered by the people themselves, to the very fire-side of the common man, and so well adapted to the condition of the country, that now, when the people have obtained the power of legislating for themselves, they know no better use to make of that power, than to confirm, hold fast, and defend by its means the civil rights, distribution of property, social arrangements and laws, which they inherited from their ancient masters. It is the highest and most striking tribute of praise ever paid by a nation to its rulers, that, after a change from a pure uncontrolled despotism to a government in which the legislative power is lodged entirely in the hands of the people, no essential change has been thought necessary or desirable by the people in the civil establishments, social arrangements, or code of laws left in operation in Norway by the Danish monarchs. Is this very striking fact in political history to be considered a tribute of approbation only to the former government of Norway? Is it not also a satire on the undue importance which we attach, in the present age, to the mere forms of government? Does it not show that all these operate according to the state of property and enlightenment of a people; that a nation may practically be in the enjoyment of civil rights, free institutions, property, security, and all the blessings of liberty in all that affects the well-being of the many under an absolute monarch, and may practically be destitute

*the udal principles of property and judicial procedure established, it is the most valuable gift ever made to a nation. It is preserved in the library of the University of Christiania.*



of all these advantages of liberty, as for instance in Ireland, although living under a form of government in which the people elect their own legislature? Is it not a speaking illustration of the text, that "property is power?" Where property is vested in the body of the people by a just distributive law of succession, there, also, will be found that mass of power which secures to the people civil rights, just laws, and all that belongs to the free use and secure enjoyment of property, whatever be the form of the legislative portion of the government. Where property is not generally diffused through the body of the people, but, by the operation of the feudal law of succession, is exclusively possessed by a few classes, there civil rights, just laws, free institutions, and all that belongs to liberty, are secured by a smaller mass of power, and are enjoyed by a smaller proportion of the people. To the main body of the nation, who are destitute of property, the free use and enjoyment of it is but a name; and the form of government is only a question of power between parties. The diffusion of property through society must precede the diffusion of political rights. The latter have nothing to work upon but the former, and can have no existence independent of it. There were undoubtedly many and great faults in the Danish administration of Norway, but these were not of a nature generally to affect the condition and well-being of the great body of the people. The preference almost exclusively given to natives of Denmark for offices in Norway, and the constant denial of an university in the kingdom, were serious and heavy grievances; but they affected directly only a small proportion of the community. The errors producing the most extensive evil consequences, that of running all branches of industry into monopolies in favour of different classes, and that of legislating too much, and putting the hand of government to concerns which might fairly be left to the free operation of private interests, were the faults of the age, and not of the Danish government in particular: even at the present day they are committed and defended by almost every government.

The *sorenskriver's* is the court of registration of all deeds, contracts, and debts affecting personal or heritable property within its district; and this register is open to all. The property of minors, *the interests of absent parties in the succession to udal and other property, the valuing, realising, and dividing it according to law heirs, come to its charge.* The whole proceedings at *the next superior one, which is the Stifts Amt-court*

that of the province. It consists of three judges, with assessors; is stationary in the chief town of each of the four stifts or provinces into which Norway is divided; and is the court of appeal from all the sorenskrivers' courts in the province, and has also the revision of their administration. In all criminal matters whatsoever, the sentence of the sorenskriver's court is sent up to it before it is pronounced, to be revised and sanctioned.

The punishment of death was abolished in the Danish dominions about the end of last century. Slavery in chains for life, or for shorter periods, according to the nature of the crime, is the punishment for all crimes in Norway. It may be doubted whether this be either wise or humane. If all crimes are visited with the same description of punishment, the ignorant, whom it is the great end of public punishments to deter from crime, will naturally consider them all as alike, — murder not worse than robbery, nor robbery than petty theft. It is not wise to confound, even in appearance, the distinction between different degrees of guilt. The object of punishment is to deter others, as well as the delinquent himself, from crime. Slavery in chains presents always the same appearance: its longer or shorter duration is a part not seen, and not impressive. It affects the offender in due proportion to his guilt, but not those who are to be deterred by his example. They can see only the same degree of suffering dealt out to the greatest and smallest offender. The contamination of mind, also, to the offenders themselves, from the comparatively innocent and the most atrocious being subject to one common punishment, cannot be very favourable to their amendment. It may also be doubted, whether the system is really humane to the offender. If slavery in chains for life be really made a state of punishment, it is only inflicting a protracted instead of a speedy death. It is not humanity to starve a criminal to death, or to keep him in a state of half-starvation until nature gives way, instead of hanging him. It is not humanity to work or to flog him by degrees to death, or to chain him in a standing posture every night, after over-working him all day, or to drive him to madness by solitary confinement and silence. All these ingenious modes of torturing criminals to death are practised in those countries in which capital punishment has been abolished; but the humanity of the slow instead of the *summary death may be questioned*. It is humanity to ourselves. *We are spared the sight, or knowledge, of the infliction of death*

on a fellow-creature ; but the infliction is not the less certain. The benefit of deterring others, by an impressive punishment, is lost, and the control over its severity is lost, as the lot of the slave must depend on the personal character of his keeper or task-master.

In this nation of small proprietors the sense of honour is more developed, and more generally diffused, than in the countries feudally constituted. Loss of honour has been, from the earliest times, a specified effective punishment in the criminal law of Norway, standing next in degree to loss of life. The possession of property naturally diffuses through all classes the self-respect, regard for character and public opinion, circumspection of conduct, and consideration for others, which flow from or are connected with the possession of property, and render these influential on the morals, manners, and mode of thinking of the whole body of the people. The Norwegian peasant has never, like the Swede, the Dane, the Russian, or the German, crouched beneath the cudgel of the feudal baron bailiff. He has the feelings and proper pride of an independent man possessed of property, and knowing nothing above him but the law. In real highmindedness he is the Spaniard of the north. Among a people whose national character and social condition are so formed, who are scattered in small clusters only over the country, and whose business and occupations are of the most simple kind, the loss of honour is not an unmeaning nominal punishment, as it would be among our manufacturing population. There is, and always has been, much more of the real business of the country in the hands of the people, and transacted by themselves, than in any other country of Europe. They have not merely the legislative power and election of their Storting, which is but a late institution ; but, in all times, the whole civil business of the community has been in a great measure in their own hands. It appears to be the general spirit of the udal law, that the constituted legal authorities have rather a superintending, than a managing, power. The division of udal property among heirs, the guardianship of estates belonging to minors, the settling disputes by the commission of mutual agreement, the provision for the poor, the support of roads and bridges, the regulations for the fisheries, the charge and conveyance of prisoners (as gaols are only in the chief town of each province), the attendance on the courts of the district as valuers, arbiters, or jurymen, are among the affairs

which devolve on the people under the superintendence of the legal authorities. The exclusion from these affairs and functions, which of course the legal sentence of loss of honour produces, is a punishment so severely felt, that there are instances of culprits, after that portion of their punishment consisting in slavery for a certain period had been completed, returning to their chains, committing on purpose some petty offence, rather than live as outcasts under the sentence of dishonour among their former friends. It is also a remarkable trait of the open, simple, manly disposition of this nation, that a criminal very rarely, when arrested, attempts to deny or conceal any part of the fact, and usually at once makes a full avowal of all particulars, even of those which could not be proved.

From the Stift Amt-courts, cases criminal as well as civil may be carried by appeal to the final and highest court, that of Hoieste Ret, which sits in Christiania. The military sentences even of courts martial, if they involve a punishment exceeding three months' imprisonment, may be appealed from, and carried to this tribunal in time of peace; and it is provided by the ground-law, that in such cases the court shall add to its numbers a certain proportion of military officers. The Hoieste Ret, by the ground-law, is one of the three estates of the constitution, and is independent of the executive and of the legislative branches. It is provided, however, that it must keep a protocol of its proceedings and decisions, which is to be laid before the legislative branch or Storting on its meeting; and the judges of this court, who are seven in number, may be severally impeached by the lower house of Storting before the upper, which, in such case, is to form a court, along with the remaining members of the Hoieste Ret, for trying the party impeached.

A peculiar principle is adopted in the jurisprudence of this country, totally unknown in the feudal law, or in that of England. It deserves the consideration of those who are capable of giving such subjects a philosophic consideration, as the principle is not one of theory only, but is and has been in operation in this country from the earliest ages, being probably coeval with the administration of the udal law itself. The judge is responsible for his legal decision. Upon an appeal from it to a higher court, he must defend it there, and is liable in damages for a wrong decision. This principle is so opposite to all theory and to all practice in our

courts of law, where judges are entirely irresponsible for error of judgment, ignorance of law, or even for carelessness, partiality, or prejudice, however obvious and gross, that it may be interesting to give the precise words of this peculiar udal law from Christian V.'s code, as republished, in 1833, in Christiania, under the inspection of the juridical faculty:—

“Should any judge deliver a wrong decision, and that happen either because he has not instructed himself rightly in the case, or that the case has been wrongly represented to him, or that he has done it from want of judgment, he shall make good to the party whom he has wronged by such decision, his proven loss, expenses and damage sustained; and can it be proved that the judge has been influenced by favour, friendship, or gifts, or if the case is so clear that it cannot be imputed to want of judgment, or wrong instruction upon it, then he shall be displaced, and declared incapable of ever sitting as a judge again, and shall forfeit to the injured party what he has suffered, should it be to the extent of fortune, life, or honour.”\* It is also provided, in a subsequent clause, that if a judge die during the course of an appeal from his decision, his heirs are responsible for the damages; but with the benefit of the consideration in the higher court, that the defunct's decision cannot be suitably explained, and defended, on the grounds on which he himself might have explained and defended it. It is provided that the decisions given in the lowest court, that of the *sorenskriver*, shall be defended by the *sorenskriver* and two of the jury or law-right men, who shall be empowered by the rest to appear for them, and they shall be bound to defend their decisions before the higher court. This peculiar principle in the administration of law is by no means a dead letter. I find a report of a law case in the newspapers of this very month, in which the *Stifts Amt-court* of the province of Christiania is condemned by the *Hoieste Ret* to pay sixty dollars of damages to a private party, in a question of succession to heritage not rightly decided, upon its appeal from the *sorenskriver's* court; the decision being of course reversed, and that of the lower court affirmed. A case recently occurred of an estate being sold, under authority of a decision of the *sorenskriver's*

\* *Kong Christian den Femtes Norske Lov*, 1687. Bog. i. cap. 5. art. 8. *Christiania*, 1833, ditto cap. 7. art. 1. /

ourt, at a price admitted to be highly advantageous to all concerned, and with the concurrence of the trustees of the property, and all the heirs interested in it. The party in trust, however, was an insane old woman, incapable of giving a legal assent; and on the appeal of her personal curator, the decision of the sorenkriver was found wrong, and he was adjudged to purchase back the estate, and re-invest the party in it at his own expense. The trustees who sold, and the purchaser who bought, had done so under authority of a legal decision; they, therefore, were not the parties to be called on to defend the sentence in the higher court; it was the judge who gave it. This is the ordinary course of law; and it is certainly a very straight-forward course. Since 1687, when Christian V. published the code now in force, from the old laws then in use, this principle of the responsibility of judges has been rather sharpened than blunted. The inferior judge is subject to a fine, in cases where he would have no damages to pay for injury from his wrong decision; and if his decisions in the judgment-seat have been reversed three times from his want of instruction in the cases, he is displaced. The undue delay in giving judgment, which this heavy personal responsibility of the judge for his decisions might almost excuse, is provided against by law. He is obliged to give his decisions within six weeks after the record is closed, unless both the parties agree to crave a further time, or any special lawful obstacle, of which the superior court would be cognisant, interposes a delay.

If we consider fairly this peculiar principle of udal jurisprudence, it appears, in truth, no more than reasonable that the man who, voluntarily and by his own seeking, holds the office of judge in the community, should, like every other member of society, be answerable for the evil he may occasion to others by his incapacity, want of industry, and careful research into the business before him, even for want of sound understanding, legal knowledge, or any other cause. There is no foundation in reason for the kind of sanctity, derived from the middle ages, with which our judges, to the present day, envelope their office, and claim irresponsibility for the mischief they may occasion by professional ignorance, folly, or incapacity. It is derived from the same period of civilisation, and stands upon the same principle, as the exemption of the clergy in the *middle ages* from responsibility to the ordinary laws and



courts of the country, or of the clerk who could read his breviary from its legal punishments. The king can do no wrong; but it is rather too much, in the present state of society, to hold that all who are in authority under him, as judges, can do no wrong also, and that judges in all those inferior courts from which it is competent to appeal should be totally irresponsible for their ignorance, carelessness, or partiality. If one of two parties is to suffer by a wrong decision, it appears in common sense much more reasonable that it should be the judge who delivered it, and who had voluntarily accepted of his office, than the innocent client or party wrongfully adjudged, who had no option but to bring it before his court. But who would accept of the office of judge under such responsibility? This question naturally arises on a slight consideration of the great variety of interests, the intricacy of the rights, and the uncertainty of the laws, which in a wealthy and commercial nation affect property. What may be practicable in a poor country like Norway, in which law and property are in the most simple state, seems totally inapplicable to countries in the state of England or Scotland. Yet, as matter of speculation, without reference to what is now practicable, the subject, as far as regards Scotland at least, admits of a different view. At the beginning and down to the middle of last century, Scotland was a poorer country than Norway is now; her trade less extensive; her commercial transactions, both domestic and foreign, far less important or complicated; and property of all kinds in as simple a state as it was then, or at least is at present, in Norway. If the same principle of the responsibility of judges for their decisions had been law in Scotland from the same period when it was adopted in the code of Christian V. in 1687, would not all the variety, intricacy, and uncertainty in the laws regulating property have been diminished instead of increased in the course of time, and the responsibility attached to the functions of judge have grown less instead of greater? Every decision given would have been, to a certain degree, a fixed and incontrovertible point in law; and a great mass of erroneous, conflicting, and contradictory decisions, which involved injustice at the time, and remained as the elements of future injustice, could not have come into existence. In Scotland, at no very remote period, the appointment to *this sacred function* of irresponsible judge of life and property was

unblushingly claimed as the proper perquisite of political influence, and the office bestowed as the reward of political subserviency. While such was the nature of the patronage, would not the country have been better served and its jurisprudence in a better state if all its judges had, since 1687, been appointed with such a principle of responsibility before a higher tribunal for their decisions? There would have been no want of able judges. The sound lawyer, conscious of possessing the legal knowledge, judgment, and industry which entitle him to take his place among the foremost of his contemporaries, would treat with scorn the idea of being intimidated from accepting the office of judge by the risk or responsibility of having his legal decisions revised or reversed by any other professional man. The weak creature, indeed, who has crept from behind into the judgment-seat by the aid of political influence, conscious that he ought not to be there, and that he wants the qualifications to come to sound legal decisions unless by chance, would necessarily want the moral courage to accept of such an office with such a responsibility. In Norway there is no want of able lawyers as candidates for judicial function, with all its responsibilities. Procurators seek to be sorenskrivers. Advocates aspire to be judges in the Stifts Amt-courts or Hoieste Ret court. Why should it not have been so in other countries, as in Scotland, if the same principle had come into operation at a period when property was in a similar state? Good government would gain a steady basis by the adoption, even now, of such a principle, with the modifications which the different state of society and property in different countries might require. The administration of justice would never be converted into an instrument for serving the temporary views of political power, and could never be unduly influenced by the spirit of party, even in times of the greatest excitement, in a country where the judge might be called upon to defend his decisions before a higher court, and be liable for the injury occasioned by a wrong one; where the higher court, too, is a constituent branch of the state, independent of the executive and legislative, its members irremovable and elevated above local or party feeling. In Norway, in prosecutions connected with the abuse of the freedom of the press, and in many cases in which the executive government had apparently a strong feeling, this highest court of final resort, the Hoieste Ret of the Norwegian constitu-

tion, by the calm independence of its judgments, has proved itself neither influenced by the spirit of the cabinet nor by that of the people, but to be truly and effectively a third estate in the body politic.

## CHAPTER VI.

Another Fair. — Skins. — Dogs bred for Fur. — Books at the Fair. — Bible Society's Operations counteract the diffusion of the Bible in foreign Parts. — Laplanders. — Peculiar Race. — Present State. — Numbers. — Language. — Value of Stock required to subsist a Laplander. — The Fjelde Life. — Its Attractions. — Corn Banks. — Thrashing-Machines — Probably a Norwegian, not a Scotch Invention. — Fences in Norway. — Description. — Advantages. — Economy. — Russian Population. — Power. — Policy. — Value to Russia of a Sea Coast. — Northern Provinces of Finmark and Nordland. — Their Connexion with Norway — With Russia — Probable Views of Russia on that Part of Scandinavia north of the 62° of Latitude. — Importance of such an Acquisition. — Indications that it is contemplated.

*Levanger, April 1835.* — We had another fair in our little town in the beginning of March, which lasted a shorter time, but was more lively than the December one. The Jemtelanders, with their coffin-shaped sledges closed with lids, making not bad beds for a snowy night on the Fjelde, for which purpose they seem constructed, appeared in great numbers. They purchased horses, fish, manufactured and colonial wares, for the Swedish and Russian fairs. Young, sound, and very handsome horses were sold for 40 or 45 dollars. I expected to have seen more skins of wolves and bears at a market so near to their homes; but such furs find a better sale among the nobles of Sweden and Russia, than among the Norwegian udallers. Those brought here were principally of the reindeer and goat, which are dressed with the hair on, and are used as blankets by the labouring class. There were two skins of the beaver in the fair. The animal, although not extinct, is rare in the Fjelde, and lives solitary, not, like the American beaver, in society. The fur or skin used for their winter pelisses by the Fjelde people is really handsomer, although much cheaper, than that of the wolf or bear. It belongs to a particular kind of dog with a remarkably fine, soft, and glossy fur. These dogs are bred for the sake of their skins; and it appears to me that many of the best of the dark-brown or black muffs and tippetts of our English ladies are *merely well-selected* skins of these Fjelde dogs. A *pelisse* of such fur costs about 18 dollars, while that of wolf-skin

costs 40 or 50. A fur pelisse is not however indispensable in the climate. The great majority, four-fifths at least, of every assemblage of people wear great-coats of good substantial home-made blue cloth. A few wear great-coats made of goat skin prepared as to be perfectly water-proof and light. It is lined with cloth made like a modern great-coat, and would be a comfortable, dry useful coat for a rainy night outside the mail coach.

From what I have observed at the two fairs in this place, which are among the most considerable in the Peninsula, I am satisfied of the correctness of the observation I made at Dronthiem, that the great subscriptions and exertions in England for printing and distributing the Scriptures in foreign countries, are counteracting their own object, as far as respects those countries in which the printing and selling of books are established trades. At this fair several thousand people are assembled, many of whom dwell in the valleys high up in the Fjelde, remote from other men, and scarcely within the verge of civilised society, and with little opportunity, except at these yearly fairs, of supplying their wants. There appeared to be a considerable inclination among the common people to buy and read whatever came in their way in the shape of a book, and to take home something of the kind from the fair, just as we see at our country fairs in Scotland. Almanacks and ballads seemed in considerable request; the old folks buying the former, and the girls with their sweethearts very busy over the latter. There were school-books, cookery books, the law book of Christian V., the ground-law of the Norwegian constitution, the transactions of the Storthing of 1824, to be found in the shops; also a reasonable supply of the catechism, and of the book of common prayer, as used in the Norwegian church: but there was not a single copy of the Bible or New Testament. The Scriptures have evidently been driven out of the market\* by the Society furnishing them greatly cheaper than could be afforded by those who have to live by the printing and selling of books. The natural distribution through every corner of a country of all that the inhabitants use or may require, is by the hands of traders stimulated by their own interest to bring supply to every door at which there is any chance of finding a demand. It is dangerous to interfere with this nature

\* In the year 1816, in the bishopric of Bergen, there were found to be 390 *Bibles* in a population of 146,999 persons. Budstikkens tredie aargang.

course. The trader is actuated by the fear of loss as well as by the hope of gain. If he have no capital at stake, no loss to dread as well as profit to hope, his exertions will only be half of what are necessary for supplying a country. The application of this to the present question is obvious. The British and Foreign Bible Society may print a sufficient stock of Bibles to give one to every family, or even every grown person in a foreign country, at half of the ordinary price. They may send this stock to the principal towns, and even the parishes; but still the question remains, How are these books to be distributed? If they are delivered to the trader at even half the ordinary price, he has just so much less inducement to bestir himself in getting them sold as he has less of his own trading capital embarked in them, and less loss or inconvenience to apprehend by a tardy sale. Give him the copies for nothing, or for a trifle, and it is evident he would not be at the expense and trouble of packing up and transporting to distant markets, fairs, or other places of sale, goods which occupied little or no portion of his trading capital. If trade then be the means adopted by the Society for its Bible distributions, they are depriving that means of half the stimulant which urges it in supplying mankind with their other wants. If, on the contrary, they trust to the good-will and zeal of agents, either paid, or actuated by christian charity, it is incumbent on the good and able men who direct its affairs to satisfy the world that this is a permanently effective means, and that the channel of trade would be imperfect and temporary compared to distribution by their agents. In our small parishes in Britain, zealous agents, well-disposed persons, and the clergy, may undoubtedly effect for a time, and perhaps even permanently, a very wide distribution of the Scriptures, and may outstrip the slow, but sure and ever returning pace of the trader. In foreign countries, population is scattered over a much larger space. Parishes in the north of Europe approach very often the extent of English counties. The clergy are overwhelmed with duties, which render it impossible that they should be the active agents for the distribution. They can only be the depositaries of the stock to be distributed around them. The scarcity of money, also, is so great, that the peasant, or man of the lower class, is much more able to pay the trader who brings to his door the things he requires, the Bible among others, the very highest price in the way of barter, than to pay *in money* the lowest price to the minister



or Bible Society's agent. Money is not his usual and readie means of payment. It is scarcely so among a large proportion of our own labouring population. It may be doubted whether there is any benefit to them, or any real advance towards the object, by a system under which that portion of the people of Europe can only get at a copy of the Bible through a medium which they have no to give for it. It may be doubted also, whether the natural principles of supply and demand on which Providence has placed the wholesome distribution through society of all that is good for man can, in the case of religious instruction, be safely superseded by the exertions of a society's committee and agents. If there be any truth in these observations, they appear seriously to deserve the consideration of the Society, and of the thousands and tens of thousands who are yearly subscribing their mite to its funds in the purest spirit of Christianity. They are not made with any hostile feeling, but simply to intimate a reasonable, and, to appearance well-grounded, doubt of the means being suitable to the great and benevolent end they have in view.

*April, 1835.*—In my evening walk one day this month, I fell in with a Laplander dead drunk, and fast asleep upon the snow. His wife was walking backwards and forwards, watching him sometimes endeavouring to rouse him, and get him on his legs sometimes sitting down close to him to warm and prevent the cold from overpowering him; but not appearing in the least impatient or uneasy. It was a curious picture. The Laplanders who come to the markets in the low country, to sell frozen venison, reindeer skins, and cheese, leave their reindeer twenty or twenty-five miles from hence in the Fjelde, and lodge in barns and outhouses like our gipsies; but, in the Fjelde, they lodge under tents, or wigwams of a few sticks set up and covered with a piece of coarse woollen cloth, or skins, such as one may see at the corner of every wood in the parts of England frequented by gipsies. The Laplander has certainly, beyond all other Europeans, peculiarities of feature and appearance, not easily described, but which decidedly indicate a separate breed or race. The slit of the eye running obliquely from the temples to the nose; the eyes small and peculiarly brown, and without eyelashes; the forehead low and projecting; the cheekbone high and far apart; the mouth wide, with ill-defined lips; the chin thinly furnished with scattered hairs rather than a beard; the skin *decidedly of a yellow hue*, as in the cross-breed of a white person

with a mulatto, — all these peculiarities strike the eye at once, as distinctive of a separate race. The structure of the body also seems different. The bones are considerably smaller as well as shorter than in other races ; and those of the thigh have apparently a greater width between them. They form a curve with the leg bone down to the foot, so that in standing with their feet close together, all above is far apart. They have also that peculiarity of a distinct race, the odour from their bodies being to our sense different from that of ours, and to us raw and wild — if scent can be so described. They are not a handsome race, certainly, but I have seen countenances among the young people of pleasing expression. The pair I found on the snow, at least the lady, could not be called ugly ; but, perhaps, her quiet patience, and visible attachment to her husband, made her appear to advantage. There is no want of intelligent expression in their countenances ; and they are far from being a stupid people. When driven by necessity to leave their Fjelde life, and betake themselves to the occupation of fishermen in the boats of the people of Nordland and Finmark, they are noted for becoming, in a very short time, expert and bold boatmen. This class of Laplanders are so far advanced in the arts of civilized life, that they are even distinguished as boat-builders in Alten Fjord, Lynger Fjord, and other places. Another class have also exchanged the wandering life for fixed habitations of turf, or even of wood ; they keep cattle, goats, and pigs, as well as reindeer ; and, like the other inhabitants of the Finland or Quan race, raise hay crops. A third class keep reindeer only, and live in tents, but roam about within a particular district or parish, and consider themselves entitled to the exclusive pasturage of their tract of Fjelde. The number of actually wandering Laplanders who have no home, but lead a true nomadic life, following their reindeer from the North Cape down to the 62d degree of north latitude, is very inconsiderable. There are as many gipsies, tinkers, and strollers in England and Scotland, without any fixed habitation, as all this part of the Lapland nation. In the year 1825, the total number of Laplanders of all ages and sexes within the Swedish territories, was only 5964 ; and of these, only 931 led a nomadic life with reindeer ; and 376 wandered about as fishermen on the lakes and rivers, servants and herdsmen, or beggars, without reindeer flocks. In Norway the numbers are not so distinctly known ; as, to avoid paying scat or poll-tax, they remove from the Nor-

wegian into the Russian or Swedish territory, and wander back again, when they find it convenient; but they are not estimated at more than 6000; and the whole of the Lappish people probably does not exceed 12,000.

The language is altogether different from the Norse, or Swedish, or from that spoken by the Quans or Finland race, who have travelled from the east side of the Bothnian Gulf into Finmark and Nordland, and form the greater part of the population of those provinces. The Lappish tongue is apparently very rich in those inflections or terminations which denote the different relations of objects. There are ten cases of nouns marking various relations of presence, absence, distance, which in other languages are denoted by distinct words or prepositions. The language appears not to have been altogether reduced to a printable state, by the adoption of proper signs for those sounds which our alphabet cannot express. It has been studied, and grammars of it published, by Leem, and by Professor Rask; but their labours were not intended for the Laplander, but for the continental philologist. In the hundred years from 1728 to 1828, all that has been printed for the use of the Laplander, is a catechism, a translation of a few of the Psalms, and the first two chapters of the Gospel of St Matthew.\* There appear to be difficulties from the difference of dialects, even among this handful of people, and from their scattered and partly wandering state, which make it impracticable to give them school instruction in reading, and consequently to convey knowledge to them by the press. The Americans appear to overcome such small impossibilities. They have given the Cherokee, instruction, religion, a printed language, and even political newspapers in it. The Europeans have not, to this day given the Laplander the Scriptures in his language, and if the Bible were translated, it would be useless to him, as they have not taught him reading. His religious instruction at present consists in hearing a sermon in an unknown tongue, which the clerk translates, sentence after sentence, on the spot, into the Lappish.

\* The Reverend Dr. Stockfleth has, it is said, finished a translation into the Lappish tongue, of the New Testament and some of the books of the Old, and is to be in Christiania for two years and a half, with an allowance from Government, in order to superintend the printing. It is not mentioned how the Laplanders are to be taught to read, or whether that be a part of the business that will be postponed until this long-projected translation be ready for its readers.

It is curious, and, but for the serious nature of the subject, would be very amusing, to observe the inconsistency of human action, and how much imagination influences the undertakings of the most sober-minded and sincere. The Danes were among the first who sent out missionaries to distant lands, to India and Greenland, seeking, amidst dangers and privations which excite and gratify the imagination, to instruct the heathen and diffuse the knowledge of the truths of Christianity; and they forgot, in their zeal, the more obscure and easy duty of instructing the heathen at their own door—their fellow-subjects the Laplanders.

The condition of the wandering Laplander forms a singular union of real wealth with real poverty. To support a family in the Fjelde, a flock of from three to four hundred head of reindeer is necessary. He who possesses only from one to three hundred, must depend for subsistence partly on fishing in the lakes or shooting, or must betake himself to the coast, or to husbandry in a fixed situation. The value of a reindeer is about one-third of that of a cow: it sells for three or four dollars, and a cow, from nine to twelve; and the meat, skin, and horns of the one, sell as readily as those of the other. A flock of 400 reindeer, the minimum which can support a family, supposing only one-fourth of the number to be full-grown, and the other 300 to be worth only one-third of their value, must altogether be equal to a capital of 600 dollars, or about 120*l.* sterling. Yet the yearly produce of this capital, which is greater than the value of all the property possessed by three or four families of the working class in a civilised community, and with which they would be far removed from want, is insufficient to support a Laplander, even in the state of extreme privation in which he habitually lives. This is a striking instance of the real expense of living in that natural state, as it has been called, or rather that barbarous one, in which man consumes what he produces, and lives independent of the arts of civilised life, its tastes and enjoyments. The Laplander uses nothing which he does not make for himself, except the iron pot for dressing his victuals, and the piece of coarse cloth which forms his tent. He consumes nothing but what his reindeer yield him; his occasional excess in brandy and his use of tobacco, are not ordinary indulgences. Yet without the tastes, habits, and gratifications of civilised life, or any of its expenses, the Laplander, with the above capital, is in poverty, and destitute of an assured subsistence.

This shows the real expense of that half-savage life, which, from the accounts of emigrants and travellers in America, we are apt to suppose is the least costly of any, because it has neither comforts nor luxuries to pay for, and produces what it consumes. The Laplander's condition is the *beau-ideal* of that sort of life. Five shillings would undoubtedly purchase all that he uses in a year of those articles which are not indispensably necessary for existence yet a capital which, with their own labour, would maintain three families in the enjoyment of the comforts and decencies of civilised life, according to their station, does not keep him from positive want. The Laplander, who possesses a thousand or more reindeer and who is consequently a man of considerable property, lives in the same way as the poorest; enjoys no more of the luxuries of life, and has no higher tastes or habits to gratify. It is said, that very considerable portions of the silver currency of the country are lost, in consequence of this class of Laplanders hoarding, from generation to generation, all the money they obtain by the sale of their surplus produce; and that the spot in the Fjelde where the treasure is buried, often cannot be discovered by the heirs.

The Fjelde life appears to have its charms. The young couple of Laplanders, whom Mr. Bullock brought to England in 1815, returned thither with their share of the profits. In the year 1792 Monsieur Vivrette, a president of the parliament of Dijon, took a Lapland girl with him to France. She married a substantial tradesman in Paris, and lived happily with him; but on the death of her husband, she converted all his property into money, and hastened back to Jukasjervi Lapmark, to pass her old age as she had passed her youth. One may conceive a considerable attraction in such a life, wandering over this vast plateau with all their property around them, independent, free from care, and with the daily excitement which the various occupations of seeking pasture, frightening the wolf, tending the flock, fishing, and hunting afford. A young and clever English sportsman, especially if he had a taste also for any branch of natural history, might pass a summer very agreeably with his rifle, his fishing rod, and his tent, among the Fjelde and lakes, encamping where fancy or sport might lead him, and carrying all his accommodations on a couple of country ponies. It is not wonderful that the poor Laplander, who, although certainly never oppressed or ill-treated, is slighted by the civilised inhabitants of the country, should prefer the Fjelde, where he is

conscious of no inferiority to other men, and where his powers, such as they are, are called into action, and supply his wants.

*April, 1835.* — It is among the traveller's mortifications to discover, that while he is fancying himself very successful in obtaining information, he is passing by objects very deserving of notice. On my way to the remarkable landslip, formerly described, by which the farm of Gustad was engulfed, I observed a number of sledges transporting sacks of corn to a large red-painted building, standing by itself near Alstahoug church. On inquiry I was told the farmers were taking corn to the magazine. Was it a corn-market? No. Was it the minister's tithe? No. Tithe is only a few pecks of grain from the largest farm, and corn markets do not exist under the corporation system, which fetters all traffic. I quite forgot the subject, however, till the other day, when I saw sledges taking away corn from the magazine: I then found it was a very interesting and peculiar institution, which is common over all Norway.

There are, as observed above, no dealers or weekly markets attended by purchasers, who buy at one place and sell at another. If the farmer has any grain to spare, he can do nothing with it, unless he happens by chance to find consumers on the spot. There is no intermediate dealer between the corn grower and the consumer. Under such a system, agriculture can never flourish, nor can the country be independent of foreign supply. From the want of a certain and ready market for his farm produce, the farmer naturally wastes it. His housekeeping, with its four meals a day, its consumption of brandy, ale, butter, cheese, milk, and other farm produce, besides his keeping superfluous horses and servants, is far from frugal. A Scotch farmer's family, from the same extent of land, and from an equal crop, would have at least one-half more to sell. Norway could probably subsist its own population in ordinary seasons, if its domestic trade were free — if the agriculturist had the stimulant of ready and free markets, and his habits of living were formed upon the certainty of being able to turn into money all he could save or spare. As it is, however, there is some surplus grain, without dealers to buy it, and these magazines are very ingenious institutions for supplying the want of this intermediate agency between the producers and consumers. The farmer takes his surplus grain to it, and for the time it remains, he receives at the rate of *one-eighth* of increase per annum: if he



deposits *eight* bushels he can take out nine at the end of twelve months, or in that proportion for shorter periods, and he is charged at the same rate of one-eighth per annum for any portions of his quantity he may take out. If he overdraws, or had none deposited, but receives a quantity in loan, he pays for such advance at the rate of one-fourth of increase per annum; thus, if he takes eight bushels he pays back ten at the end of twelve months, or at that rate for the time he has the loan. This is a savings' bank for corn, probably the most ancient of these establishments. It often occurs that night frosts blight the crops on particular farms, even in seasons when those around, in general, are good. But for these ingenious establishments, the farmer might be in great distress for seed or bread. The small profit which occurs upon the transaction defrays the expense of a building, a clerk, and such items, and the concern is entirely under the management of the bonder, or peasant proprietors.

I am afraid we are a little too apt in Scotland to claim the merit of inventions which we never made, and which are the results of necessity producing similar contrivances in all countries. We claim the invention of savings' banks; yet here they exist all over a country in regard to the primitive materials of food and seed. We claim also the invention of the thrashing machine; yet it is diffused over this part of Norway so much more universally than in Scotland, that our right to the invention appears very doubtful. In the parish of Overhalden alone, on the Namsen river, about sixty miles north of this place, there are, according to Kraft's statistical account, sixty thrashing mills, some with grinding machinery attached, and some driven by water.

It is certainly not probable that a Scotch invention should find its way to Norway, and be much more generally diffused in its most remote districts than in any part of the country which claims the invention. It seems much more likely that, like the savings' bank, it was borrowed from our poor neighbour in the north by our ingenious Scotch inventors, although both are carried into effect with inferior materials, — corn instead of money, wood instead of cast-iron. The construction of the thrashing machine is the same in both countries; but in the Norwegian, the feeding rollers, being of wood, are necessarily of larger diameter, and the straw is consequently presented to the beaters on the drum in greater lengths; so that the heads of grain are much less perfect

struck by the beaters than if presented to the stroke in the shorter lengths given out by feeding rollers of smaller diameter.

Civilisation and no civilisation are curiously blended in this corner of the world. In the above parish, which reckons 153 proprietors, 97 tenants, 101 housemen with land, and 60 thrashing machines, there are 30 families of Laplanders with 2800 head of reindeer.

*May, 1835.* — The fence in general use in Norway and Sweden might be adopted with advantage in many situations in England and Scotland, where small wood or thinnings of plantations can be obtained. Its advantages to the agriculturist are, that it occupies as little ground as hurdles or sheep-flakes; may be put up or removed as quickly; is as good a security against cattle as the best hedge or stone wall; and is constructed of such wood as can be put to no other use. Two hedge stakes, about six or eight feet long, are stuck into the ground opposite to each other, about four inches apart; and at every three or four feet, according to the lengths of the wood to be laid like rails between these upright sticks, a couple of them are stuck into the earth. The couple are tied together in three or more places, according to the height to be given to the fence; each tie is about a foot and a half above the other. The ties are made with the small branches of any kind of tree with the sap in them. These branches are roasted on a fire kindled on the spot, and in that state are as easily twisted and tied as a piece of rope yarn; and being charred, are much more durable. The transverse pieces of the fence, or what corresponds to the rails in a common wooden fence, consist of slab boards; that is, the outside boards sawn from round wood, or poles, or old branches of any kind. They are run in, one piece above another, between the two upright sticks, and with one end resting upon the tie or upon the piece under it, which is supported by the tie, and the other end resting on the ground. The pieces are laid with such a slant that the weight rests principally upon the ground, the ties only supporting the heads of these cross pieces in the air. The space between the ties is filled quite full with the boards or sticks thus resting with one end upon the ground. The whole length of the fence being in contact with the ground at so many points, and the uprights connected together also at so many, this fence is of great strength and stability, although composed of pieces of wood singly of no strength; and besides its formidable

appearance to cattle, it can support great weight. Snow, although of great weight, seldom breaks it down; and when broken it can be put up again immediately. In many parts of England, posts and rails cost five or six shillings a fathom, and a great deal of time and trouble is wasted besides in sinking the posts, replacing the horizontal rails in the mortices; and after all they make an imperfect fence, as cattle and horses get over, and sheep under it. Hedges take up much land, cannot be shifted from place to place, and are a perpetual annoyance from gaps and breaks. For a wooded country this is certainly the cheapest fence. It can scarcely cost two-pence a fathom. Three men will put up forty fathoms in a day.

*May, 1835.* — The population of the Russian empire, including Poland, Finland, the Caucasian and the Siberian tribes, amounted, according to the official returns of the year 1830, to 49,000,000 of people. The number of the human race existing on the face of the earth is computed, or guessed, by learned men of the present day, at 800,000,000. Of the whole human species, therefore, nearly one-sixteenth part is under the Russian government. Every sixteenth human being that is born is a Russian subject. The objects and views of a government, ruling over so large a proportion of mankind, cannot be measured by those which actuate other powers. Extension of dominion, and such objects of ordinary ambition, may fairly be admitted to form no objects of Russian policy. It is not by accession from without, that this mighty power can become more powerful. It is judging partially when we ascribe to its government a desire for additional territory, a love of conquest, and all those other motives which have actuated minor potentates. It is within herself alone, that the ambition of the most blindly ambitious monarch who ever held a sceptre would seek for the additional greatness of the Russian empire. But although extension of dominion, unless as required for internal security, and all the objects of the ordinary ambition as well as the ordinary jealousies and fears of smaller powers, must fall out of view, on fair consideration, in an estimate of Russian policy, Russia may fairly and reasonably have objects, and even positive duties to fulfil towards that large portion of mankind which depends for civilisation and social happiness on her sway, which will unsettle the world as much as the wildest ambition. It cannot be for any length of time that a power which rules over so large a portion of

the human race, and whose millions of subjects are daily acquiring more and more the tastes and habits of civilised life, should submit to be excluded from that great highway over which passes almost every article which those tastes and habits of civilised life require. Russia must have a side of her dominion on the Atlantic. We may endeavour to conceal the truth from ourselves, but it will be no unreasonable demand on her part, when she is prepared to make it, that so many millions of rational beings as dwell under her sway should enjoy, in common with the rest of mankind, that common good of nature, intended, like the air we breathe, or the water we drink, for the use and enjoyment of all the human species, —viz. the free access over the great ocean to those countries and climates of the earth which produce the objects required by man in a civilised state. The Baltic and the Black Sea are but loopholes for supplying such a mass of society with the products of the tropical climes, the sugars, coffees, cottons, tobaccos, and all the other articles, required now for their use and well-being. Russia will have reason on her side when she tells the other European powers to make room for her on the coasts of the world's great ocean; and that she requires a wider gate for her supplies, and one not shut up by nature for half the year, and liable, during the other half, to be closed by every petty power which may have a few ships of war to blockade the entrance. There is an amount of human happiness, a mass of interests, and an extension of civilisation among the human species, involved in this view, which may, if considered without prejudice or local feeling, outweigh all the advantages that mankind derive from the European system of a balance of power among small states, which, like a balance of houses built of cards, tumbles to pieces as fast as it is erected. It is therefore not among the events which could be reckoned unjustifiable in principle, if, on the first rupture of the present political arrangements of Europe by a war, Russia should urge that the supply of her vast population with all that civilisation requires can no longer be sacrificed, in order to preserve the political existence of a second-rate power connected by no family ties with any other monarchy, and by no important interests with any other state; and it is within the verge of probability that Sweden and Norway, the Scandinavian peninsula, may be the battle-field of the first great war we have in Europe. It is here that Russia will endeavour to acquire for her empire a side to the sea. It is only by the

possession of an ocean coast, that she can ever become a naval power. That great and certainly rational object of Russian ambition — rational and justifiable, when the above circumstances are considered, — can only be accomplished by the acquisition of a portion at least of this peninsula. The European powers themselves have settled the principle. Her acquisition of Finland, a country far exceeding Norway in population and fertility, proceeded avowedly upon the principle that it was too near to her modern capital, and too convenient and important for its supplies and security, to remain in the hands of any other power. The principle was admitted as valid by the other European governments. It was acquiesced in that, for the sake of its convenience to Russia, this noble portion of the Swedish dominions should be incorporated with the Russian empire. The extension of the same admitted principle will comprehend Norway and Sweden, or such portions of these countries as it may be politically convenient for Russia to acquire. The exclusive navigation of the Black Sea, the possession of the Dardanelles and of Constantinople itself, would be acquisitions very inferior in real importance to Russia to the line of the sea coast on the Atlantic side of this peninsula, north of the 62d degree of north latitude. This cut of the peninsula, which in wealth and population is insignificant compared to Finland, would place Russia at once at the head of the naval powers of Europe. It would give her innumerable harbours and fiords, open to the navigation of the Atlantic at all seasons, — for these fiords in the north are never frozen, — each capable of containing in safety all the navies of the world, and connected by sea with all navigable parts of the globe; and by land on the best of railroads, the snow, during a great part of the year, with Finland, and the centre of all Russian power and wealth, St. Petersburg itself. It would render Russia independent of other nations for the supplies she requires of trans-Atlantic productions; and would thus make her mistress, in time of war, of her own naval products, without which no European power can fit out a fleet for sea, and which now she must supply even her enemies with, in the very crisis of war, for the sake of obtaining those supplies in return through them. She would have a commerce of her own over the Atlantic. From the nature of the country and climate, the land transport of goods across the peninsula does not encounter the obstacles which those accustomed to roads and distances in other

latitudes would imagine. When snow and frost have made all roads even, smooth, and hard, for transport by sledges, the iron railways of England do not give greater facility of draught to animal power than these winter roads. The distance across from Levanger on the Dronthiem Fiord to Sundsval on the Bothnian gulf, may be 280 or 290 English miles. The herrings, salt-fish, and dried fish of the Norwegian coast, although these are goods of which the value cannot admit of expensive land carriage, find their way regularly, not only across this part of the peninsula, but to the markets of Haparanda near Tornea, which is above 500 English miles from Sundsval. The merchants of Tornea, which is now a Russian town, frequent regularly the winter markets in Lynger fiord, and other parts of the north coast of Norway.

It would be an imputation on the good sense and ability of the Russian cabinet to suppose that it is not preparing for such an acquisition, should any of the political convulsions in Europe which may be expected in the course of human affairs put it in the power of Russia to make the acquisition fairly, and according to the now admitted principles of acquisition of territory among states. Russia fronts Europe on a line extending from Archangel to the Black Sea. The manœuvring is all on the left extremity of this line; but the real object in view may be where the real advantage to be gained obviously is, — on the extreme right of this line. That this object is in view may be inferred from other circumstances besides the desirable nature of the acquisition itself. The two northern provinces of Norway, Nordland and Finmark, east and west, are, in consequence of the monopoly system of trade in Norway, both internal and foreign, connected with the mother country by the most slender ties, and are rather colonies than integral parts of the kingdom. The inhabitants, of whom a large proportion are of Finnish, not Norwegian descent and language, depend upon Russia for all the necessaries of life, — grain, meal, and the materials for carrying on the fishery by which they subsist; and by the prudent treaty which Russia concluded in 1828, regulating her trade from the White Sea with these provinces, the inhabitants are daily becoming more and more dependent upon her. The subject furnishes such instructive views of the ultimate effects of all monopoly on trade, that it deserves more particular elucidation.

The country from North Cape down to the great Namsen river



is divided into two amts or provinces : Nordland, anciently Helogaland, or Helgeland, which marches with the province of North Trondhiems Amt; and Finmark, to the north of Nordland, which is divided into East and West Finmark. These two extensive provinces, with all their islands, contain a population of only 80,941 persons. Agriculture is here but a secondary business. The crops of grain are too inconsiderable, and too precarious, to subsist the inhabitants. The winter fishery in the Lafodden islands, from the middle of February to the middle of April, and the summer fishery over all the coast, which in some branch or other gives occupation for the rest of the year, furnish the inhabitants with the means of purchasing grain and other necessities. The average value of the winter fishery is estimated by an intelligent writer, the Amtman Blom, who has filled the office of faged in the district, at 430,987 dollars, or 86,500*l.* sterling, valuing the products at the prices paid or credited to the inhabitants by the privileged merchants of Bergen, Dronthiem, and the intermediate towns. The merchants send out vessels with the articles required in the country, and receive the produce of this eight weeks' fishery in payment. This trade was originally in the hands of the Hans Towns, particularly Bremen. They had in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a factory, or rather fortress, in Bergen\*, where they exercised an authority almost independent of the government, and had subfactories in Nordland and Finmark, and possessed the exclusive privilege of buying the fish and other commodities of the inhabitants, and of supplying them from these factories with the articles they required. The Hanseatic trade with these countries was exactly similar to the monopoly now exercised by our Hudson's Bay and Canadian Fur Company in the terri-

\* The Hanseatic Association, at their great meeting, anno 1498, in Lubeck, consisted of seventy-two towns. They had four principal companies, in London, in Bruges, in Novorogorod, and in Bergen. There is a curious account of the establishment in Bergen, in Holberg's *Beskrivelse over Bergen*, 1757, at which time it was not quite extinct. It appears to have been very similar in its construction to the late Canadian Fur Company, the servants advancing through the ranks of apprentices, journeymen, overseers, factors, to be partners, and the whole living in a kind of military discipline, in houses of the comptoir or factory, and not allowed to marry. In the early part of the sixteenth century they were at the height of their prosperity, and were reckoned to amount, in Bergen, to the number of 2600 men : a powerful force on one spot in that age. The fish trade, at that period, was one of great importance, as the consumption was a religious observance, and Newfoundland had not been discovered.

ties of North America, within which they claim an exclusive privilege to trade with the Indian tribes. On the decay of the Hanseatic commerce, the towns in which their comptoirs or head factories were established, viz. Bergen and Dronthiem, succeeded to their trade and privileges, and maintain the system to the present day. Christiansund and one or two minor towns have succeeded, after a long struggle, in obtaining a share; but otherwise the trade remains shut for the people of Norway at large. The merchants or shopkeepers who are settled and dwell in Nordland and Finmark, and in the Lafodden islands, are licensed burghesses of Bergen, Dronthiem, or other privileged towns. Each has a certain tract of coast or circle belonging to his shop or factory, within which no other person is entitled to buy or sell. These privileged traders pay a certain tax, and are obliged to receive and entertain travellers, as the sole innkeepers within their circle; and their exclusive privilege has become hereditary, attached to the house or factory in which it may be exercised by a duly privileged trader. The state of a country or province in which every necessary and luxury must be purchased, and of which the trade is so fettered, may be guessed at. The privileged capital finds an easy and sufficient trade in supplying the coffee, sugar, tobacco, brandy, and such articles, required by the persons who fish for each merchant. Any extension of industry or of trade to or from the country, is not necessary for its employment; and, like the dog in the manger, what it cannot do itself it will not allow any other Norwegian capital to do. The supply of these two provinces with food, and with much of the materials for the fishery, has consequently fallen entirely into the hands of the Russians from the coast of the White Sea. The privileged Norwegian traders find an easy living, and a sure profit, each in his own trading district. They are not driven by competition to engage in any new branches. They take accordingly, and pay for brandy, colonial products, and such articles, what the industry of the inhabitants produces during the eight weeks of the winter fishery; and leave to the Russians the beneficial trade of feeding the population, and of receiving in payment all that their industry produces during the other forty-four weeks of the year. As far as regards industry and production, these provinces may truly be said to belong to Norway only for eight weeks of the year; and to be connected with the mother country only through a few mercantile

houses in Bergen, Christiansund, and Dronthiem. A population\* of upwards of 80,000, raising little or no grain, deals with the mother country only to the value of 86,500*l.* sterling, or little more than 20*s.* a head. It is a striking example of the results of monopoly. If the trade had been free to all native Norwegians, as it is in every country where trade has flourished, to its own subjects at least, there would have grown up in Norway a body of traders to and from these provinces, carrying on every branch in which employment and profit could be found; and Norwegian commerce would have been conveying its own fish in its own vessels to the White Sea, and bringing back the meal, hemp, sailcloth, cordage, and other necessities now supplied by Russia. The country, instead of having a trade which employs only the yachts or tenders that now bring the fish from Lafodden, would have also had the trade which gives employment to from two hundred to three hundred square-rigged Russian vessels. It is in truth a satire upon free institutions, that under the absolute government of Russia, the farming peasant on the coast of the White Sea is as free as he would be in America to fit out a vessel, embark his farm produce, and trade with it to a foreign country; while the farming peasant under the almost republican constitution of Norway cannot exchange his own produce with those very provinces of his own country to which the Russian has free access. The free admission, without paying any duties, in any port north of Tromsø, was gained by Russia in the treaty of 1828. It was one of necessity on the part of Norway. Its exclusively privileged merchants could not feed the country. The ordinary sluggish channel into which their trade had settled was that of sending certain quantities of goods at certain prices, and bringing back certain quantities of fish at certain prices; the prices being fixed for the season previously by themselves. There was neither spare capital nor competition to supply these provinces with the necessities of life. The Russian government is awake to the advantages of this trade,—for the considerable body of excellent seamen which it is rearing, and the prospects of naval power immediately connected with it. By an ukase published in August 1835, at a time when

\* The whole value of property in Nordland and Finmark was, according to the tax upon property for liquidating the obligations of the State, equal to three and a half per cent. only of the amount of the whole property in Norway.

the Russian cabinet apparently was occupied only with the affairs of the East or of Spain, and its negotiations at Kalish and Toplitz, the important step was taken of declaring the trade to and from Finmark and Nordland free to all ranks and classes of Russian subjects in the districts of Archangel, Cola, and other trading places on the White Sea ; and granting a reduction in their favour of the import duties payable in other parts of the Russian empire on salt fish and other commodities. The ukase not only grants this reduction to the subjects of Russia, but also to the people of those two provinces of Norway who may trade to the White Sea ; thus placing them in a more favoured situation with regard to trade than their fellow-subjects in the rest of the united kingdoms of Norway and Sweden. What would our government say, if a foreign power were to grant special immunity or favour to the trade of any portion of its dominions which, like Ireland or Canada, might happen to be but loosely connected with the body politic ? If it be allowable to draw any inference from public measures, none other can be drawn than that Russia is preparing, by the most judicious and unobjectionable means, for any change in the connection of these two provinces with Norway which political circumstances might, at any future period, enable her to carry through.

Besides this, the disproportionate military establishment kept up by Russia in the islands of Aland in the Bothnian Gulf, almost within sight of the Swedish coast, and the disproportionate naval force of twenty-two sail of the line kept up in the Baltic, — disproportionate as compared with any possible call for military or naval defence on that point of her dominions, — clearly show that she is prepared for aggression, as well as for defence, on that point, and is ready armed to act, upon the spur of the moment, if just and reasonable grounds should be presented, either from the political state of Europe in general, or of Sweden in particular. It is to be remembered that, according to the principles of legitimacy, there exists a dormant, but not extinguished claim in the Vasa family to the Swedish throne. If the constitutional and legitimate principles should come into active collision throughout Europe, and if the Spanish peninsula should ultimately be settled upon the constitutional principle, it is obvious that a counter-balance *on the opposite principle* would be sought for in this peninsula. *It is no absurd conjecture that the price of such*

restoration of legitimacy would be the provinces north of the 62d degree of north latitude, or of the natural mountain boundary of the Dovre Fjelde, Fille Fjelde, and Lange Fjelde, which divides Norway into north and south divisions at that parallel of latitude; and while Sweden as a legitimate instead of a constitutional monarchy would be more than compensated for the loss of Jemteland by the acquisition of South Norway, as an integral part of her dominions, the other legitimate monarchs of Europe, by rearing up at once a Russian naval power on the coast of the Atlantic able, with its existing fleets and resources, to cope instantly with Britain on the high seas from that position, would gain an ascendancy in the affairs of the world which it is evident they must either now in this age attain, or they must lose their present power in the legislation of their respective governments, and submit to be constitutionally limited, as the Kings of Great Britain and Norway are, to executive functions only.

If these views of the political position of the Scandinavian peninsula be not altogether visionary, there is but one course for the Swedish monarchy to take: it is, to place itself in advance of the liberal governments of Europe, to engage on its side the sympathies of all nations which have or desire to have free constitutions. It would not be to uphold in Sweden the universally decaying feudal structure of government, that other people would arm in her defence: it would not be to support a constitution of king, lords, and clergy, in which the nation has in effect as little weight as it would have under the Russian government. The world is so far enlightened, that the advantages to mankind and the ultimate effects on civilisation would be weighed against the evils of a transfer of power and territory, where, as far as regards the condition and rights of the people, the transfer is but a name. If the short-sighted policy of the Swedish cabinet had proved successful in the attempt to overturn the institutions of Norway, and to amalgamate her constitution with their own, public opinion would prevent in Great Britain any effectual and popular intervention in aid of a government which had shown so little respect for constitutional rights. It is from Great Britain alone, that interposition or aid from without can ever reach these kingdoms; and it is not from the British cabinet of the day, but from the public opinion and feeling of the British nation, that these must come to be effectual.

## CHAPTER VII.

Emigrants of Small Capital. — Norway better than Canada. — Land Cheap. — Labour Cheap. — Houses Good. — Mode of purchasing Land. — Bank of Norway. — Peculiar System of Banking — Moral Condition as affected by the general Diffusion of Property. — Physical Condition — Lodging compared to that of the Scotch Peasantry. — Food. — Living in a Norwegian Family of the Middle Class. — Use of Spirits. — Temperance Societies. — Gravesend Smacks. — Bothy for Farm Servants. — Bed-Clothes. — Foreign Luxuries. — Cheapness. — Bonding System — Clothing. — Household Manufactures. — Advertisement of a Farm to be sold. — Value of Money. — Climate.

*Levanger, May 1835.* — THERE is a class of emigrants from Great Britain, for whom I conceive this country is better adapted than Canada. All that land or water produces there is produced here, with the addition of good roads, good houses, an easy communication with Britain; and society in the country itself, with all its institutions and arrangements, in a more advanced state, than it can reasonably be expected to have attained in newly peopled countries. It appears also, from the accounts given by Mr. Ferguson, Mr. Stewart, Captain Hall, and other travellers, who have recently visited various parts of North America, that cleared habitable land, with good dwelling-houses and farm offices on it, and in a state of cultivation to support the purchaser's family immediately, without the privation and misery of the back-settler's existence, but with a reasonable portion of the decencies and comforts of civilised life, and with an easy access to markets by water carriage, is actually dearer in America than land possessing similar advantages in Norway. Norway is certainly not a country in which the emigrant can make money; and being peopled fully up to its resources, it could absorb none of our labouring class of emigrants. The man who can work at a trade, or even at ordinary farm work, will do much better in America; he who has a little capital and wishes to increase it, and knows how, will also, I have no doubt, do much better there. The system of monopoly in favour of particular classes, which, as I have before explained, fetters all branches of industry in Norway, would prevent the success or even the admission of foreign capital or industry into any trade or



manufacture. Norway is not a country for either of those classes of emigrants. But there is a class who can neither work nor trade, but who have a little money either as capital or as income, which they merely seek to live upon with some degree of comfort. They may have the wish, but are sensible they have not the skill, to turn their capital to any advantage. For such people it is evidently ruin to emigrate to a country where labour is dear, as it is in America; for labour is the very thing they must buy, cost what it will. From age, want of health and strength, or of practice, such persons have no physical ability to work. Cheap land is of no use to them without cheap labour to cultivate it. The dearness of labour in America makes it no doubt an excellent country for those who have labour to sell; and very good even for those who, although they must buy common labour at a dear rate, have some profession, business, trade, or occupation of their own, by which they can make others pay at a dear rate in return. But how does it answer for the emigrant who has but a small capital or income, and is out and out a consumer, not a producer, — who cannot labour himself in any way that is profitable? This is the case of nine out of ten of those who have not been bred early in life to steady manual labour. The retired officer, the man bred at the desk, or accustomed only to sedentary employment, perhaps to no regular employment at all, stands in this situation. To this class the country in which labour costs sixpence a day is ten times better than that in which it costs five shillings. Norway presents many advantages to such emigrants. Land is cheap, and labour to work upon it is cheap. A piece of ground cleared of wood, inclosed, and long under cultivation, with a space behind of half-cleared land for outfield pasture, and capable of improvement; with excellent log-houses upon it, two stories high, weather-boarded outside, lined inside, and with two goodly rows of cheerful windows; and this dwelling surrounded with barns, stables, cow-houses, and every sort of accommodation for crop and cattle, on such a clean and roomy scale, that the cow is better lodged than the cow's mistress is on many farms in the north of Scotland; near to a river, lake, or fiord, affording fish in abundance; fire-wood and building timber on the land; and the farm large enough to keep a score of cows, six horses, and a small flock of sheep and goats, winter and summer, and to maintain a family and servants in all that land usually produces, leaving a surplus for sale sufficient

to pay taxes, wages, and to provide the comforts and necessities of life to a fair extent, — all this may be bought at from ten to twelve hundred pounds sterling, or even less; and this in a country enjoying a free government, abounding in proprietors of the same medium scale, and with none of a permanently higher class; penetrated in all directions with excellent roads and navigable arms of the sea; furnishing markets for agricultural produce within itself; and with towns in which all the enjoyments of refined society may be found, and the productions of other climes and other countries may be obtained at the cheapest rate; and, lastly, the whole within ten days' journey of England. This is surely preferable to any thing that America or Australia presents to the emigrants who merely want a domicile where they can live on their small means, with as many as possible of the comforts and advantages of European life. To those helpless, handless people, the command of cheap labour is the most indispensable of their comforts. This advantage they have in Norway. The land is cultivated, as I have before explained, by a class of married farm servants who hold cottages with land on the skirts of each farm at a fixed rent for two lives, — that of the cottar tenant and of his widow, — under the obligation of furnishing a certain number of days' work on the main farm at a certain rate of wages. The ordinary rate is twelve skellings or  $4\frac{1}{2}d.$  a day, with victuals; and for married farm-servants, or housemen, eight skillings, also with victuals. In many of the best cultivated districts of Scotland, a similar system prevails; but the situation of the Norwegian houseman is much better than that of the Scotch married farm servant. Land not being of such value, he has more of it; and what he holds is not merely a ring or two of potatoes and a cow's grass in summer, taken from year to year from a tenant, and depending on his good-will or on the endurance of his lease, but it is a regular little farm, keeping generally two cows and some sheep, and producing a full subsistence for a family, and held for two lives. The law of the country has specially favoured this class of housemen. In default of a written agreement registered in the parish court, the houseman is presumed to hold his possession for his own life and that of his wife, at the rent last paid by him. He can give up his land and remove, on giving six months' notice before the ordinary term, and is entitled to the value of the buildings put up at his own expense, which he may have left; but the landlord cannot remove him or

his widow so long as the stipulated rent and work are paid. By law also a regular book should be delivered to the houseman, in which his payments are entered by the landlord, which, in case of dispute, would be adjusted at the end of the year in the court of the parish. The sons and daughters of this class of housemen are the domestic servants and the ordinary labourers of the country. The territory being peopled fully up to its resources, it is only when a vacancy occurs in a houseman's place, that a young man can settle in life and marry; and his chance of obtaining the vacant house and land depends entirely upon his conduct and character. It is this check which keeps the class of servants and labourers as willing and obedient as in England or Scotland.

There are great advantages in this system of supporting and paying the labourers in husbandry. The land-owner or farmer might as well propose not to feed his horses when he has no work for them, as not to feed his labourers. By the community, and out of the general mass of its property, the agricultural labourers must be fed, whether there is work for them or not. This can only be done either by a poor-rate; or by this way of giving them means to feed themselves by their own industry, and giving them a life-rent property of their own to work upon, and fall back upon, in case of sickness, want of work, dearness of provision, or other general or local calamity. It is a very common arrangement among this class in Norway, if old age, sickness, or the death of the houseman himself, and the infancy of his children should prevent the occupant in possession from furnishing the stipulated rent and work, to give it over to a young man, reserving a living, with house-room and fuel, as long as the original life-rent interest of the parties endures. Thus the old, infirm, the widows and children subsist, without being burdensome as paupers; and the young man who works the little farm has his own living in the meantime, and the prospect of succeeding to the original life-renters.

The subject of emigration is so full of interest to the numerous class of small capitalists or annuitants, who are but little adapted for the life of labour and privation which settlers in a new colony must submit to, that any information with regard to the state of property and society in a country in which land, all things considered, is as cheap as in America or Australia, and labour and the other comforts of life cheaper, and which is comparatively at *our own doors*, will probably be welcome. At the risk of being

tedious, and of repeating observations over and over again, I shall give at length the views with which I have been impressed of the state of the different classes, and of property, in this country.

In Norway, the law of succession has prevented property from being accumulated in large masses. The estates of individuals are in general small; and the houses, furniture, food, comforts, ways and means of living among all classes, appear to me to approach more nearly to an equality, or to one standard, than in any country in Europe. This standard is far removed from any want or discomfort on one hand, and from any luxury or display on the other. The actual partition of the land itself seems in practice not to go below such a portion of land as will support a family comfortably according to the habits and notions of the country; and it is indeed evident that a piece of ground without houses on it, and too small to keep a family according to the national estimation of what is requisite, would be of no value as a separate property. The heirs, accordingly, either sell to each other, or sell the whole to a stranger, and divide the proceeds. The duty of the *sorenskriver*, or district judge, consists principally in arranging this kind of chancery business; and all debts and deeds affecting property are registered with him. The heirs who sell, very often instead of a sum of money, which is seldom at the command of the parties, take a life-rent payment or annuity of so much grain, the keep of so many cows, so much fire-wood, a dwelling-house on the property, or some equivalents of that kind. It is rare to find an estate without some burden of this kind. It is called the *kaar* or *wilkaar*; that is, the *condition* upon which the estate or *gaard* has been sold. The value put by the seller upon his reserved annuity is naturally, as no man supposes that he himself is to die at an ordinary age, vastly greater than its real value according to the computation of the chances of life; and a small money price over and above the *kaar* contents him. This is one cause which keeps the price of land below the value at which we would estimate good old tillage ground, producing as heavy crops of oats and bear as our best land would produce under the same imperfect management. Another cause keeping down the price of land is the *Odelsbaarn* right. By this the heir, even although he was the party who sold the property himself, is entitled to redeem the land sold from the purchaser by paying back the price. The *bonder* or peasant proprietors are

extremely tenacious of this udal right, although its effect evidently is to reduce the marketable value of their estates. The latent hope of the proprietor, that he or his family may again acquire the paternal acres, blinds him to the obvious consequence that no man will give a fair price for land which may be taken back at a future period. The time of redemption is now limited by law to five years, and the cost of improvements as well as the purchase money must be paid back. The right is practically, therefore, no real impediment to a purchaser, as he can easily discover whether the seller or his heirs can be in a situation, by any chance, in the course of so short a time, to repay the purchase money and improvements ; and practically it operates in his favour, as, though only a bare possibility, it is valued as a condition affecting the property for five years, and to be reckoned against its price accordingly. To these causes of the cost of land being so moderate in Norway, must be added one which the emigrant should never forget. Land in Norway will give a comfortable living to the owner, but will do no more. No investment beyond what a man occupies and uses for his family would be profitable, because, where almost all are proprietors, tenants are scarce ; and from the standard of living being high, and formed upon a state of society in which almost all are proprietors of the farms they cultivate, and are living fully upon the produce, a respectable tenant would live as well as other people of his class, that is, as well as the laird himself. It would only be a small surplus that, after taking out of the produce his own living and that of his servants, he would have remaining to pay as yearly rent. It is usual, therefore, when a person happens to have more than his own family farm, to *bygd* the land ; that is, to let it at a trifling or nominal yearly rent for the life of the tenant and of his wife, the man and wife being always joined in these leases, and to take a fine or grassum when it is granted or renewed. That quantity of land which supplies a family with farm produce, and requires no great skill, activity, or capital to manage, is all that is wanted by any individual. There is consequently little demand for land, while family arrangements among heirs often fill the market without any demand.

The peculiar, and, for the wants of the country, well-imagined *Bank of Norway* facilitates greatly the family arrangements with regard to land. This bank was founded on the 14th of June, 1816, and has its head office in Dronthiem, with branches in the principal



owns; and is under the direction of five stockholders, with a council of fifteen representatives of the other proprietors. Its capital was originally raised by a forced loan or tax upon all landed property, and the landholders became shareholders according to the amount of their respective payments. In a short time these shares became a valuable stock, and are at a considerable premium. The transactions of this bank are conducted upon a principle totally opposite to that of our Scotch and other banking establishments. It is there considered as a first principle that the bank should hold only available securities, as bills or bonds only at a short date, or payable at a short notice, for its issues or advances. But such a system would have been of little use to a nation of landholders. The National Bank of Norway is therefore a bank for landed property, and discounts mercantile bills and personal securities only as a secondary branch. Its principal business consists in advancing in its own notes, upon first securities over land, any sum not exceeding two-thirds of the value of the property, according to a general valuation which was taken in the year 1812, and in which the seed, corn, horses, cows, and other particulars, ascertaining the value and extent of each farm, are very particularly noted. The borrower pays half-yearly to the bank the interest of the sum that may be at his debit at the rate of four per cent. per annum; and is bound also to pay off five per cent. yearly of the principal which is thus liquidated in twenty years, and he pays only the interest upon the balance each year remaining against him. The lender, the bank, has a twentieth part of its capital replaced each year, and draws four per cent. for the use of what remains outstanding. In the event of non-payment of the interest and instalment at the regular period, the bank of course proceeds, by a summary sale of the property by public auction, to realise its securities. A circulation of paper money issued on this basis is evidently next in point of security to that of the precious metals. Its profits may be low, as its whole capital is turned over only once in twenty years, and the principal benefit may be from the circulation which the notes command, in consequence of the known security on which they rest. The accommodation, however, thus afforded to a nation of small proprietors, is of very great value, as the money required to pay off the shares of brothers and sisters in the estate can be obtained, with the certainty that it will not be called up in one sum at any uncertain period. Would a



bank upon the same principle be able to support itself in England? The want of a system of registration of debts affecting land would be an impediment to such an attempt. The uncertain value of land, as long as the corn laws exist, and the poor are not provided for by any permanent system, would be another. There are others perhaps as insuperable, from the competition for circulation, and the complicated interests connected with the whole financial and banking systems in Britain, which render what is undoubtedly working well and beneficially in the simple concerns of a poor country like Norway, altogether inapplicable to a country in such a different state.

This state of property, and its general diffusion through the social body, has, I have no doubt, a beneficial effect on the moral, as it certainly has on the physical condition of the people. The former must always be very much a matter of theory and conjecture to the traveller; and his sweeping conclusions, drawn from the isolated facts which happen to come within his limited circle of observation, are of little value. As vice, however, or immorality, is not so much connected with the state of wealth or poverty as with the inordinate desire for the one and the inordinate dread of the other, a favourable conclusion may be formed respecting the moral state of a country in which wealth is the exception, not the rule by which people form their modes of living, and has consequently few of the charms which attend its possession in other societies, and no sort of consideration, political influence, or weight in the affairs of the community. The desire for it is thus considerably blunted; it is not the same actuating, engrossing principle of human action, and the spring of much that is evil and immoral is removed. The dread of poverty is also less influential where extreme destitution is as rare as great wealth, and where there is so much less difference in the comforts and consideration of the richer and poorer classes. Regarding the physical condition of the people, as to food, fuel, clothing, lodging, education, and property, any man who travels with his eyes open, and takes opportunities of discerning, may form an accurate judgment; and he may leave it to higher intellect to trace the effects upon the moral character and condition of the people. There is no nation so well lodged as the Norwegian, none so generally well provided *with fuel*. These are gifts of nature to the greater part of the *country*. In the islands, and along some parts of the coast, build-

ing timber is not produced, and even firewood is so scarce, that peat is beginning to be generally used; but these are peculiar situations, in which the inhabitants are compensated by the nearness to the fishing grounds. In the dwellings generally of the labouring class, the squalor, dampness, darkness, and total want of accommodation and comfort of the sod-built hovels which disgrace the face of the earth in Scotland and Ireland, are unknown. The meanest habitation has wooden floors, windows, apartments for the family to sleep in, besides their sitting-room; also fit places for keeping their food. It is highly characteristic of Scotland, that within sight of its Parthenon, human dens may be found in which whole families — father, mother, and grown-up daughters and sons — are lodged under one roof, without other division into apartments for the decent separation of the sexes than is made by a wooden bedstead placed in the middle, without other floor than the raw earth; the walls of sods and stones, not lined with wood inside; the roof a mass of damp rotten straw and decayed vegetable substances, supported by a few sooty rafters; the windows, a single pane or two of glass stuck in a hole in the thatch or the wall; the family provisions of meal, salt meat, herrings, milk, butter, all huddled together in the single room, in which all the wet stockings and sweaty shirts are fuming and drying, and all the exhalations of the crowded inmates, cooking, eating, and sleeping, are poisoning the atmosphere. If the cost of the architectural toys which adorn the Scotch metropolis had been laid out in forcing upon the consideration of the legislature the wretched condition of the labouring class in respect of dwellings suitable to a civilised and educated people, and the necessity, whatever financial obstacles might be alleged, of doing away with all the duties affecting the building materials — the wood, glass, brick, tile, slate — which prevent the erection of wholesome, decent, and comfortable habitations for the mass of the nation, it would have been in better taste, than the present laughable, or rather melancholy, contrast between the palace of the laird and the hut of the peasant.

In respect of food also, the lower class in Norway appears to be better provided. It is more nearly similar in kind and quality to that used by the higher class. This may appear a trifling circumstance, yet it is of some importance. It is not a sound state of society where the upper and lower classes have nothing in com-

mon; where, as in Scotland, the mode of living, dwellings, food, and even dialect, are so different that the higher class might be taken by a stranger for a distinct tribe inhabiting the same land. In England even, the gentry are more closely knit with the labouring class, from the business of the poor-rates and of the magisterial duties which necessarily produce some intercourse, some knowledge of their concerns. The distance between the two classes is more closely filled up there than in Scotland, by its more numerous middle class. In this country the difference in the way of living between high and low is small, because every man lives from the produce of his farm; and from the want of ready markets for farm produce, and the necessity of finding money to make their annual payments of taxes, or of instalments to the bank, or of portions to co-heirs in their estates, they live with the utmost simplicity and economy with regard to every thing that takes money directly out of their pockets. In their housekeeping, the only articles for which they must go to market are coffee and sugar, and similar groceries. In the consumption of what the farm produces, there appears little frugality to those accustomed to see every article sold or estimated at high market prices. I shall best illustrate this by an example of their way of living.

I was acquainted with the family of the proprietor of a farm which maintains sixteen cows, four horses, a score or more of sheep, and the same of goats. I consider this farm to be about the ordinary size of properties in this part of Norway. There are many much larger keeping upwards of forty cows, some much less keeping three or four only; but the latter are generally occupied by fishermen, housemen, woodmen, or others not depending altogether on the land for subsistence. The number of cattle which the crop can support all winter, and the grass all summer, gives to those acquainted with farming a better idea of such estates than the extent in acres; but they must recollect that the milking and working stock are kept during the long winter of seven months, or more, principally on hay, and that sown grasses, for hay not being in general use, but the land, after a bare crop following potatoes, being left to sward itself with natural grasses for four years, and to form the hay land, the proportion of grass land to arable is greater than in our farms. The servants constantly employed are two lads and a dairy maid. There are also two housemen paying their rent principally in work, and maintained on working days. In the

morning the first thing the family takes is coffee. There are districts in which even the dairymaids expect it. The work people have a cake of oat or bear meal with butter, and a dram of potatoe brandy. About nine, what we should call breakfast is set out, consisting generally of slices of meat, bread and butter, cheese of various kinds, smoked salmon, and such articles; and at this meal the Norwegians generally take a glass of potatoe brandy. Ale and sometimes tea makes its appearance. The work people have for breakfast, milk, soup, and bread and butter, or pottage and milk with oatcake, and make a substantial meal. At twelve, or in some places earlier, comes dinner. This is a spare repast compared to an English or German one. It is the custom of the country, instead of one or two heavy meals, to take food often in the day. I have seen even a table d'hôte dinner without any meat, and never more than one dish; the rest fish, potatoes, and soup. The work people have herrings, potatoes, and barley-broth with bread; or bacon, salt meat, and black puddings, instead of fish. They have meat at least twice a week in every family; bacon, and beef, and mutton, are cured and stored in autumn for this purpose: the family after dinner take coffee. In the afternoon comes a second edition of the breakfast, with slices of meat, dried fish, bread, butter, cheese, ale, brandy, and tea. The work people have again a substantial meal, similar to their first breakfast, and a dram. It struck me as a circumstance very characteristic of them and their condition, when I saw a little girl go out to some labourers who were repairing a road at a little distance, with their bread, and butter, and cheese, and the dram bottle and glass, and returning with several slices of the bread and butter left, and a portion of spirits left in the bottle. To take more than a single glass at that meal seemed not to enter their minds, although they might have used what they pleased; and they are not a sober people. Having, from its cheapness, and its being made at every farmhouse, the free command of spirits, with only the restraint which propriety and fitness impose, they use it as gentlemen in former days used their wine, that is, to excess on festive occasions; but without that diseased craving at all times, however unsuitable, which seems engendered among our labouring people, by the limited opportunities of getting liquor, produced by its high price, and the fiscal restrictions on its distillation and sale. Unable to get it when they would, they take it

when they can. This effect of restraint, as the strongest excitement to indulgence, is natural; and perhaps but for it the gratification would scarcely be thought of. The attempts of well-meaning people to do away entirely with the use of spirituous liquors among the labouring class by temperance societies, appear not altogether well considered. There are occasions of severe labour and exposure, when the human frame, by general experience, requires the temporary excitement of spirituous liquors, or some substitute for them: to moderate, not abolish, this natural desire, is alone useful and practicable. The practice of the Gravesend fishing-smacks is the most instructive lesson on this subject. When those vessels go to the North Sea fishery, a supply is put on board, of the porter sold in the alehouses of Gravesend; the very same on which every man when on shore gets drunk as often as he can afford it. There is no daily allowance served out of this liquor, which is of extremely good quality; but every man may go to the cask when he pleases, and draw what he wants. The practical result is, that even among this class, after the novelty of having the liquor at command is over, the liberty is so far from being abused, that less is consumed on the voyage than if an ordinary daily allowance had been served out. The supply laid in is often brought back not nearly consumed. The people have no excitement to take more than a draught when thirsty, as they have it at pleasure, and for nothing. The cheap access to liquor appears to have a similar effect on the habits of the labouring people in Norway. They are not a sober people; but I have remarked that I never saw one of them drunk when he was especially required to be sober. I never saw a man at work, or a soldier in regimentals, in liquor. It is not common, as in Scotland, to meet a person in the streets or on the roads in a state of intoxication. They take convenient times and places for their potations; and weddings, baptisms, burials, besides the Christmas, midsummer, hay and corn harvest home, and other festivals, give times and places enough without much alehouse or spirit-shop meetings.

But we have still another meal to get through. Supper comes at nine o'clock, and is the counterpart of the dinner, or rather the principal meal, as meat is more generally used at it than at dinner. The working people have pottage and milk, broth, potatoes, or fish, at this meal. A sort of fish dried without salt, called by us *sethe* (*gadus virens*, or *carbonarius*), is much used. It is a coar-

fish, not esteemed with us; but here it is first steeped in a ley of wood ashes, when the alkali combines with the oily matter and leaves a gelatinous, and apparently very nutritious food, formed out of a very unpromising material.

Thus four regular meals a day, with two drams, form the stated fare of the labouring class. This is a diet very superior to that of the agricultural labourers in Scotland, who have their allowance of oatmeal and milk, usually without any other kind of provision; not even butter, bacon, or fish. The food of the Scotch labourers is in one respect better,—that the oatmeal is more substantial, from the grain being shelled before grinding, and the meal sifted. Their accommodation—the bothy, which Cobbett so justly stigmatises as disgraceful to a civilised country, and which, from the total want of comfort and often of cleanliness, is ruinous to the domestic habits of the labourer—is so inferior to the accommodation of the farm servants here, that the Scotch gentleman who sees the latter must blush when he remembers how his own farm servants are lodged. There is a bothy here, as in Scotland, on every farm, called a Bortstue. It is usually a separate house detached from the main one, and better,—I speak on the authority of Scotch farm servants bred in Aberdeenshire and the Mearns,—than the dwelling-houses of many respectable farmers paying considerable rents in that part of Scotland. It consists of one large well-lighted room with four windows, a good stove or fireplace, a wooden floor, with benches, chairs, and a table. At the end is a kitchen, in which their victuals are cooked by a servant whose business it is to attend the bortstue and cook for the people. The space above is divided into bed-rooms, each with a window, and the doors lead into a kind of covered gallery, open at the side, such as we still see in some of the old inns in London; and in this gallery the bed-clothes are hung out daily, whatever be the weather. The whole house is washed every Saturday, the floors sprinkled, according to the custom of the country, with green sprigs; and in every respect, excepting an article or two of furniture, these rooms are as good, and are as warm, clean, and cheerful, as those in the main house. In this large room, the people sit and take their meals, and the tailor, shoemaker, harness-maker, and such tradesmen as go round from farm to farm, *execute their work*. There is a room in the main house in which the spinning, weaving, and other female work is.



carried on, under the eye of the mistress. In respect of bedding and bed-clothes, the working class is better off with us. Rugs and blankets are cleaner and wholesomer than fells; that is, skins of sheep, goats, or reindeer, dressed with the wool or hair on. These, quilted together, form universally the bedding of the labouring class in Norway; and one consisting of six sheep-skins costs about a dollar and a half. It is cheaper certainly than any blanketing, as six shillings would not furnish a labouring man's bed in Britain. It is also much warmer, as the natural skin of the animal, with the hair or wool on, surpasses as a non-conductor of heat any artificial preparation of wool or hair. The Laplander in his skin dress, and in a skin bag which he puts over his head and shoulders, will sleep night after night on the snow in the Fjelde, in a degree of cold which would extinguish the life of one exposed to it in any woollen clothing. They are not hardier than other people. There is probably no very great difference between the capability of different human frames to withstand the extremes of cold. It is undoubtedly the nature of the clothing that keeps their bodies in warmth, while ours are cold. The skins, with this advantage, are however far from being so cleanly as the manufactured bed-clothes of our labouring class, which can be washed and scoured. These details may seem trifling; but gentlemen and ladies are not the only readers in the present age. There is a numerous class to whom the most minute information respecting the comparative mode of living, diet, comforts, even the bedding, fuel, and lodging, and especially the civil station in the community of the middle and lower classes in other countries, comes with a peculiar and home-felt interest.

Norway sends her produce, wood and fish, to every European country, and by the return of her vessels is supplied with every foreign article that she requires at the cheapest rate of freight. The import duties are very moderate. Articles which have been in use, and are not intended for sale, as furniture, books, clothes, or household goods, are not subject to duty.

In the payment of the duties, the merchant is allowed a facility by the custom-house system which enables him to sell his goods at a cheap rate, having no part of his capital invested in the payment of duties previous to sale. It appears to be superior to that of our bonded warehouses, being much more economical both for government and for the merchant. The importer takes his goods

at once to his own warehouse or shop, on giving security for the amount of the duties ascertained by the custom-house officers at landing, keeps a book of his sales, and pays the duty every three months upon the quantity which appears to have been sold. Government thus in fact receives its duties from the consumer, and the merchant's capital is left free for more active employment. The inhabitant of Norway receives the products of many countries, tea, coffee, sugar, manufactures, and other goods from the British, Hamburgh, and Dutch markets, wines and brandies from the French and Spanish, often at a cheaper rate than the people of those countries. Land carriage and municipal taxes make the wines for instance of France, Portugal, or Spain, dearer to the inhabitants of those countries than to the citizens of Bergen or Dronthiem.

Coffee, sugar, tea, a little French brandy, and a little tobacco (for the Norwegians smoke less than any other continental people), are the principal articles in this country which take money out of the pocket of the housekeeper; spiceries may perhaps be added, as all sorts of good provisions are spoilt by a cookery derived from the times of the Hanseatic League, when cloves, and cardamums, and sauces, and mixtures long since forgotten in England, were in high repute. Other articles are found almost all within themselves, according to the common phrase; that is, either produced at home, or some kind of substitute used; or they are wanted altogether, and from habit not missed. In the country, shoes and clothes are made at home. The shoemaker and tailor go round, cobble, and sew for a few weeks at each gaard, getting their maintenance, and being paid frequently in meal, potatoes, butter or other produce. There are looms at work in every house in the country. Carding, spinning, and weaving are constant occupations of the mistress and female servants. Woollen cloth, substantial but coarse, excellent bed and table linen, and checked or striped cotton or linen for female apparel, seem the ordinary fabrics in progress. The family of the bonder, with the exception perhaps of his Sunday hat, is generally clothed in home-made stuffs; and the country church is but little indebted to Glasgow or Manchester for any display of finery. The people, however, are well clothed. Boots, gloves, and in bad weather, great-coats, are worn by ordinary working men, and a person in rags is rarely seen. A set of clothes for Sunday is possessed by every individual. This

is the case in Scotland also; but in England it is not at all uncommon that the working man has only his working clothes, and a clean smock frock over all, to go to church in. The people of condition, or upper class, dress as in other countries; and this is perhaps the principal expense in their families beyond those of the bonder, as foreign manufactures are dearer; and it seems to be a kind of conventional distinction, there being none in living or lodging, that the one class wears foreign and the other home-made stuffs. This family manufacturing is not the most approved way of supplying a nation with cloths at the cheapest rate and of the best quality. There is unquestionably a waste of time and labour, if the production alone be considered; and the article is more costly, although vastly inferior in quality to what skill and capital aided by machinery can produce. But it is a better condition for the mass of the population of a country, that generally one man should have work of some kind or other for twelve months in the year, than that two should have each only six months' work. If the domestic manufactures of cloth, leather, utensils, implements, now carried on in every household in Norway, were superseded by the labour of distinct classes, as in England and Scotland, employed only in such manufactures, would the advantage of superior quality and cheapness compensate the great evil of labourers not having work during the six months of the year in which agriculture is totally suspended? It may be doubted if Norway would make a good exchange, if her present household manufactures, coarse though they be, which employ perhaps four persons in every family in Norway during the winter season, were exchanged for the possession of one second-rate manufacturing town, which would no doubt supply all those articles much better in quality and with much less waste of time and labour. There may be a greater national good than the cheapness, excellence, and extension of a manufacture. The wealth of a nation, that is, of its state or government, may depend much upon productive labour well applied, and upon great accumulations of manufacturing capital to apply it; the happy condition and well-being of a people seem to depend more on the wide distribution of employment over the face of a country by small but numerous masses of capital.

*To the emigrant of moderate capital, it may be interesting to hear what he can get for his money within six days' sail of England.*

He can compare it with what is promised him in Canada or in Australia. The following description of an estate is taken without selection from the advertisements in the daily newspaper, the *Morgen Blad*, of property to be sold. It will serve also to describe the usual accommodations and buildings on such small estates in this country.

“A two-story dwelling house, with seven apartments of which two are painted. A large kitchen, hall, and room for hanging clothes, and two cellars. There is a side building of one story, containing servants’ room, brewing kitchen, calender room, chaise-house, and wood-house. A two-story house on pillars with a pantry, and store-room. The farm buildings consist of a thrashing barn, and barns for hay, straw, and chaff; a stable for five horses; a cattle house for eight cows, with divisions for calves and sheep. There is a good kitchen garden, and a good fishery; and also a considerable wood, supplying timber for house-building, for fences, and for fuel, besides the right of cutting wood in the common forest. The seater, or hill pasture, is only half a mile (that is, three and a half English miles) from the farm. The arable land extends to the sowing of eight barrels of grain and twenty-five or thirty of potatoes (the barrel is half a quarter), besides the land for hay; and the farm can keep within itself, summer and winter, two horses, eight cows, and forty sheep and goats. There is also a houseman’s farm and houses. It keeps two cows, six sheep, and has arable land to the sowing of one and a half barrels of grain and six barrels of potatoes. The property adjoins a good high road, is within four miles (eight and twenty English miles) of Christiania.” —It is offered in the advertisement at the price of 4000 dollars. This is probably one-third more than the usual price of such properties, as the district about Christiania is more favourably situated for markets, and land sells considerably dearer, than in other parts of Norway. The amount of taxes, general and local, including tithe and poor-rate, would probably be for such a property not less than twenty-five dollars.

This class of emigrants should never forget that there are three different sorts of value in foreign money in all that regards their concerns and situations. One is its mercantile value in exchange, as compared with our own currency; another is its value in exchange for corn, labour, house rent, fuel, or other necessities or luxuries in the country of which it is the currency; a third is its

value in society, arising from its distribution in small or great portions. Among penniless people the man with a sovereign in his pocket is rich. In a country in which property is distributed generally among the inhabitants, and there are not the extremes of very enormous accumulations of wealth and of excessive destitution and want close to each other, the medium point of the fortunes of individuals is low ; and a very little above that point is a state of comparative affluence. The emigrant family should endeavour to understand and enter into this conventional value of money in the country in which they settle, as well as its exchangeable and economical value. When a few hundred dollars are the amount of the ordinary incomes of the families of the first society, a few dollars more are of great relative importance ; and the dollar is in this point of view altogether equivalent to the pound sterling with us. The emigrant should learn so to consider and value it in his expenditure, and should rub out of his recollection altogether that this dollar, which is of so much weight in social use and estimation, costs him only one-fifth of a pound sterling.

Climate, or the ordinary course of summer and winter weather, has much influence on the emigrant's comfort. In Norway the weather is in general more steady than in Britain ; it is either good or bad for considerable periods. The western part, especially about Bergen and along the coast, is proverbially rainy, owing to the high mountains which collect the clouds driven from the sea. But the country behind this barrier is on that account particularly dry, perhaps rather too much so. The summer is delightful. In the sunny narrow glens it is too warm at noontide, and the air too thickly peopled with flies, midges, mosquitoes, and all those blood-thirsty enemies of human quietude ; but the evening and midnight hours are delightful, and peculiar to Norway. The sun is below the horizon for so short a time that the sky retains the glow, and the air the warmth and dryness, which are grateful to the eye and to the feelings. The damp raw chill which generally pervades the air even of our midsummer midnights is not felt in the interior of Norway, where one may be out of doors all night with delight. Winter too is pleasant. The air is cold ; but it is a dry, sound, exhilarating cold, which invigorates even the fireside man, and entices him to long walks and brisk exercise. It is not the damp, raw, shivering, nose-reddening cold of our sea air, which makes *even the healthy* draw to the chimney-corner. The in-door cli-

mate in winter is also excellent. The rooms are so large as to be in general well aired, and so equally warmed by the stoves that one feels comfortable in any corner; and the log upon log make such tight dry walls that currents and draughts of wind and damp are never felt. The disagreeable season in this climate is spring, the transition from winter to summer, — that is, in April and May. One feels then the soft genial breath of spring, the sun shines bright and warm, the lark is in the sky; but all the earth is white, and the eye is tired of white, and seeks in vain for the soft tender green which the feel of the air promises. The jingle of the sledge bells, so cheerful in a dark winter day, does not at all harmonise with the song of the lark in a glittering sunshine. The snow too is painfully bright to the eyes under an April sun. Where it melts, vegetation bursts forth at once; but the patchy unpicturesque appearance of the country, with a knob of rock here and a corner of a field there appearing through the white covering, deprives us of the pleasing impressions of an English spring. The rapid advance of vegetation is more astonishing than pleasing. It is not agreeable to step thus at once from dead winter to living summer, and to lose the charm and interest of the gradual revival of all that has leaf or wing.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

Fishing in Norway.—Hire a Farm.—Description.—Ancient Fresh-water Lakes.—Midgrunden Gaard.—Farming.—Rent.—Asiatic Origin of Scandinavians.—Laplanders, Celtic.—Use of Horse-flesh.—Hereditary Attachment to the Horse.—Berserker.—Peculiar Intoxication.—Domestic Servants in America.—In Norway.—Housekeepers in Families.—Provisions.—Capercaillie.—Ptarmigan Jerper.—Bear-shooting.—Hybernation of Animals.—Condition of Bonder Class.—Equality of Manners.—Excursion to Snaasen-Vand.—Ancient Sea-beach above the present Level of the Sea.—Excursion through the Fjelde.—Bark Bread.—Væra Lake.—Shjækkerhatte.—Bivouac.—Shjækker Valley.—Trees at various Elevations above the Sea.—Furu.—Gran.—Birch.

*June, 1835.* — I PASSED an agreeable winter in the district of Skogn. I have not perhaps conveyed an adequate idea of the simplicity and good taste conspicuous in the way of living, and of the



amiable manners of the upper classes, the country gentry, the  
 public functionaries, and families of condition. It is difficult to  
 without entering into detail, which, although honourable to  
 hospitable and kind spirit, would be violating the sanctity of  
 private unostentatious rational life which they lead. The  
 was remarkable, though not for cold, yet for the quantity of  
 which had fallen at a late period. In many parts of the Fj  
 was twenty feet deep. The torrents and rivers were rushing  
 and brimful, like streams of melted metal, across the country.  
 was no real impediment to travelling, for the roads and bridges  
 and the arrangements for keeping them in repair, are admirable.  
 But there was the impediment to the curious traveller, that  
 see nothing of a country covered with snow, however far or  
 may travel. I had been seized, too, last summer, with the  
 of angling. Fishing is not such a tame insipid sport in Nor  
 it may be in the Paddington Canal or the New River. It re  
 legs and eyes to get over the steep promontories which dis  
 deep and dark pools, from which the cry of the luckless angl  
 slips in would never reach human ear. The gentle fisher  
 will do well to sling his rifle across his shoulders. He may,  
 following the Fjelde stream, come to some green and lonely  
 which foot of man never trod before, and while he is chewing  
 cud of sweet and bitter fancy, may pop upon a bear, which  
 take a fancy to chew him. Fishing, however, and snow  
 never go on together. The rivers were thick and heavy  
 melted snow; and it was evident from the state of the stream  
 and the snow-clad background of the Fjelde, that it would  
 end of July before the half-melted snow and the dead cold  
 had run out. In spring I determined for these good reasons  
 as the language was no longer an impediment to doing what  
 pleased, to fix myself for some time where I should be near  
 fishing streams, to the Fjelde, and among that class of  
 which is peculiar to Norway, and does not exist in any foreign  
 organised country,—the bonder, or small udal proprietors. I  
 I hired one of these little udal estates for twelve months. I  
 amuse, and perhaps be useful, to enter into the details of my new  
 living. This place is situated in the valley of Værdal, one of the  
*main openings* running from the plateau of the Fjelde in  
*fiord of Dronthiem*. A river of considerable magnitude, as  
*as the Tweed*, runs through it, and the land on each side

cellent soil, and cultivated in a continuous chain of small estates. This beautiful valley is three or four miles in breadth at its outlet into the fiord, but not above half a mile in breadth from rock to rock where my farm is situated, which is about fifteen miles up from the sea. In the middle of the flat of rich dry loam covered with the finest verdure, runs the river, abounding in all that delights the angler, — deep and silent pools, alternating with shallow gravelly beds over which the current runs briskly and musically; the banks free from the annoyance of brushwood, the water from stumps, dead branches, or weeds; and salmon and trout abundant. About three miles further up than my abode, the river falls out of a higher valley, by a cascade about sixty feet high, into that of Værdal. The former, called Helgodal, extends about twenty miles, and is occupied in a continuous chain of farms, at least on one side. The crops of grain, however, in this higher valley are not always safe from early frost. At the upper end it branches into uninhabited Fjelde glens, or seater valleys, used only for summer pasturage by the farmers in the lower tract. Each farm has its own seater, on which there are houses for the accommodation of the dairy-maids, herd-boys, and cattle, who reside at the seater generally from the beginning of June to the end of September.

It is impossible to see these valleys without being struck with the conviction that they have been chains of fresh-water lakes which have burst the barriers that retained them, and have been suddenly laid dry. On ascending the steeps which bound the flat alluvial bottom of the valley on each side, and which consist generally of banks of a gravelly soil, one is surprised to find a kind of upper terrace of excellent land cultivated and inhabited like the bottom, and consisting of the same soil, a friable loam. This terrace rests against the primary rocks of the Fjelde, which are here limestone, marble, and gneiss, or rock of the micaceous family, of which the laminæ are singularly twisted and contorted; and the terrace has evidently been the bottom of an ancient lake which has been bounded by these Fjelde ridges. This lake has probably been drained by some sudden convulsion; for the slopes to the level below are steep and sharp, which they would not have been if exposed to the long-continued action of waves or currents.

The gaard which I hired is among the smallest of the udal estates into which this valley is divided. A description of it may give more precise ideas than any general observations can do of the

condition of the interesting class of bonder, or small land-owners. My farm consists partly of a flat piece of land between the brae and the river, but safe from floods, and of about eighteen acres. This part is intersected by the public road through the valley, and fenced in at each end from my neighbours' land by a mutual wood paling. The brae rises steep behind, but is covered with good grass where it is not overgrown with brushwood. On getting to the top, about eighty feet above the river, one finds the upper terrace consisting also of good alluvial soil, but more clayey than the flat below, and also more intersected with small dells or gulleys, which appear by their steep sides to have been formed by the rush of waters at once withdrawn. The land here belonging to my gaard may be about forty acres; and some flat parts have been under crop, allowed to rest four or five years when exhausted, and again taken up. Behind it, and fenced off by a hill dyke of wood paling, is the Fjelde, or rather the forest, of which the portion belonging to each farm is marked out by a lane cut through the trees. It yields fuel, wood for fences, and building timber; but the rock, a species of marble, is so near the surface that it is incapable of any improvement. There belongs also to this farm, twelve or fourteen miles up in the Fjelde, a seater or summer pasture, with good houses. There is also a detached spot \* with a houseman's farm, and another has his dwelling and farm on the upper terrace. The steading and dwelling-house of this farm are situated on the lower flat of land by the roadside. It consists of a dwelling-house divided below into a small lobby, kitchen, and store-closet; one good and large room, of the breadth of the house, with four windows, and a small bed-room with two windows adjoining to it. The upper story is divided into three apartments. This is below the average of accommodation on such properties in this part of Norway. The servants' house, or bortstue, consists of a good sitting-room with three windows, a kitchen adjoining, and the upper story divided into sleeping apartments. Between these two houses is the appendage to all Norwegian dwellings — the store-room on pillars, with its steps, detached from the building.

\* A detached piece of meadow or arable land is called the Eng of the farm. Hence probably the name of England, which, whether applied to the original seat of the Anglo-Saxons in Sleswick, or to their conquest in Britain, was descriptive of the kind of country, and its relative position to the countries around.

It consists of two rooms, one above the other. A four-horse stable and a sheep-house, with hay-loft above to which there is a wooden bridge that admits the horse and load of hay into the loft itself; and a cow-house for twelve cows, with a similar loft and bridge. These bridges are formed of spars from the ground to the floor of the loft, laid with as small a slope as the ground will admit; they are universally used, and deserve to be so; as they save a great deal of the pitching and handling of sheaves and hay which take place even on our best constructed farm steadings. I doubt if so much as twelve acres had been under crop at one time. The rest, to the extent of fifty or sixty acres, was necessary for pasture before the stock was sent to the seater, and for hay. Three horses, at the least two, eight cows, and a score of sheep and goats, would be the usual stock of the Norwegian farmer; and besides the two housemen, who had their victuals on the days they worked, with eight skillings per day of wages, there would be a lad at the house all the year, a woman to cook and attend the cattle and dairy, and the farmer's own family to subsist out of the produce of such a property. Having no rent to pay, the farmer is less depending upon money-bringing crops than with us. Butter, cheese, and milk, enter largely into family consumption. If grain and potatoes for the use of the farm, and a little surplus for sale to pay the land-tax and buy luxuries with, can be raised by the farmer, all the purposes of farming in Norway are answered. There are not, as in other countries, considerable masses of population in towns and villages unconnected with agricultural production for themselves, and drawing their food from the adjacent land. It is obvious that the basis of all agricultural improvement is wanting in Norway — markets for what improvement can produce. This is partly owing to the state of property. Where all are producers more or less of their own food, from the Laplander on the Fjelde to the fisherman on the ocean, there can be no very effective demand for agricultural produce. Husbandry never can become what it is in Scotland and England, — a manufacture of corn, mutton, beef, and other provisions, carried on by a class of manufacturers called farmers, who have large capitals embarked in their business; and having high rents to pay for the sites and premises on which they work, and much competition to meet in some articles from foreign manufacturers of victuals, must adopt many improvements and modes of husbandry not applicable to the farming of a country

which the farmer has only to manufacture out of his own land his own subsistence, or very little more to pay his taxes with, and where the extent of land possessed in one place by any one is too small to admit of regular husbandry on the same principles as in Britain. In which way, under which system of holding and occupying the land of the country — that of England, Scotland, and Ireland, or that of Norway — are the people of the country best off; in the best condition; best provided, natural circumstances of soil and climate considered, with the means of comfortable and civilised subsistence? That is the true question which interests the mass of the British nation, in comparing its condition with that of this handful of people in the north: not which nation manufactures most or best cotton cloth from a bale of cotton, or most or best corn or mutton from an acre of land. It will admit of no doubt, that the condition of the people in this country, possessing all the land and property among them, and subsisting from it, is a happier condition than that which the feudal system has engendered, and entailed upon the people of the other countries of Europe.

It may be useful to an emigrant to mention that the rent I pay for this little udal gaard is forty-one dollars, which includes eleven dollars repaid in work done by two housemen; so that the real rent is thirty dollars. The taxes amount to fourteen dollars, including the district assessments for roads and bridges, which are heavy, and there are no turnpike dues levied in Norway; and including also taxes for the police and other local objects: but not the poor-rate or church, schoolmaster, and minister's dues. The latter are all under a dollar. The poor-rate is the maintenance of an indigent man for a week in the year, whose work in stripping leaves from the branches of brushwood for the winter food of the goats, more than repaid his aliment. The cows which I purchased cost from nine to eleven dollars each, and are handsome, fine-boned, thin-skinned animals, like the Guernsey breed. Sheep and goats cost a dollar or a dollar and a fifth each. A good little horse, four years old, costs twenty-five dollars. A good cart with harness eight dollars. These trifling details are tiresome to read, yet may be very useful to know. As to furniture of wood, such as chairs, tables, bedsteads, the farm servant is generally carpenter enough to make such articles very neatly. I repose in carved work which might adorn a prebend's stall in an old cathedral, and sit on cushions



of skin which would have graced his parlour in the days of Queen Elizabeth. The most expensive article in every room is the stove or kakle-oven, which, although only of cast-iron, and very rudely formed, costs about twenty dollars. It is in universal use, the open chimney being now confined to the Fjelde bonder.

*June.*—The Asiatic origin of the Scandinavian race, and of that religion of Odin or Asa-Odin, which prevailed among them until the eleventh century, is placed beyond a doubt, although the causes and exact period of their migration are matters of conjecture only. It appears also undeniable that the original inhabitants before this migration were the progenitors of the present Lapland race. Whether any other people inhabited the country at that period seems uncertain. The tales, legends, or traditions in the Saga relative to Jetter, who were at once giants and wizards or demons, would seem to establish that some people more formidable to the large-sized Asiatics than the diminutive Laplanders may have existed in the country. Yet witchcraft or supernatural powers, which to this day are ascribed to the Laplander by the vulgar of the other race, would naturally give rise to the idea of superior size and strength, when the Laplander, driven to the Fjelde and to the extreme north, became out of the range of personal knowledge to the majority of the people, and consequently, a being for imagination and credulity to enlarge. There is no evidence from remains of tombs or other objects that any third race ever inhabited the country. The two are so distinct in physical appearance as the varieties of a species can be; and as, owing to their totally different habits and modes of living, intermarriage is extremely rare, their distinctive characters stand out more contrasted and less graduated into each other than in other countries—as Scotland—which are peopled by two different races. The affinity between the Norwegian and the German is obvious. The mind in viewing them cannot avoid classing them as belonging to one original stock, although unable to point out or express the peculiar points of similarity. By the same instinctive operation which discovers at once what is called blood in horses, or the cast of countenance in families or nations, it is impressed, on seeing the Laplanders, with the conviction that they are a branch of the great Celtic family which seems to have occupied Europe before the immigration of the Gothic people from Asia. The cast of countenance, the colour of the eyes and



air, the structure of the frame, and even the liveliness of gesture, are so similar in the best specimens of the Lapland people to what one meets with in those countries in which there are still remains of the Celtic blood,—as the south-west of France, Wales, and the Highlands of Scotland,—that the mind is at once impressed with the conviction that they are of the same breed. Clothe a handsome Lapland girl in the Welsh costume, and place her with a basket on her arm in the market-place of Chester, and the stranger would chuck her under the chin, and ask what she had got to sell, without suspecting that she was not a Cambrian. Try the same experiment with a specimen of the Gothic race taken even from any English county, and the eye would at once observe the difference. The descriptions given by many travellers of the Laplanders are caricatured. They are ugly in old age undoubtedly; but the country has yet to be discovered in which the lady of sixty enjoys the bloom of sixteen. I would like a few shares in the steam packet company to such a land. Like the lower classes in all countries who are much exposed to the weather, and suffer great fatigue, they soon appear old, and are then abundantly ugly; but among ten old women of the labouring class in the south of France, nine would carry away the palm in this respect from the Lapland ladies. The young are often pretty: fine dark hair, fine teeth, lively dark eyes, good complexions, small features, and a good-natured expression, can enter into no combination which is not at least pretty. The Asiatic origin of the Gothic tribe which wandered into Scandinavia is marked even until the eleventh century by a circumstance not mentioned, I think, by the Roman historians as characteristic of the ancient Germans, though considered likewise of oriental derivation: they retained the custom of using horse-flesh as food. The dearest of all animal food would be the flesh of the horse. He consumes the produce of a much greater area of land than ruminating animals of the same weight. Indigenous inhabitants of the peninsula could never have fallen into this habit, as having too little land to produce such food. It was only on the vast plains of Asia, where the range of pasture is boundless, that it could have originated. When the tribe settled in a land of Fjelde and forest, in which the horse could only be bred in comparatively limited numbers, its flesh was eaten only as a luxury at religious festivals. In the year 956, *Hacon*, the foster-son of Athelstane of England, was obliged

by the bonder to give up his attempt to introduce Christianity; and as a proof of his sincerity, he partook in the feast of horse-flesh in honour of Odin. The use of horse-flesh was hence considered a proof of paganism. By the bloody Saint Olaf it was punished with death or mutilation; and the insurrection which drove him from the throne, and after the battle of Stikklestadt in 1030, brought Norway for a time under the sway of Canute the Great of England, was occasioned by his cruelties towards those who were accused or suspected of using this food, and consequently of having relapsed into paganism. The Icelanders of that age appear to have possessed some power. They refused to adopt Christianity unless on the condition of being allowed to use horse-flesh as formerly, and refused altogether to allow Saint Olaf to form an establishment upon a small island on their coast. The tribe of Anglo-Saxons do not appear to have used horseflesh before their conversion to Christianity, from which it may be conjectured that the wandering of their progenitors into Europe may have been of a different epoch, or from a different original abode, from that of the Scandinavians. Is it a fanciful or just observation, that the people of every spot in Europe in which this Scandinavian tribe obtained settlements in after ages,—Northumberland and Yorkshire, Normandy, Naples,—retain a stronger attachment to the horse, and a better breed of the animal, the consequence of long hereditary care, than those of the neighbouring countries? In England and France, the horse is to this day in greatest perfection and most carefully attended to exactly within the bounds of the ancient Norman establishments—the kingdom of Northumberland, and Normandy; and graduates into an inferior breed, with less habitual good treatment from the lower class, as these bounds are receded from. The present Norwegian is as fond of horse-flesh as his forefathers; not for food, but for conveyance. Every bonde keeps a cariole or a gig for himself and wife to drive in during summer, and a double sledge for winter; and to walk even the shortest distance is a mode of progression as little thought of as in Arabia. I am not more than three-quarters of an English mile from the church of Vuku, on which there is service every third Sunday. The bonder on each side of me invariably go thither in their carioles or gigs, as well as those who come from the further end of the Helgodal, or from Væra, or Suul, twenty-five to thirty miles distant. At a funeral from the next house to mine of a

labouring man, not a single person attended on foot. The part of Europe less adapted for cavalry movements than of Norway. In a hundred English miles along the Dn fiord, and northwards, there are but three spots at the rivers on which there is ground sufficiently level for a reg cavalry to exercise ; and even those small alluvial spots are obstructed, and commanded by knobs of rock and brushwood. A single company of their own excellent riflemen would cut off horsemen that could be collected on them, and prevent all of forage even from the immediate vicinity. For a hundred back in every direction, the country is of the same description there not being ten acres of land together which is not common. Yet cavalry is the passion of the country. The horses are supported on a system very economical for government, which can only be tolerated in a very horse-loving country ; but it is here. Each gaard of a certain value has to provide and maintain a horse of the size and age suitable for the service. It is used by the bonder for all light work on the farms, and for driving about ; but must be kept in good condition, and inspected once in a quarter of a year. For six or eight weeks in summer it is called out, and the bonder are allowed so much money a day while it is on service, and which amounts to about two dollars. The animal during that interval is fed by the owner ; and if injured is paid for at a valuation. This arrangement is reckoned an advantage by the bonde, who in truth would not let the horse for his pleasure at any rate. The men who ride on steeds are a sort of local militia, sons of bonder and of herds of a certain age, who serve for five years, and are only called out and paid for a few weeks in summer. Such is the aptitude of the people for military exercises, owing, perhaps, to the freighting of their limbs previously acquired by constant practice with the axe in wood-cutting, that I have been told by officers, English and foreign, who were competent to judge, that their appearance in drill was extremely respectable, far beyond any that troops permanently embodied usually make.

Another oriental usage which the Scandinavian tribe appear to have retained to a late period, was that of taking opium as an *intoxicating* drug, which rendered the class who secretly used it *the Berserker*—insensible to danger or pain in the battle, and *ed* them with a fury or madness more than human.

hem during the paroxysm capable of preternatural exertions of muscular energy. A proportionable lassitude and weakness followed the excitement. It is evident from the occasional descriptions given of the Berserker in the Saga, that they were under the influence of some powerful and peculiar kind of intoxication during their *Berserker-gang*. That produced by spirituous liquors, even if distillation had been known at that period, would not produce similar effects on the human frame, as it disables the limbs from acting in general, whatever may be the fury of the words and gestures. Ordinary drunkenness could never render the individuals of the Berserker class formidable among a people addicted themselves to excess in fermented liquors, the effect of which is little different from that of those distilled. There is said to be a way of preparing ale still known among the bonder in some parts of Bergen Amt, which is supposed to be the beverage used by the Berserker. Instead of hops, it is prepared with the leaves of a plant which grows in miry spots on the Fjelde, and is known by the name of Paast. It is possible that the infusion of some indigenous plant may impart peculiar intoxicating power to liquor. In some parts of Scotland, there is a vague traditional opinion that ale may be brewed from the flowers of the heath plant. I suspect it would be all the better of a little malt; but the intoxicating power of different plants, and the effects of that power, have never been soberly examined. I have met with a gentleman in the course of my inquiries on this subject who had himself experienced the effects of the ale prepared with paast, and he had no doubt that it was the means used to inspire the Berserker with their peculiar fury. He met with it at a bridal among the bonder on the side of the Hardanger fiord, where he happened to be quarrelled. It inspired an activity and contempt of danger, and a capability of extraordinary feats of exertion in scrambling over precipices, running, leaping, and such exercises, which the party could not have accomplished but under its influence; it also left a lassitude and debility proportioned to the temporary madness it had inspired.

*June.* — The class of domestic servants in America appears, by the accounts of travellers, to add little to the comforts of social life. They appear to labour under a constant morbid desire to show that they are equal in all respects to those whom they serve, or, as they express it, *help*. The cause of this lies perhaps as much in

the position of the master as of the servant class, in American society. Rank and privilege do not exist, or give no social distinction. Wealth can command no particular respect, where to the extent of a good and independent living it can be so easily acquired; and education, to a certain extent, is common to all. The serving class are in the right. In the structure of the society, there is no basis, real or fictitious, upon which the employer can claim respect from the employed. In this country, rank and privilege have as little influence and are as entirely abolished as in America; and probably in no quarter of America of equal population, is property so universally diffused among the inhabitants, and a comfortable and equal, or nearly equal, mode of living in the essential points of food, lodging, fuel, and clothing, enjoyed by all classes. One would expect, therefore, that the same comfortless and almost acrimonious relation between master and servant should exist here. This is not the case. The country having for ages been peopled up to its resources, its different classes are as distinctly separated, and with as little blending together, as in the feudally constituted countries, in which the separation is effected by legal privileges and established ranks. The magic circle which education and manners draw round the cultivated class, and within which wealth alone, even in England, cannot intrude, is occupied as in other countries by persons of various degrees of riches, but who clearly and indisputably are superior in mental acquirements, as a body, to the bonder, or class of small proprietors. The latter form a totally distinct body, which, although possessing property, and the whole political influence in the country and in the legislative branch of government, do not constitute or consider themselves the first class. The respect which they pay to others, is the school in which the lower class of housemen or labourers learn to respect them. The difference between the bonde and houseman is not in education, manners, or way of living, but in property, and in the power which the land-owner has of choosing his labourer. In America, until the land is fully peopled, it must be the labourer who chooses the master; and this relation, which may exist there for many ages, appears to make domestic servants a necessary evil, rather than a source of comfort in social life. In Norway there is no want of proper respect between master and servant, although the constitution of society, the distribution of property, and the election and powers of the legis-

lative assembly, form a much more democratical body politic than that of the United States.

Men-servants for in-door work are rarely seen in Norwegian households ; but in almost every family there is a housekeeper. The quantity of articles to be laid in at once for the whole year, and to be given out daily or hourly, makes this necessary, even in bonder families. In the families of condition, the housekeeper covers the table, brings in the dinner, and takes her seat next the lady of the house. If any thing is wanted, she gets up, waits on the guests, and sits down again ; and it is impossible not to admire the good taste which is universally shown in Norway, in the treatment of this class of persons. They are in manners and education far removed from the class of servants, and are invariably treated with as much consideration and respect as any of the ladies of the family, and usually invited into company with them. It is not improbable that this trait of amiable and ancient manners may have been transplanted to, and retained in, the United States, where in fact many of the old European ways of living appear still to linger, and may be the foundation of all the wrath and wit of the English travellers at seeing the female who has been providing for the wants of the guests take her seat quietly among the company when her assistance is not required. The English keep their servants at a greater distance, and treat them with less affability, than other nations ; and it is singular, but natural enough, that this is in exact proportion to the small original difference there may have been between the master and the servant. The English nobleman and private gentleman is usually kind and considerate to his servants ; he is often familiar, always affable to them. The grocer or linen-draper treats them with aristocratic hauteur, and is often a much more helpless, comfortless being without their attendance than persons of an elevated rank. I have known a shopkeeper's son ring the bell for his servant to snuff the candles, snuffers and candles being on the table before him. An English Gil Blas could give us curious peeps into human character.

An emigrant family coming to this country to live, either permanently or for a short period, should bring no servants with them. A maid-servant's wages are from eight to ten dollars yearly ; and they are much more neat and handy than country girls usually are, at least in Scotland. A good housekeeper ex-



pects no more than twenty or twenty-five dollars, or four to five pounds sterling, yearly.

*June.* — Having when I first went to occupy my gaard, sent all the stores of sugar, coffee, tea, flour, and such articles as I thought necessary, by sea from Dronthiem to a little village at the mouth of the river of Værdal, and got them transported up the valley to my cottage, I set off in my cariole, a little anxious about a supply of eatables where there were no markets. I found no difficulty. The kind bonder around had sent in presents of eggs, and cheese, and butter, and trout, and salmon; and before evening I had cows in the meadow, and sheep on the hill, and a larder replenished with tydder, roer, ryper, and jerper, and sundry goodly roasts of reindeer venison. The tydder is the bird known of old in Scotland by the name of capercailzie, but now extinct. The cock, as formerly mentioned, is a noble bird, of the size of a turkey cock, and with a bill and claws of great strength. I have found no food, however, in the gizzard, that seemed to require such powerful tools; only the needles of the pine, with a great number of little crystallised pebbles or gravel of quartz. The roer is the female, and in size, plumage, and appearance, so different from the male, that it has received a different name in the language. These birds might probably be domesticated, as the wild turkey has been. They are strong bold creatures, and a few of the chickens which I attempted to rear appeared less delicate than the young of the turkey. I lost them by some neglect, but I have no doubt they might be reared more easily than turkeys. The ryper is our ptarmigan, but somewhat larger and better clothed than in Scotland. In flavour these birds are much inferior to the game of the Scotch hills. They feed on the needles of the pine and fir, and have generally a slight taste of turpentine. The jerper, however, is a more delicate bird for the table than any of our game. It is of the grouse species, not larger than a full-grown pigeon, and its meat whiter than that of our partridge. It lives on the birch leaves, and is only found among birch woods. The Fjelde bonder shoot all these birds, in season or out of season, and generally indeed after they have paired and are laying eggs, as they are then most easily got at. The birds are all shot with single ball; and the bonder are very expert with the rifle. The jerper or ryper is a small object to hit with ball.

*July.* — I went out one night in June, after I was settled, with

two bender to look for a bear. In June, when the snow on the Fjelde begins to melt and green patches appear, the female bear comes out of the woods with her young ones to feed; and this is the best time to shoot them. There seems to be danger enough in the sport to make it interesting, but not so much as to make it formidable. Two or three people unite, and generally proceed with caution, ready to support each other, as to fall in with the bear unprepared, or to wound without disabling him, would be dangerous for a single sportsman. We set off about six o'clock in the evening, and climbed up to the plateau of the Fjelde, which may be eight hundred or a thousand feet above the bottom of this valley; and the slopes are steep, broken, and thickly wooded. On the plateau or table-land of the Fjelde, the trees are more scattered, and appear in masses only in the vales and sheltered depressions of the ground. The rest is a mixture of large stones or rocks of gneiss, or primary schistus, morasses, very little heath, and some sheltered dales of grass, which look more green and beautiful from the desolation all around. About fifteen or twenty miles from our valley, some of the small rills which run into it are interlaced with others which run into the branches of rivers falling into the Gulf of Bothnia. These river sources are separated by no particular elevation. The hills or mountains scattered upon this table-land, although of considerable height above the sea level, are not strikingly elevated above the visible base. The highest in this quarter, Hermandsnaze and Shjækerhatte, do not exceed 3,800 feet above the sea, and the Fjelde base from which they rise is probably 1800. We came before midnight in front of a forest at the foot of a hill, where there was a spot of lively tender grass, and our sport consisted in bivouacking all night under bushes, and watching, with our rifles prepared, every appearance of movement from the forest. It was good light infantry exercise; and although we saw no bear, I was much gratified with the night's amusement. It gave me an idea of what it might be, if half a dozen of our young English sportsmen were to take to the Fjelde for a summer, with tents, good rifles, and a few dogs. I was gratified also at seeing the senters or out-pastures belonging to farms thirty or forty miles distant in the lower country. They would be beautiful little grass-farms. The sheelings or houses are low log huts close together, and resembling very much a Highland cottage farm in Scotland. They are situated generally in some valley, near a

stream or little mountain lake. Each farm in the valley has its own seater in the Fjelde, with buildings on it ; and there is often a considerable quantity of bog hay made and stacked in summer at the seater, and carried home on sledges in winter on the snow. Without the snow levelling all obstructions, the timber, and hay, and products of various kinds could never be brought to the lower country.

In Norway the bear retires to his den, which is generally some sheltered hole in the rocks of the Fjelde, in November, and remains in a dormant or inactive state without food until April. The female brings forth her young, and suckles them during this period of hybernation. The animal functions are, therefore, not entirely suspended. It is said that there is nothing found in the stomach or bowels of the bear when he is tracked to his winter lair and killed, and that he eats nothing for some days before retiring ; that he is quite fat at that period, but when he re-appears is very meagre and exhausted. This habit of hybernating in a dormant or torpid state is a remarkable condition of animal life in particular climates. It seems induced by temperature or supply of food, and to be regulated by these, not by any thing in the economy of the animal structure or constitution. The bear in his half-tame state loses this habit. Many of the smaller animals, the field-mice, the lemmings, and perhaps many of the birds, pass the winter in this climate in a state of occasional torpidity. They retire, and are not to be seen during the continuance of very severe weather in winter. It is very possible that hybernation may at some former period have been a much more general condition of animal life on our earth than it is now. In this way the vast accumulations of bones in the celebrated caves of Franconia and Yorkshire, especially those of the hyena and such solitary carnivorous animals, might be accounted for. The bones of such animals as, from the nature of their food, must be of solitary, not gregarious, habits, might be found dispersed and scattered over a country in every place where they happened to escape decomposition but could not be found accumulated in one cavern, unless that cavern happened to be the most suitable place in a large tract of country for the animals to resort to for safety in the dormant state. *The same cavern would be used generation after generation ; and possibly animals of the same epoch which, in their usual state of activity, would never resort to the same locality, might congrega*

on the approach of their semi-torpid state in the same cavern for hybernation. The period of torpidity might be so different in different animals, that the deer and hyena might sleep together with impunity in the same cave. It might be, to a certain degree, ascertained by direct experiment in our zoological gardens, what habits various animals would assume if exposed gradually to such a change of temperature and supply of food as might be expected to induce hybernation, or the collecting a winter store of food in a den.

*July 20.*—One hears often in Norway from the most intelligent men that the bonder class, or small proprietors, live too high, indulge too much in expensive luxuries, as coffee and sugar, frequent and expensive entertainments at each other's houses, carriages, sledges, and harness of a costly kind, and even a horse or two, more than the farm work requires, to drive about with. In proof of this is adduced the great want of money among them to pay even the most trifling taxes or other sums. The difficulty with regard to money is obvious; but I attribute it not to the want of property, or produce, which is worth money, but to the want of sale from the absurd restrictions on the freedom of internal trade. A man with land worth three or four thousand dollars, and with crops, potatoes, horses, cows, and all sorts of products in abundance, is often at a loss for five or ten dollars. It is very possible that this difficulty of selling and almost necessity of consuming the farm produce, may occasion habits of indulgence and even waste. Their houses, and, in the best rooms, their furniture, beds, and all other household plenishing, are as good as those of the gentry in the neighbourhood; but then their estates are as good also. They are in fact the gentry of the country, and the gentry are the aristocracy; but without privilege, preference, or even pretence of any superiority. Pretence of any kind is altogether foreign to the Norwegian character. I have not seen an instance of that sort of vanity which makes a man assume an importance which does not belong to him. There is nothing to assume; because, comparing class to class, the bonder is the most important, influential, and possessed of most property. The luxury which is complained of has evident good consequences. People must live like their neighbours. The house must be good; the beds, stoves, furniture, and so on, *neighbour-like*; and each of these requisites is a more effective preventive check on the early or improvident marriage of a

young bonder couple, than if they had got Malthus and Chalmers, with all their moral restraints and considerations, by heart, and repeated them every evening before going to bed. This luxury, also, which is, after all, not carried to any blamable extent, gives a very pleasing and unexpected urbanity to their manners. It is probably the effect of their frequent entertainments, or gilds, at each other's houses. The bonde not only treats strangers or neighbours with the forms and expressions of politeness belonging to the usages and language of the cultivated classes, but there is a strain of civility, I have observed, towards his wife, children, and servants in ordinary intercourse, which is often wanting among our middle class. He is not in the smallest degree what we call a vulgar man, although often a homely uncouth-looking person, from the antique cut and coarse material of his dress. But I speak of the man, not of his costume.

If there be a happy class of people in Europe, it is the Norwegian bonder. He is the owner of his little estate: he has no feudal duty or feudal service to pay to any superior. He is the king of his own land, and landlord as well as king. His poor-rate and tithes are too inconsiderable to be mentioned. His scat or land-tax is heavy, but every thing he uses is in consequence so much cheaper; and he has that which renders the heaviest tax light,—the management of it by his own representatives, and the satisfaction of publicity and economy in its application. He has the satisfaction of seeing from Storthing to Storthing that the taxes are diminishing, and the public debt paying off. He is well lodged; has abundance of fuel; and that quantity of land in general which does not place him above the necessity of personal labour, but far above want or privation, if sickness or age should prevent him from working. He has also no class above him; nobody who can look down upon him, or whom he or his family look up to either to obtain objects of a false ambition, or to imitate out of a spirit of vanity. He has a greater variety of food than the same class in other countries; for besides what his farm produces, which is mostly consumed in his housekeeping, the Fjelde, the lakes and rivers, and the fiords, afford game, fish, and other articles. He has also variety of labour, which is, perhaps, among the greatest enjoyments in the life of a labouring man; for there is recreation in change. His distant seater, his woodcutting for fuel, his share of the fishery in the neighbouring river or lake, give

rt of holiday work which is refreshing. His winter toil is of the kind ; as steady agricultural labour in the field is out of the question. It consists in making all the implements, furniture, and clothing that his family may require ; thrashing out the crop, attending to the cattle, distilling his potatoes, brewing, and driving to fairs or visits. The heaviest part of it is driving wood from the forests, or bog hay from the Fjelde. He has no cares for his family, because he knows what their condition will be after his death.

He knows that his wife succeeds to him, and as long as she is unmarried the only difference made by his death is that there is one less in the family. On her death or second marriage, he knows that each of his children has a right to a share of his property ; and according to their number he makes his arrangements for their either living on the land as before, or dividing it, or being settled in other occupations and taking a share of the property when it comes to be divided.

. — There is no circumstance in the condition of the people of this country which strikes the observer more than the great equality of all classes, not only in houses, furniture, diet, and the extent of the necessaries and comforts of life, but in manners, and character : they all approach much more nearly to one another than in any other country ; and the standard is far from being a low one as to character, manners, and habits. In these uneducated and cultivated class are, to English feelings at least, the same as the higher classes in other foreign countries. They seem to have more affinity to those of our own countrymen ; but the lower classes appear to have made nearer approach to the higher than in other countries. This is probably owing to the diffusion of property going on perpetually through all the ranks of society, carrying down with it to the lower strata its humanising influence upon character, the civilisation, the self-respect, the moral principle, the independence of spirit, and the amiable manners and consideration for others in domestic intercourse even among the lowest of the people, which in other countries are found only among the upper classes in easy circumstances. The cause seems to be that by the free distribution and general dissemination of property by their law of succession, and the general simplicity of the way of life, a greater proportion of the people really are in easy circumstances than in any other country in Europe. The alternate descent and ascent of property through the whole mass of society, as it were, *as applied to the fluid in a caldron*, has brought the whole to



a nearly equal temperature. All have the ideas, habits, and character of people possessed of independent property, which they are living upon without any care about increasing it, and free from the anxiety and fever of money-making or money-losing.

*Midgrunden Gaard, July.* — In the course of the summer, I made an excursion to the Snaasen Vand. About seven miles inland from the present sea strand, at the head of the fiord, and about sixty feet above the present high-water level, there is an ancient sea-beach of a very remarkable character. Above the house of Fossum, and forty feet higher than the lake of that name, which is formed by the river that runs from Snaasen Vand into the fiord at Steenkjær, the sea-shells are so abundant that they might be applied to agricultural purposes, and they lie close to the surface. On crossing the bridge over the river which joins Fossum Vand to Rein Vand, about a mile further on, and near to Fov Church, we find a large bed of sea-shells, which have been used in mending the road, for a considerable distance, towards Snaasen Vand. They are entire; the upper and under ones of the mussel; cockle, and clam are united, and the mussels grouped together, as in their living state; so that this bed has clearly been the spot upon which the animals lived. The razor-fish shell, which is fragile, and will not bear to be rolled about by the waves, is also to be found entire. The common buckie, or white large whelk, is also abundant. All the shells I could find are common, and to be met with on the shores of the fiord at the present day; and many of them retain their original colour: the mussel its blue, the razor-fish its brown, and the scallop the pink hue, which some of the fresh shells have. From the entire state of the large scallop and large smooth cockle or clam shells, I conclude that this has been the native bed on which they grew. Through the parish of Skey, this ancient sea-shore may be traced by a similar deposit of shells. At Hegle Bridge, about six miles inland from the shore at Levanger, I found, in the course of the summer, the shells of the cockle, mussel, and whelk; and about twenty miles nearer Dronthiem, in the steep hill side between the station-house of Fordal and that of Forbord, the cockle and clam make their appearance at about the same elevation above the sea. The large peninsula near the mouth of the Dronthiem Fiord, called Oreland, is also stated by Von Buch to be covered, under a layer of moss, with a stratum of sea-shells. From these indications we may conclude that a shore, in a direction

parallel to that of the present one of the Dronthiem Gulf, a level, at least sixty feet higher, has existed at a recent cal period. The sea has left the land, or the land the sea, ntly that shells, in their native bed, retaining in part their hue and enamel, are not covered with any thickness of l vegetable soil. The historical period of known points he line of the present shore, is better ascertained than in calities in early modern history. Steenkjær, Mære the site rincipal temple of Odin at the introduction of Christianity, e city of Dronthiem, are known points, which existed on resent sites between eight hundred and a thousand years they are frequently mentioned in the historical Saga of gre and his successors. But the most ancient of them, as the highest above the present sea level, is Mære, which on a small eminence or hillock, near to the present shore of d, in Sparboe ; and although there are no remains of the there is no doubt whatever of the identity of the spot, and be assumed to have been above water for at least a thousand yet it must have been several fathoms below it at the time ussel, and cockle, and scallop shells, which still retain f their natural colours, were inhabited by living animals on cient shore. Man cannot build such permanent dwellings animals. As the Dronthiem Fiord may be considered, with e to the peninsula, as the reverse side to the Bothnian nd it is no improbable conjecture that the two may have the ancient level of the sea on this side is very interesting. iring of the sea or the raising of the land of the peninsula e ascertained with more precision, if it can be ascertained n this coast, on which there are no local accumulations of river deposits, by which the land gains at one place and another, than in the Baltic or the Bothnian Gulf. The able primitive rock and the water allow of no third agent, the river accumulations on flat coasts, to confuse the tions. It is evident that a sea-shore has been where these shells now rest upon the land, at least sixty feet above the shore. It is evident, also, that a thousand years have made any, alteration upon the relative position of known points present sea level. The assumption of the Swedish philo- that the change of level in the Gulf of Bothnia is at the about four and a half feet in the century, must be somehow

erroneous, if applied to the retiring of the sea ; because in the case the sea, a thousand years ago, would have stood forty-five feet higher than at present, and many points, as those above mentioned known by historical record to have then occupied their present positions, would have been under water. If applied to the rising of the land above the sea, the observation may be correct ; because this may be local, and not equally on both sides, and in all parts of the peninsula. The land next the Gulf of Bothnia may be rising at the rate of four and a half feet, in a century, and that on the other side not so much in a thousand years.

My landlord has a very extensive estate in the Fjelde, extending at least forty miles along the Swedish frontier, and comprehending valleys filled with valuable timber. I was glad of an opportunity of accompanying him on an excursion to some distant parts of it. We drove up the valley of Helgodal, which is a continuation of Værdal under a different name, but on a higher level. The main branch of the same river which runs through Værdal waters the upper valley, and falls from it by a noble cascade, called Herfoss, upwards of sixty feet high, into the lower valley. This arrangement of valley above valley is common in Norway, and occasions singular appearances. About half a mile higher up in Værdal than the gaard, a very large stream seems to issue from the very summit of the hills which bound the valley on one side, and descends a mighty torrent, never frozen in consequence of its magnitude, and turns twelve or fourteen corn mills perched on the declivity. On ascending to the summit of the hills from which it seems to issue, one finds a quiet sluggish river, winding through a flat upper terrace at least two hundred feet above the valley, into which it precipitates itself, and being in fact the outlet of a lake upon this higher level which is about seven miles in length. It would be an upper valley if a slight obstruction to the issue of its waters by this channel were removed. It is of more value as it is, affording, in winter and summer, the means of grinding the corn of a large district and supporting by this branch of industry the little village of Ullevil. It is the finest range of perpetual water-power I ever saw. What would it not be worth in some parts of England : turning machinery ? The length of this upper valley of Helgodal is about twenty-five miles ; and on the north it is occupied by farmland on which the crops are as good and as far advanced as in our low valley. The opposite side, being in the shade of the steep ground

, is a mass of forest, with only one or two farms. In these valleys, where the sun is low in winter and spring, the side is of great importance. Opposite to where I live, there is the farm, which does not see the sun for fifteen weeks in the

about twenty miles up the valley of Helgodal, a fine stream flows from the north-east forming a very picturesque waterfall: called the Shjækker; and trout of eighteen pounds weight are often taken at its foot. The angler could not find in Norway a situation as the head of Værdal valley; the streams and within reach are so numerous, of a size to be within compass of the rod, and free from the obstructions of sunk trees, or swamps or marshy borders. We followed the south branch of the river, and, as far as cultivation extends, found a good road, with a bridge over every side stream. The last farm, Brataasen, is situated on a steep immense bank of gravel and loose earth, the result, I conceive, of a lake which has filled Helgodal, and made a way for itself at the great waterfall of Herfoss, where it has left steep mounds and accumulations, all of which rest immediately upon the primary schist of the Fjelde. We left our carioles at the farm, and with a guide took to the Fjelde, leading our horses as riding was not practicable. It is difficult to convey an idea of the dreary aspect of this plateau, and its utter solitude. It is covered only in patches the naked rock. Every hollow is filled with water or a morass. Trees are sprinkled over the surface; but they do not enliven the scene, being the dark, stern-looking pines which appear almost like a piece of the rock from which they are growing. Many were standing with all their branches dead, and without the bark to make bread, and blanched by the weather, looking like white marble, — mere ghosts of trees. The bread is made of the inner rind next to the wood, taken off in flakes like a piece of foolscap paper, and is steeped or washed in warm water to get rid of its astringent principle. It is then hung across a rope to dry in the sun, and looks exactly like sheets of parchment. When it is pounded into small pieces, mixed with corn, and ground again on the hand-mill or quern. It is much more generally used than I supposed. There are districts in which the forests have suffered very considerable damage in the years 1812 and 1814, and the crops and the war, then raging, reduced many to bark and bone. The extended cultivation of the potatoe since that period

has probably placed the inhabitants of the lower country b the necessity of generally resorting to it ; but the Fjelde b use it, more or less, every year. It is not very unpalatable, there any good reason for supposing it unwholesome, if prepared ; but it is very costly. The value of the tree, wh left to perish on its root, would buy a sack of flour, if the E market were open. They starve and we shiver in our wr dwellings, although each country has the means of relievin other with advantage to itself ; and all for the sake of supp colonies, and other interests, which add little to the well-be the people of Great Britain.

Towards night, we came to a considerable lake, about miles in length, called Væra, which is the source of the branch of the river of Værdal. Seven families, tenants of my lord, dwell on its borders. They are true Fjelde bonder. C even potatoes, cannot be raised here. In a patch of a few of potatoes, planted on the bank, the leaf was already y touched by the frost, on the last days of July ; and clothes l the grass all night were stiff with hoar frost in the mc Woodcutting is even out of the reach of these Væra people, to the distance, and uncertainty of floating the trunks to th mills. They live entirely by tending cattle, fishing in the and in winter shooting game for sale. These appear nc productive occupations, yet are the people well off. Chee butter are products as saleable as corn ; the extent of pastur of bog-land for hay, enables them to keep as many cattle, and goats, as they can manage. The house in which we the night was clean, with two rooms, wooden floors, glass wi a cellar, and with cattle-houses apart from the dwelling. For supper we had trout and milk ; with butter that was cle excellent. Our beds were composed of birch leaves and bra with reindeer skins for bed-clothes ; and the chimney, fo had no stoves, contained a blazing crackling fire, by no unpleasant even in July. The people were clad in thei coarse-manufactured cloth, but not in rags, and although w unexpectedly, the house was clean, with no appearance of sl ness or disorder. The rents of these people are very t *about six or seven shillings sterling ; but I presume they ha a sum at entry, and hold the farms for their own and their w lives, at a trifling yearly payment, which is the usual*

letting land in this quarter; and on the death of the father, the son takes a new lease, with consent of the widow, on similar terms.

Early in the morning we crossed the lake in a boat, to visit three or four of the seven families who are settled on the opposite shore. It struck me as a novelty to see a man sitting in a boat anchored in a lake and fishing, not as an amusement but a regular occupation. The trout in the Fjelde are in general about the size of a herring, and are excellent when fresh. The people salt or dry them for winter use, as an important object in their housekeeping. It is only on the borders of these lakes, and in the small dales and valleys in the Fjelde, that there is good pasturage for cattle. These are often very beautiful little tracts of grass land. But all the rest of the Fjelde, the bare unsheltered back of the country, is rock, partly covered with a thin scurf of moss and berry-bearing shrubs. Heath is scarce; I have not seen half an acre of ground covered with heath. Every depression of ground that affords shelter is filled with a dark mass of forest; on the skirts of which are bogs, of which the grass is cut and stacked on the spot, until frost and snow make the ground stable, and the ways practicable for bringing it home. The principal employment of the Fjelde farmer is making and transporting this winter provision for the cattle.

A river runs into this lake from the east through a valley called Aadal, in which there is only one farm. We walked to it, as, on account of bogs and blocks of stone, there is no access on horseback. The farmer had but lately settled on the spot, and was living in a newly erected hut. It was a mere cabin in size, the poorest hut I have seen in Norway; but had its wooden floor, a window, and chimney, and was quite clean. His cattle were much more magnificently lodged. He was building a very large one for them, with a hay-loft over it, of logs of wood. The boundary between Sweden and Norway is within a hundred yards of this farm. It is marked by a broad avenue cut through the forest, and pillars of stone built within sight of each other. The Norwegians maintain their boundary with great jealousy. It is covered of brush-wood, kept in order regularly, and its state reported to the Storthing.

On returning to the lake we recrossed it, and set off, leading our



horses, and with a guide, to go over the mountain called Shjækker Hatte, which is reckoned one of the highest on this part of the plateau of the Fjelde. The Fjelde is like that which we had passed over, — a dark, gloomy, pine-covered country, encumbered with masses of rock and swamps, and with many huge masses of snow in the hollows. We saw no living thing in the waste. The birds even appear to forsake it. Shjækker Hatte is 3,693 feet above the sea. The base all round is covered with a pine forest, the higher part with birch. The summit is bare rock ; and many huge square masses, different from that on which they rest, are pitched, as if by accident, on the top of the ridges. These are of gneiss, and the rock of the mountain itself is a compact clay or greywacke. The frame-work of the tents of the Laplanders, — three sticks tied together at the top like our gipsy tents, — was standing in the woods on many places, for this hill is a favourite winter ground with them. In summer they seek the highest and more northerly tracts of the Fjelde, with their reindeer, to avoid insects. The mountain had many large masses of snow, which a traveller might dignify perhaps with the name of glaciers, as from and under them considerable streams run, and these are not altogether safe bridges to cross. The descent to the west from this hill is much more rapid than the rise from the eastward. In some parts, the slope on this side is almost perpendicular from the top to the bottom. This is the character of the whole Fjelde tract. It slopes gently towards the Baltic and the north-east, while its face towards the ocean side and the north-west is steep and abrupt. After eight hours' hard marching, we descended into the Shjækker valley, turned our horses loose, kindled a blazing fire, and bivouacked till daybreak. Notwithstanding all the smoke we could make, the mosquitoes almost devoured us. As soon as there was light enough to pick our way through the morasses, we travelled down the valley. There is but one permanent inhabitant in the Shjækker valley, which is at least twenty-five miles in extent ; but at the lower end there are many seaters inhabited during the summer. We passed the night near the hut of this person, who reckons himself not more than four Norwegian miles from Snaasen Vand, and goes to Snaasen church as the nearest. I have seen this tract of the Fjelde, therefore, in various points. Its value, as considered with regard to the food and employment it affords to man, is certainly very small in proportion to the extent ; yet it is

wholly useless. A large proportion of the live stock of the lower country is kept by the pasturage in its dales for four months of the year; and almost all that the live stock of the country produces of dairy articles, meat, and tallow, is drawn from the pasturage of this track. This is no inconsiderable amount. The products of the dairy, — cheese, butter, and milk, in every variety of preparation, — enter largely into the daily food of the people. The poorest have this diet; and from the immense space of the Fjelde, a supply of cheese and butter is within reach of all who have the means to purchase a cow.

This uninhabited valley is very beautiful. It is watered by a fine stream, and clothed with woods of pine and birch and aspen of unusual size; and every break or open space between the woods shows a lively green meadow, frequently occupied as a seater. I measured pine-trees which at four feet from the ground were twenty-six and thirty inches in diameter; and these noble trees had been felled for the side-walls of a cattle-shed or byre on a seater. The Norwegian sets no value on a tree which a Scotchman, not accustomed to such superfluity of timber on his naked hills, regards with much respect. Trees which with us would be worth a good deal of money, are cut down for firewood, or to lay across a pool, or are often peeled all round a few feet above the ground, that they may perish standing, and leave a clear space for grass. The finest birches are stripped of the bark, and left to rot. The bark is called *naver* (it is possible the name of Strathnaver in Scotland may be connected with this word), and is used all over Norway beneath slates, tiles, earth, or whatever may be the exterior covering of a roof, to prevent the wood beneath from rotting. All posts which are in contact with the earth, whether farming staves, bridge rails, or gates, are always carefully wrapped round with flakes of birch bark, for a few inches above and below the ground.

After eight hours' walking down the valley, in the lower part of which there are beautiful tracts of grass, occupied at this season by the cattle, sheep, and horses of the farms in Værdal, we came to the junction with Helgodal. We had to take our horses round so many bogs, rocks, and quagmires, some not quite a safe support for man's weight, that I do not reckon our real advance at more than five or six and twenty miles, which I consider the extent of this Fjelde valley.

In Norway the trees of the pine tribe are called furu and gran. Furu is our pine (*Pinus silvestris*), and gran is our fir (*Abies*); the one is the red wood and the other the white wood, as our carpenters call them. There are whole districts which produce furu, others only gran; and this seems not exactly regulated by latitude or elevation. The zones at which different trees grow appear to be a theory to which the exceptions are as numerous as the examples. In Romsdal Amt, at Fanne Fjord and Molde, in latitude  $69^{\circ} 47'$  north, and with a medium temperature of only  $4^{\circ}$  of Reaumur, pears, the bergamot, gravenstein apple, imperial, and also plums, come to perfection, and the wall hazel often bears ripe fruit. Hazel and elm in the same amt form continuous woods, as at Egerdal. Yet the gran disappears altogether although in the same degree of latitude it grows at an elevation of 1000 feet above the sea in the interior of Norway, and at latitude  $69^{\circ}$  in Lapmark. It has been found a vain attempt to grow gran in Romsdal Amt, a locality in which the following trees and shrubs grow readily: Canadian poplar, balsam poplar, horse-chestnut, larch, elder, yew, roses of various sorts, lavender, box, laurel, white thorn, ivy. Larch brought from Scotland appears to grow well. There must be something in the nature of the plants not connected with elevation or latitude, that determines the growth of them and furu. In the best established of these vegetation zones in the country, that of the birch, which undoubtedly grows higher on the mountain side than other trees, there are generally two kinds of sturdy pines, braving alike the storm and the theory. Dovre Fjelde, for instance, between Jerkin, which is 3000 feet above the sea level, and Fogstuen, which is 3187 feet, in latitude about  $62^{\circ} 25'$  north, the birch is growing up the sides of the mountains in abundance sufficient to afford firewood to those two farms; and not, indeed, the luxuriant birch with the pendent branches which adorns Guldebrandsdal. It forms probably a distinct variety with thicker and shorter leaves than the common one. But, as they are stunted and crooked, they are more luxuriant than those in the most sheltered spots in the county of Caithness, in latitude  $58^{\circ}$  north, and only a few feet above the level of the sea; on the south side of the birch wood near Jerkin, on its north side, grow *pine-trees*, and in one place a complete row of them. They are *but short stunted trees*, but the birches are but short stunted trees *also*. They are big enough to prove that the theory of

of elevation at which different species of trees will or will not grow must be taken with caution, as it does not satisfactorily cover all the facts observable in this country.

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## CHAPTER IX.

Orkney and Zetland belonged to Norway. — Pledged for Fifty Thousand Florins. — Tradition. — Claim to redeem these Provinces. — Torfæus. — Christian V. — Buonaparte. — Dr. Clarke. — Saga. — Sea-King Swein. — His Adventures. — Jarl Rognvald. — Cathedral. — Churches in Romney Marsh. — Free Institutions. — Kings Harald Haarfagre. — Hakon. — Former Classes of Society. — Sigurd Sir. — Manners described in the Saga. — Dress of Sigurd Sir. — Are the Priest. — Scalds. — Alliteration. — Authorities of Saga. — Kuads. — Norwegian Literature. — Road from the Dronthiem Fiord to the Bothnian Gulf. — Important Basis for the Military Defence of Norway and Sweden. — King's Visit by this Road to Norway compared with that of George IV. to Scotland. — His Visit to the Field of Stikkleslad. — His Reception by the Norwegians. — Triumph of Constitutional Principles. — The Election in our District for the Storting. — Distillation of Spirits from Potatoes. — Effect of the free Distillation on Population and Property. — State of Sea-side Population. — The Winter Fishing at Lafoden. — Use of Nets in the Cod Fishery. — Regulations. — Herring Fishery. — Bonder or Agricultural Population. — Fjelde Bonder. — Their Condition. — Ancient Families.

NORWAY is a country peculiarly interesting to the inhabitants of Orkney and Zetland. These islands were only disjoined from the main of Norway and annexed to Scotland in the year 1468. They were pledged by Christian I. King of Norway and Denmark for the sum of 50,000 Rhenish florins, being part of the dower of 100,000 given with his only daughter Margaret on her marriage with James III. of Scotland. The arrangement was probably intended at the time by the Danish monarch to be only temporary; the provinces pledged bore a considerable relative importance to the mother country. The whole kingdom of Norway, even in modern times, contained a population only about eighteen times greater than that of the Orkney and Zetland islands.

It may make the antiquary pause before he admits too readily the transmission of historical events, without written documents,

orally by tradition for a long series of ages, that in these islands in about 350 years, among 50,000 people dwelling in a locality but little frequented, and living from generation to generation with little admixture of or intercourse with strangers, and in a state of society and under circumstances the most favourable for the transmission of oral tradition, not only is the Norwegian language become extinct, but no tradition exists of any one event, much less of any series of connected events, that happened in the Norwegian times; nor does there exist any such strong and general tradition among the inhabitants that in former days the islands belonged to Norway, as would justify a scrupulous historian in assuming the fact upon the faith of tradition alone. What is the real value, then, of tradition as evidence of historical facts, if this be the case in three centuries and a half, with the memory not only of striking facts, but of the current language among a population having on one side of them the Highlanders of Scotland boasting of poems transmitted orally from father to son for fourteen or fifteen centuries; and on the other side the Icelanders showing indeed manuscripts of Saga of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but which they avow were transmitted by oral tradition alone for several ages before being committed to writing? What is the real historical value of tradition? It may be safe to assume that names of places and of persons, customs, superstitions, and even a few words and turns of expression of a language may remain unchanged, because not superseded by any more convenient or to the same purport, and there is trouble in giving up and none in retaining, these when once established; and this kind of passive tradition may exist in a country for an indefinite period and be worthy of all credence. What may be called active tradition, on the other hand, which depends upon generation after generation committing to memory long narrations in poetry or in prose of events in no way connected with their existing interests or affairs, cannot be depended upon, and can have no existence at all with regard to very distant events. The *vis inertiae* of human nature is opposed to it. Such tradition is entitled to credence only in proportion to the support it may have from the other kind, the passive tradition of the country. This position is curiously illustrated in the ancient history of the Orkney and Zetland islands. The language and the active tradition of events of the Norwegian times are extinct; but these have been collected in the Ork-

neyinga Saga before they were forgotten, and are now singularly supported by the passive tradition of the islands. No district of Great Britain possesses such a curious and minute record of its affairs during the middle ages, as that which Thormodus Torfæus published at Copenhagen in 1715, from the MSS. of the Icelandic Saga in the royal library of Denmark, under the title of "*Orcades, seu Rerum Orcadensium Historiæ libri tres.*" The object of this work, compiled, we are told, by Torfæus, by the express command of his Majesty Christian V., was of no less importance than to vindicate the undoubted right of the Danish monarch to redeem the mortgage of the sovereignty of these islands, by the re-payment of the 50,000 florins for which they had been pledged in 1468.

In equity, and as an abstract question of right, it appears to admit of no doubt that a just claim of redemption, or of an equivalent, is to this hour vested in the crown of Denmark. Prescription of rights is in no country allowed to constitute a ground of retention of property against a just original claim of the sovereign; much less between sovereign and sovereign, as trustees of their imperishable sovereignties, can any rights be sustained unless those founded on conquest, treaty, purchase, or other conditions fixed by the laws of nations, and the usages between civilised kingdoms. If it were a case between two honest men in private life, the right would be admitted and compromised.

Obsolete and ridiculous as this claim\* may now appear, if Christian V. had lived a century later, the reclamations of his honest and simple-minded historiographer, Thormodus Torfæus, would have been heard beyond the walls of his royal master's library. In 1804, Buonaparte, in one of his proclamations to the army assembled at Boulogne for the invasion of England, descants upon this very claim of Denmark to this portion of the British dominions. Suppose the Emperor Napoleon had purchased this claim, or suppose Russia or the United States were now to purchase it from Denmark, our civilians would be puzzled to find any more equitable reason for resisting the redemption than the very potent one that "might makes right." Great Britain has spent

\* I find that, in 1549, an assessment, for paying off the sum for which the islands stood pledged, was levied in Norway by Christian III. The Scotch antiquary may possibly find some negotiations between the two countries, about that period, upon the subject.



money more foolishly than she would do in setting herself clear in equity with Denmark on this point.

Torfæus, with amusing and amiable simplicity, and like a true antiquary, forgetting the lapse of centuries, and considering the past time as present, labours with great zeal in his preface to this work to impress the good people of Orkney, in the most barbarous and unintelligible Latin, with a due sense of their obligation to their lawful lord and sovereign, Christian V., for ordering him, Thormodus Torfæus, his Majesty's own historiographer, to compile for their information this history of their ancient affairs.

It is rather singular that Dr. Clarke, in his *Travels in Scandinavia*, speaks of Thormodus Torfæus\* and Snorro Sturleson† as contemporaries, or at least as the two ancient historians of Norway. Torfæus should have been better known in the university of Cambridge. His name belongs to European literature. No author has examined and illustrated Scandinavian history with more diligence and success. If a member of a Danish university had classed together David Hume and the Venerable Bede as ancient and contemporary authors, what a chuckling would have been heard among our reviewers.

In 1780, an Icelandic scholar, Jonas Jonæus, published at Copenhagen, in Icelandic and Latin, the *Orkneyinga Saga*, "*Sive Historia Orcadum a prima Orcadum per Norwegos occupatione ad exitum Seculi Duodecemi.*" This is the text of the Icelandic MSS. of the Saga, of which the *Orcades* of Torfæus is a faithful compilation. Jonæus appears to have been in the service of a truly illustrious Danish nobleman of the family name of Suhm, who employed him to translate the Saga into Latin, and defrayed the expense of the publication. It gives us an exalted and just idea of the literary tastes and munificence of the Danish nobility, to find that fifty years ago they had anticipated the spirit of our Bannatyne Clubs; and that opulent individuals entertained scholars,

\* Thormod Torfesen was the son of Torfe Erlendsen, a man of consideration in Iceland. He was born 1636, was educated at the University of Copenhagen, was employed by Frederick III. and Christian V. to translate into Danish the Icelandic Saga, which then attracted the notice of the learned. Torfesen compiled the *Series Regum Daniæ*, the *Orcades*, the *Grœnlandia Antiqua*, and other works highly esteemed by the continental antiquaries, from these Icelandic sources; and collected and translated a great many of the Saga. He died about 1715. (*Torfesen's Biographia*, *Minerva Maanedsskrift*, October, 1786. *Kiøbenhavn*).

† Snorro Sturleson was born 1178.

and published at their own cost the rare and curious manuscripts of their libraries, even when these referred to remote provinces of a foreign country, and owing to the want of interest to any except to a few antiquaries, could afford no gratification to vanity, but simply to literary taste.

The reader who will take the trouble to conquer the rather obscure Latin into which these Saga are translated, will be delighted at the glimpses they give him of ancient manners, of the way of living of the sea kings, and of the domestic affairs of the very individuals who, as Northmen, Danes, and Vikings, spread terror and devastation over all the sea-coasts of Europe. The Saga brings us home to their firesides. We see them, not only in their expeditions, burning towns, and laying waste provinces; but we see them out of armour, in their every-day clothes, on shore with their comrades and families. To one locally acquainted with the Orkney Islands, this reading is peculiarly interesting. He finds the names of islands, and harbours, and farmhouses, still the same as when these events narrated in the Saga of the eleventh or twelfth century took place, and has the pleasure to trace those peculiarities of truth, which, from their want of local knowledge, neither Torfæus nor Jonæus knew of. They, knowing nothing of the Orkney Islands, give us the names of places as they find them in the Icelandic manuscripts, and are not aware that the places referred to retain nearly the same names to the present day, and that all the local descriptions and peculiarities of distances and other circumstances correspond and corroborate, by internal evidence, the accuracy of this Saga. Torfæus even bestows a good deal of industry in attempting to clear up what appears to him as some obscurity in the local names, but which, he shrewdly and rightly conjectures, may present no such obscurity to the inhabitants acquainted with the localities and present appellations. This is a strong illustration of the difference between the active and passive traditions of a country. The active had long been extinct in the Orkney Islands.

These internal evidences of the truth of an ancient story constitute the great charm of historical and antiquarian research. The human mind has an instinctive pleasure in recognising fact, unconnected with the importance or value of the fact recognised. It is *is natural taste for truth which gives respectability and enjoyment to minute researches of the naturalist and antiquarian, which,*

weighed by their direct importance and value in human affairs, would be considered trivial and ridiculous ; but there is no subject so small that it may not possess the charm of truth. This correspondence of the Orkneyinga Saga with local reality, gives much weight to the claims of the other Saga to authenticity.

The readers of romance, as well as the antiquary, would be interested in the characters and incidents recorded in the Saga. Swein, for instance, the proprietor of the little island Gareksay, now called Gairsay, situated opposite to and about four miles north of the Bay of Kirkwall, appears to have been in his day (he lived about 1120) one of the most daring and renowned of the northern sea kings. His various exploits, related in the Saga at some length, are very interesting. When he had finished the sowing of his bear-seed, an operation which, it may be inferred from the Saga, he performed with his own hands, he went out upon his regular summer cruize, sometimes at the head of six or eight ships; and came back in autumn to reap his crop in Gairsay, and to divide the booty he had collected on his expedition. The coasts of England and Ireland, and the Isle of Man, were frequently plundered by him; and the ancient Manx Chronicle confirms the facts and dates of his devastations in that island, as recorded in the Saga. During the winter, after a successful summer cruize, he entertained a band of eighty men in his little island of Gairsay. If each island chief kept on foot a proportionable body of these rovers, the numbers, when united under a daring leader like Swein, would be very formidable. The island of Gairsay could never have maintained one-fourth of the number of Swein's companions and guests, if they had not maintained themselves by other means than husbandry. On one occasion, Swein, who had many vicissitudes of fortune, was reduced to a single rowing-boat and two or three followers, and was skulking among the islets from the pursuit of the Jarl of Orkney, with whom he was at variance. The jarl happened one morning to be returning from a visit to Sigurd in the island of Rousay, and discovering Swein's boat, gave chase. Swein rowed to an uninhabited little island called Elgarholm; and finding his enemy gaining on him, as soon as his little boat was screened by the islet from the view of his pursuers, he ran her into one of those caves which the action of the waves scoops out often to a great extent under ground. By the time the jarl had reached the isle, and satisfied himself that Swein had not

past it, the rising of the tide had concealed the entrance of the bay; and at the further end of it Swein in his boat lay hid on the shelving beach, and heard the jarl and his attendants express astonishment at his mysterious disappearance. For several days after, nothing was heard of Swein in the Orkney Islands. On a fine summer day, a vessel was seen coming from the west.

This was Swein. He himself, with his armed followers, was concealed in the hold of the vessel; and he left upon deck only the few men who might appear necessary to navigate such a small ship. He ordered them to sail close to a headland in the island of Rousay, upon which he had observed people walking, and to hail them, and ask the news, and what they were doing. The people replied that they were attendants of the jarl, and had gone to the other side of the headland to hunt seals; and ordered the crew to bring their vessel to the shore, and to give an account of the cargo to the jarl. As soon as the vessel was so close under the rock that it was out of sight of the people standing upon the slope of the promontory, Swein changed its course, went round to where the jarl was seal-hunting, and all his followers, took him on board a prisoner, and made him a prisoner for Scotland. Sigurd of Westness, whose guest the jarl was on this hunting expedition, found the dead bodies of the other party, and missing that of the jarl, declared that Swein was not alive, and have done the deed. The place, near to Westness in the island of Rousay, is still called Sweindroog. The jarl was never heard of again. He was carried to Athol (ad Joclis), and put to death, and thrust into a monastery. Swein was reconciled to the jarl's successor, returned to his little isle of Gairsay, and for a series of years was one of the most successful and renowned Vikings, or pirates, of his age. He was killed in the trenches of the city of Dublin, in the year 1159. He had sailed from Orkney on the last expedition which, on account of his age, he intended to make. He attacked and carried the city of Dublin; and the sum, or Danegelt, was to be paid next day. Next day the invaders, seeing the small number of their invaders contained in the vessels, rose and overcame them. Ware, in his History of Ireland, states, from Irish records, the fact of an attack by the Danes on the city of Dublin, and of their defeat on the second day, and the loss of their prince, in the trenches of the city, on the same day and in the same year, 1159, as that which the more

homespun Saga gives as the date of the defeat and death of this laird of the isle of Gairsay. He was no prince, but was quite reckless enough of human life and human rights to have been a prince in any age.

Another instance of very interesting and almost poetical narrative in the Orkneyinga Saga, is the account of the Jarl Rognvald's expedition to the Holy Land, in 1155. The jarl, when on a visit in Norway, met with a Norwegian nobleman, who was one of the body-guard of the Emperor Manuel Comnenes at Constantinople, and who was then on leave of absence in Norway. It is a fact noticed by Gibbon, and it forms the ground-work of one of Sir Walter Scott's novels, that the body-guard of the Greek Emperors was formed of Norwegian and other northern adventurers. At the instigation of this traveller, the jarl was induced to visit Constantinople and the Holy Land. The description of his three vessels, of a sea-fight, and the capture of a tall vessel in the Mediterranean, and of the various adventures of this party of crusaders, are well told, and vivid descriptions of passing events.

It was this Earl Rognvold who, in the year 1138, founded the cathedral of St. Magnus, in Kirkwall, a structure the most remarkable in the north of Europe, considering the poverty of the country in which it stands. At the present day, neither the wealth, nor the skill to execute such a work, could be found in the district. The length of this fabric is 232 feet, breadth  $56\frac{2}{3}$  feet. The arms of the transept  $22\frac{1}{2}$  feet in length, and  $30\frac{2}{3}$  feet in breadth. The vault of the choir 71 feet high; the steeple 140 feet. The central portion, including the transepts, appears to be the old original fabric. Bishop Stewart enlarged the building by lengthening it towards the east, and Bishop Reid, in 1545, by adding to it towards the west. The junction of the later with the older work is apparent; and these enlargements, in some points of view, make the church appear disproportionably long. The arches, cut stonework, and ornaments of the oldest part, surpass those of the later parts. The Orkneyinga Saga informs us how the funds were provided for rearing this edifice in such a poor country in the year 1138. A great part of the lands in Orkney were held of the jarl by a feudal tenure, and on the death of a proprietor his heir had to *redeem the land* from the jarl, to whom it reverted on the death of *the vassal*, at an arbitrary fine. The jarl proposed to make the *lands hereditary*, without payment of a fine or price by the heir, *on condition* of one mark being paid to him for each plough-gate

of land. This was willingly agreed to by the vassals ; and money was not wanting thereafter, says the Saga, for carrying on the work. This information throws some light upon what has often puzzled the traveller in some districts in England ; viz. the number of spacious churches, as in Romney Marsh in Kent, and in the fen district of Lincolnshire, situated in very small parishes, and where there never could have been a population to require so much accommodation. In Kent, fifteen or sixteen churches may be seen within a space which altogether would only be a considerable parish in extent, and in some of the parishes there never have been above half a dozen or a dozen families. But if it was a common practice in those ages for the feudal lord to impart to his vassals full hereditary rights to their lands, in consideration of a payment which he laid out in pious uses, such as the building of churches, it is evident that the quality of the land, and value of the right ceded to the vassal, would have more to do than the number of inhabitants, in determining the size and number of these parish churches ; and it is precisely in the rich alluvial lands gained from the rivers and fens, in which the feudal lord had a title to the new land formed contiguous to his vassal's land, that the most of such parish churches as were evidently not erected with any reference to a population in the parish are found. In Romney Marsh in Kent, a tract of alluvial land studded with churches, many of which are spacious, there are no indications that the tract has ever been so densely inhabited as to require so many and such large places of worship. On the ground there are no traces of former habitations, no marks of the plough, no vestiges in the church-yards of numerous resting-places of former generations. The land being gained gradually from the state of fen or marsh, could never have been cultivated so as to employ a large resident agricultural population. It must have been always, as at present, pasture land, thinly inhabited, and attached to the arable estates upon the clay ridge adjoining to and overlooking this marsh. The erection of so many churches in such a tract has therefore probably been connected with the grants of the land, as it was gained from time to time from the water.

The Royal Northern Antiquarian (Old Manuscript) Society of Copenhagen has published a series of the Saga, of more general interest and importance than the Orkneyinga Saga. This series comprehends the historical Saga of events which belong to European history, and also to that of the Scandinavian monarchs of the



eleventh and twelfth centuries. It includes a period of about 170 years, beginning with the Saga of St. Olaf, the contemporary of Canute the Great of England, who assumed the crown of Norway in 1013, and continuing the series until the death of Magnus Erlingson in the sea-fight with Sverrer I. in 1184. Besides the value of these documents to English history, as confirming or adding to our stock of facts during its darkest period, they give us valuable and highly interesting views of the state of society and of the manners and mode of living in that age, and of the influence of the Thing or assembly of the people. I have already observed, that there seems no good grounds for the favourite and hackneyed course of all who have written on the origin of the British constitution and trial by jury, who unriddle a few dark phrases of Tacitus concerning the institutions of the ancient Germanic tribes, and trace up to that obscure source the origin of all political institutions connected with freedom in modern Europe. In these Saga we find, at a period immediately preceding the first traces of free institutions in our history, the rude but very vigorous demonstrations of similar institutions existing in great activity among those northern people who were masters of the country under Canute the Great, who for two generations before his time had occupied and inhabited a very large portion of it, and of whom a branch under William of Normandy became its ultimate and permanent conquerors. It may be more classical to search in the pages of Tacitus for allusions to those customs of the tribes wandering in his day through the forests of Germany which may bear some faint resemblance to modern institutions, or to what we fancy our modern institutions may have been in their infancy ; but it seems more consistent with correct principles of historic research to look for the origin of our institutions at the nearest, not at the most remote, source ; not at what existed 1000 years before in the woods of Germany, among people whom we must believe upon supposition to have been the ancestors of the invaders from the north of the Elbe who conquered England, and must again believe upon supposition that when this people were conquered successively by the Danes and Normans they imposed their own peculiar institutions upon their conquerors, instead of receiving institutions *from them* ; but at what actually existed when the first notice of *assemblies* for legislative purposes can be traced in English *history among the conquerors of the country, a cognate people, long*

established by previous conquests in a large portion of it, who used, if not the same, at least a language common to both, and who had no occasion to borrow from the conquered, institutions which were flourishing at the time in their mother country in much greater vigour. It is in these Saga, not in Tacitus, that we have to look for the origin of the political institutions of England.

The reference of all matters to the Things, or legislative assemblies of the people, is one of the most striking facts in the Saga.

Halfdan the Black, who died in 863, divided Norway into five districts, with fixed head places for holding Things in each. Laws suited to the local circumstances of each district were framed at these Things; and each code took its name from that of the meeting-place of the district. Harold Harfaagre succeeded at ten years of age to this Halfdan, and reigned from 863 to 936. In his reign the small kings, or independent nobles, were reduced to the condition of subjects. It is the singular and peculiar feature of Norwegian history, that the struggle between the sovereign power of the state and the great nobility claiming independent sovereignty, each in his own domain, a struggle which it has been the destiny of every modern nation to go through, was begun and finished in Norway in one reign in the ninth century. In every other European country this struggle was continued through four centuries of bloodshed, rapine, and misery. In Norway the great nobility never had feudal powers. The small king had to assemble the Thing, and obtain its authority for making war. The equal division of property among children, a rule extending even to the crown itself, prevented the accumulation of power in individuals; and the circumstance before noticed, of the total want of fortresses, castles, or strongholds in the country, owing to the division of estates, and to the use of wood as the building material, effectually prevented a nobility from attaining the power of the noblemen of feudal countries, and setting the royal authority at defiance. Of the nobility, or small kings, some colonised Iceland; and Normandy was conquered by one of those whom Harold Harfaagre expelled from Norway. Christianity was introduced in this reign, and the historical Saga claim our confidence in the events which they relate from the time of Harfaagre. The great length of his reign, extending over a period of seventy-three years, and reaching as it were from the fabulous to the historical age of modern Europe, was

no doubt favourable to the correctness of the narratives of events. There was at least one witness alive, the monarch himself, to rectify the errors of those who composed and recited in his court the Saga of his times. The length of this reign also must have consolidated the institutions favourable to the people, which, as they weakened the power of the small kings, were favoured by that monarch. We find accordingly that on the death of Harold Harfaagre, his son Eric, his successor, whom he had associated with himself in the royal authority, was deposed by the Thing on account of his cruelty, and a younger son of Harfaagre was appointed in his stead. This son, Hakon, brought up from childhood at the court of Athelstan, King of England, was sent for to assume the crown of Norway. This circumstance leads us to conjecture that the language of England and Norway at that day was at least intelligible, if not the same, in both countries, and that the political institutions were similar. Hakon, Athelstan's foster son, reigned nineteen years; and during his reign there was frequent reference to the Things, both for amending the laws, and for the introduction of Christianity. At a Thing held in the year 956, the husbandman Asbiorn of Medalhuus got up and declared, on the part of his neighbours and of himself, "that they had elected Hakon to be their king, upon the condition that freedom of religion and freedom of conscience should be warranted to every man; and if the king persisted in attempting to suppress their ancient faith, they would elect another king. . . . And now, king, make thy choice." Hakon gave way; and as a proof of his sincerity was obliged to take part in the heathen ceremonies of the meeting. Hakon was killed in 963, in a battle against the sons of Eric, who had acquired the kingdom of Northumberland from Athelstan. During the half century between his death and the accession of King Olaf the Saint, the Things appear always to have conferred or confirmed the royal dignity. Olaf, before he ventured to assume the name of king, consulted a Thing or assembly of the nobility or small kings, who after Harfaagre's death again had some power, upon the way of proposing his claim as heir of Harfaagre to the general Things of the people; and proceeded with such caution as proves that the consent of the small kings to receive him as the supreme or chief king, was not sufficient without the reference to the general Things of the people. Of such importance was this institution in that age among all the Scandinavian people, that when King Olaf

who was a personal and implacable enemy of this King Olaf, refused to conclude a treaty of peace between his and Norway, and to bestow his daughter in marriage on the Norwegian king, the ambassadors of the latter applied to the Thing of the people, and laid their proposals before that assembly in the year 1017. The Thing found the proposals made very reasonable, and desirable for both countries, and their king to accept them. The attempt of Olaf to rule without the intervention of the Things was the immediate cause of his ruin. By his atrocious cruelties towards those who refused to embrace Christianity he had alienated the affections of his subjects, and when he was attacked by Canute the Great he refused the supplies. He could levy neither men nor ships in his kingdom, and was obliged to take refuge in Russia. He fled afterwards to recover his dominions. He landed with a few followers in Sweden, where, with the permission of his brother-in-law King Onund, he raised about four thousand adventurers, marched from the Gulf of Bothnia across the Peninsula to the Gulf of Dronthiem. At the debouche of the valley of Trondhjem he was met by an army of twelve thousand bonders, raised by the Thing and commanded by Olver of Egge, and was, as before, defeated and slain in the year 1030, near to the present church of Stikklestadt.

As may be gathered from the Saga that society consisted of four orders at that period. The nobility, who were descended from royal families; and without regard to priority of birth, who were descended both on the mother's side and father's side from Harfaagre, were eligible to the supreme monarchy, but were not to have had no civil power or privilege as nobles, but were to be the odelsbaarn ret to the crown. The odelsbaarnmen, or husbandmen\*, or husbandmen, were the proprietors of land held not of the king, nor from any feudal superior. These were the free men who had a voice at the Things. A third order were the bonders, holding land for services as vassals or as labourers in

the word bonde, and the English words husbandman, husband, are not derived from the word band, or bond, or bind, synonymous to vinculum and fetters; but from the Scandinavian word bond, boend, bor, synonymous with dwelling in, dwell. Bonder and husbonder are the indwellers and holders. *Min Husbond* is used still in some parts of Norway and means the farm servant to his master. Bonde is the inhabitant, not the lord, in the feudal sense.

cottages, but who had no voice in the Things in respect to their land. A fourth order were the *trælle*\* or domestic slaves (hence probably our English words *thrall* and *thralldom*), who were private property, and in a lower state than the unfree men. The Saga tells us that the small king Sigurd Sir (Sir appears to have been his title, and the same word which has been retained in English) was an excellent manager of his estate. He enabled his *trælle* to purchase their freedom from him by lending them what was necessary for the catching of herrings; and he settled them upon his seaters or uncleared waste lands, for which they after a time paid him yearly rents with which he purchased new *trælla*. This is precisely the management of the Sir Sigurds of the present day in the West Highlands and Orkney and Zetland Isles.†

The series of Historical Prose Saga, of which the Royal Antiquarian or Old Manuscript Society of Copenhagen has published a translation from the old Icelandic into their own language, begins with the Saga of this King Olaf the Saint. It is one of the most curious and minute pictures of a past age that the literature of Europe is possessed of. It has great merit as a literary composition. The story-telling strain of the narrative is so simple and natural, that you might fancy an old grey-headed man in the chimney corner on a winter's night was telling you the tale. The equal importance given to minute and important circumstances, the variety of persons speaking and acting before you, the lively touches of character, the shrewd observations on motives and facts, with the most undoubting faith in omens, dreams, and witchcraft, make it a most lively and interesting work, independently altogether of its historic value. It is, however, to be regretted by the English reader of early history that the learned Society have been so fascinated with its literary merits, that all their attention has

\* This condition in society, the class of *træls* or slaves, was abolished by Magnus VII., who reigned 1319 to 1344.

† It is told, I don't know upon what authority, that one Brokelin, a native of Ghent, first invented the art of curing herrings in the year 1307, and the Emperor Charles V., when he was in the Netherlands, went to visit his grave. This must be a mistake, as about the year 1000, the foster father of St. Olav, Sigurd Sir, introduced this branch of industry among his *træls* or slaves, according to the Saga of St. Olav. The art of preserving fish with salt was practised by the Romans. *Halec*, which the commentators explain to be salt fish, was one of the articles of food of the husbandry slaves which Cato the Elder mentions in his work on agriculture: but La Cépède doubts if herring or cod were known to the Romans.

been bestowed upon preserving in the translation the true colloquial style and beautiful simplicity of the original. They forget that this Scandinavian Odyssey possesses an historical interest, even greater than its poetic. They have not indulged us with any remarks, notes, or illustrations, on the coincidence of the institutions, laws, customs, manners, now existing in Scandinavia and in the countries formerly subdued by Scandinavians, with those of their ancestors handed down in these Saga. This is the more to be regretted, because there are few scholars in England, — are there indeed any? — who, to an intimate acquaintance with the old and modern Icelandic, the Norse, the Swedish, and all the dialects of the Scandinavian languages, could also bring to the task the vast stock of erudition and acquirements of such learned antiquaries as Professor Rafn, and other members of that Society.

The English are peculiarly fastidious in historical evidence. The political institutions of the country and the administration of its common law, have reference much more to historical evidence than to abstract principles. Facts of history which the Continental reader seeks to establish for the gratification of the natural taste for truth in historical research, are for the English reader matters entering essentially into the business of the present time, and are investigated accordingly, with no small portion of the acuteness and care which men bestow upon their existing interests. It is on this consideration to be regretted that the Society, in publishing the Saga of St. Olaf, has not given in the preface any sufficient account of the manuscript from which it is taken. Its author, or supposed author, its date, or probable date, are matters upon which even the conjecture of the learned members of the Society would be highly valued. All we learn of it is that it is No. — of the Arnei Magnæi Collection in the Royal Library of Copenhagen; and the translation from the Icelandic carefully revised and collated by the distinguished Icelandic scholars Professor Rafn and others.

Arne Magnussen was an Icelfander by birth, who returned from the University of Copenhagen to his native country in the year 1702, where he held some office until 1713, when he returned to Copenhagen, and was appointed professor of Danish antiquities and librarian of the University. During his stay in Iceland, he made a large collection of Icelandic manuscripts, which at his death, in 1730, he bequeathed to the University. This is the col-



lection quoted by northern antiquaries under its Latin appellation of Arnas Magnæus, and which, although it has suffered by fire in different periods, is still the richest in manuscripts relative to the history of northern nations.

It is not enough for the English reader, more interested in facts than the beauties of the narrative, to know that the manuscript is from this collection, — he would be relieved from doubt whether, even if the facts be correct and derived from temporary sources, the filling in between the facts, the whole of the manners and customs incidentally introduced, and which constitute the most valuable part of the Saga, may not be those of a later period, and of the age in which the writer himself lived. We may be reading facts of the tenth or eleventh century, but may find the habits, and ways of living of the fifteenth; just as on the stage, in pictures, we see Brutus, Anthony, and Cæsar represent themselves in embroidered waistcoats, powdered periwigs, and cocked hats. In this very Saga of St. Olaf, we read of his stepfather Sigurd dressed in his white felt-hat, his *cordovan* boots, and kirtle of red cloth, and with his gold-headed cane. Are these, and especially the Spanish leather or cordovan boots and gold-headed cane, a part of the costume of the year 1013, or of 500 years later? The *fæus* and *Jonæus*, in their prefaces, consider the manuscript of the Orkneying Saga, and of the Saga of St. Magnus, to have been written in the thirteenth century. The transactions relate principally of the middle and end of the twelfth century; so that the writers, if not contemporary with, are not removed far from the facts, and may be considered contemporary with the matters described.

The writer of this Saga of St. Olaf has done more for himself than his editors have done for him. He has given a preface telling the sources from which he composed this Saga; but his editors have not told us at what period he lived, or what reliance may be placed on those sources from which he writes. His preface is very curious, and some account of it will be interesting to many English readers who are unacquainted even with the existence of the Saga literature. He tells us it was more than 100 years after the colonisation of Iceland in the reign of Harfastræfi before Sagas were committed to writing. He considers that Sagas could not have been transmitted down through so long a period, if they had not been connected with the *kuads* or *po*

lds, composed on each event, and recited or sung by them  
als in presence of the whole court.

At this passage we may infer that the Saga were a kind of  
consisting of recitation and song relating to real events, and  
led by the Scalds. The Scalds, a kind of wandering scholars,  
generally of Iceland, appear to have been a class of more im-  
portance than mere amusement of the court could have made them.  
They were probably, as before remarked, the recorders of events  
concerning rights of succession to udal property; and, in fact, many  
Sagas are merely family annals, giving the actions and deaths of  
individuals in a particular line or family, as the main events  
were recorded. They were also employed as the messengers and  
ambassadors who carried the tokens which monarchs or nobles ex-  
changed with each other. These tokens were not gifts merely, but  
meaning known to the personages, or at the least accredited  
messenger to the person receiving a token. We cannot, in our  
entry into the value and importance of such devices for com-  
munication before writing and reading were known in courts.  
The language of the Scalds appears to have been understood at the  
time by all the branches of the Scandinavian people. The same  
language appears to have been visited, on business or pleasure, the courts  
of England, of Denmark, of Sweden, and of Norway,  
there is no mention of any difficulty arising from difference of  
language in any of the transactions of individuals. There were  
many adventurers passing from the service of one monarch to  
another; and new Scalds appear frequently to have come over  
from Iceland, and to have at once recited Saga. Haco, bred from  
up in the court of Athelstan in England, on arriving in  
Iceland delivers a speech to the Thing. Whether the Saxon, ori-  
ginally like the Scandinavian, of Asiatic derivation, may have in  
fact been little different, or whether there was an acquired  
dialect, the Icelandic, which, like French in modern times, was  
understood in all courts, seems not well ascertained.

The Saga, observes the author of this preface, could not very  
easily alter or exaggerate events, "because the principal actors  
and witnesses of the exploits recorded were present at the recital  
of the Saga, and any exaggeration or violation of the known facts  
would have been satire, not praise." He gives a curious reason  
for preferring the authority of poetic to that of prose narrative.

memory of the narrator and of his audience; the accuracy of the poetic narrative is secured by the measure of the verse, as the proper original word used by the first composer or Scald, and no other word, can be used. The Saga which are in verse he therefore considers both as more easily retained with accuracy, and less liable to be altered; and he therefore in his Saga follows, he says, the kuads of the Scalds.

It may, perhaps, from this passage be possible to account for the alliteration, and other devices to us unintelligible, used in Icelandic poetry by the Scalds; devices which appear to us to have had no harmony, and no merit but that of the difficulty of finding words beginning and ending with particular letters. May not this difficulty, which we think the offspring of a false and childish taste, have had the great, and in our age unappreciable, merit of securing the accurate relation of the facts word for word, without the possibility of alteration, to all posterity? May not the verses of a later age, arranged as hatchets, helmets, flowers, have taken their importance in the middle ages from a similar principle, — from affording a kind of aid, like that of artificial memory in modern times, to the reciter, and also a security against error or interpolation of any other than the original words? He proceeds to tell us that the first who wrote historical narratives in Iceland was Are Thorgilson the priest; that Are began his book with the colonisation of Iceland in the time of Harold Harfaagre, and divided his work into two parts, — the first extending to the introduction of Christianity into Iceland, the second from that period to his own times; and he added many narrations of events belonging to the history of Norwegian, Danish, and English monarchs, as well as of the events belonging to Icelandic history. Now this priest Are, continues the author of the preface to St. Olaf's Saga, wrote, according to his own account, in his History of the Norwegian Kings, from the oral relation of one Odd Kollsen, and this Odd again received his information from one Thorgeir Afrodsboll, an intelligent man, who was so old that he was a householder at Dronthiem at the time Hakon Jarl the Great was killed. Are also lived fourteen years in the house of Hall Thoravenson, an intelligent man, who was baptized at the age of three years, the year before the general introduction of Christianity into Iceland, and who, in the course of many voyages to Norway as a merchant, was

well acquainted with the whole of that kingdom, and had been employed in various affairs by King Olaf himself.

It must be admitted that this author's information\*, derived not only from the original kuads of the Scalds, but from the written accounts of Are the Priest, who derived his accounts from certain contemporaries of the transactions, whom he names, whose ages, places of residence, and means of obtaining their information he carefully states, stands upon authority very different from that of traditions which can be traced to no source that is entitled to greater credit than that of the last narrator. The anxious accuracy of the writer to show his authorities, and also those which his predecessor Are the Priest followed, is in a good spirit, and proves that his facts were not adopted without discrimination. Is there any of our own ancient chroniclers who quotes his authorities and means of information so anxiously as these Icelandic chroniclers have done?

It is to be regretted that the learned Society has not given, along with this Saga, its conjectures with regard to the period in which the author lived. It is evident that Snorro Sturleson had used this more ancient Saga, both in his preface to the *Háttatal* and in his *St. Olaf's Saga*; but it would have been satisfactory to the curious to have known if all the facts coincide, or if not, whether Snorro had founded his account on any other manuscripts now lost; whether the work or works of Are the Priest are extant, or were so in Snorro's time; and above all, what may be the distinct value as authorities, of these kuads of the Scalds, which this author, for the reasons given in his preface, refers to the prose narrations, and which are the avowed foundation of all the historical Saga. Are these kuads mere ballads or romances upon unconnected events and battles? Is all between these heads or outlines of a history filled in by a writer according to his own ideas of what may have been said or done at the time? 100 years is a period which seems sufficient to extinguish all similar tradition in Orkney and Zetland as matter of historical

\* Harold Harfaagre was born anno 853, began to reign 863, died 936. St. Olaf's father was Harold Grandske, his grandfather Guddrod; his great-grandfather, Biorn Stærke; his great-great-grandfather was Harold Harfaagre; St. Olaf was born anno 995, only 59 years after the death of his great-grandfather Harfaagre. A contemporary of St. Olaf was therefore a credible source of information for all the events of Harfaagre's reign, such as the conquest of Normandy by Rolf Gangr, the colonisation of Iceland, &c.

faith for even important facts. How can small facts of no importance, but illustrative of the state of society, be depended upon? Are the manners and customs which he paints with such lively touches those of the age he writes of, or those of the time he lives in?

But it is most probable that I have only my own ignorance to regret, and that these important points have been fully discussed by some of the learned men in Denmark who have investigated the Saga of the North. Some of those, however, who have studied the ancient Icelandic, and have given the world translations of Saga and historical chronicles into modern languages, have evidently been led by a false taste for effect to deviate totally from the truth of expression of the original author, and have given translations so obviously and ridiculously absurd, that the foreigner may justly doubt whether the same spirit has not more or less infected the whole of the Saga literature, and historical accuracy been much less attended to than poetical merit. In the translation, for instance, of a *kuad* or song of Eivind Skald-Spilder in Olav Tryggvesen's Saga, what shall the stranger say to such a phrase as this — "Then Hugaf of Sonderleed and his *Hottentots*," &c.? Or in the Gillunge Saga, to find Ingrid upbraiding King Inge, and calling him "King *Lilleput*?" Or to find in St. Olaf's Saga, in the account of Thore Hund's voyage to Byermeland, that although they (the vessels) were seldom together, they always had each other in their *spy-glasses*? The translation of Snorro Sturleson into the modern Norse or Danish from the Icelandic, by N. J. S. Grundtvig, priest, published in Copenhagen, 1822, contains the above absurdities; and where the translation of a work of the twelfth century is in the present times of so loose and inaccurate a spirit, it may justly be doubted whether a spirit of close and accurate investigation of the historical value of the Saga has been generally diffused among Icelandic scholars?

The exploits of the wandering heroes of Norway, who set out with a few ships and conquered kingdoms in the finest parts of Europe for their posterity, seize on the imagination of the reader of modern history, and make him desirous to see the mother country of such men, — to see their descendants, — to see the places where they lived, the harbours they sailed from; and should no works of man remain from their days, the rocks at least  
*! hills and rivers which they had looked upon,*

I have been led into this long account of the Saga, partly from having had no other reading for some months within reach, partly from being here in the midst of the old historic ground of Norway. It was at Dronthiem that all the great events of the early ages were acted. Harfaagre and his successors lived in the district north of the Dovre Fjelde, which was then considered the most important part of the kingdom. It was through this valley and Indal that Saint Olaf penetrated. Stikklestadt is near; and Olver Egge, the brave udalman, who collected and led his neighbours to give battle on that field to the tyrant, and who ought to be considered by the Norwegians as the true tutelary saint of Norway, lived on the farm of Egge, near Steenkjær. The estate is now, after 800 years, still probably of the same size as it was when Olver possessed it, notwithstanding the supposed effects of the law of partition. It is still one of the most considerable of the udal estates in the district, keeping forty head of cattle, with horses, crops, and pasturage in proportion; and from its situation on a point of land extending into the Fiord, it has apparently never comprehended more land as one estate than now, although it may during such a long period have been often divided and parcelled out among children, and again reunited by inheritance and *odelsbaarn* ret into one branch of the family.

The Saga, although composed by natives of Iceland, are properly Norwegian literature. The events, persons, manners, language, belong to Norway; and they are productions which, like the works of Homer, of Shakespeare, and of Scott, are strongly stamped with nationality of character and incident.

From the end of the twelfth century, when Snorro Sturleson flourished — and he was a native of Iceland — down to the present day, Norwegian literature is almost a blank. Holberg, a native of Norway, produced about the beginning of last century a great many clever dramatic pieces. His *Erasmus Montanus*, *Henry and Pernille*, and many others of his comedies, would probably act well on our stage. His *World below Ground* has long been a favourite book with English schoolboys. His *Peder Paars* is a comic poem, — the adventures of a shopkeeper on his voyage to Calenburgh to see his feste mœ or betrothed sweetheart; and is as witty as an ingenious parody of Homer or Virgil with all the machinery of gods and goddesses humorously applied can be. In the lower departments of literature, such as the antiquarian and statis-



tical, there have been writers of merit. It is evident, however, that no great literary effort has ever been made in Norway. It is possible that the state of society is not favourable to great exertion. There is nothing to be gained by it; and intellectual labour seems to follow the same law as bodily labour—people are very much at their ease, not urged by want or ambition, they will make no violent exertion. They will not build pyramids nor write Iliads.

*Midgrunden Gaard, September.*—The road from the Dronthiem Fiord across the Fjelde to the Bothnian Gulf was finished this summer. It was opened in a manner worthy of its importance to the King, who took this route in visiting his kingdom of Norway. The work is executed on the Norwegian side of the Fjelde perfectly, and may be compared to our parliamentary roads in the Highlands.

This road is perhaps the most important of any for the maintenance of the defence of Norway, whether considered as a country by itself or as united in common defensive measures with Sweden. It is the key to the whole country north of the Dovre Fjelde. It is from the east alone, from Russia, that Sweden and Norway can have to oppose an army by land. In the event of an army crossing the Bothnian Gulf, it is from some military position connected with this road, covering the cultivated country in it, upon the Dronthiem Fiord, from which it would draw its supplies, that both countries would have to be defended. The invader could not advance along the coast towards the capital of Sweden with a Norwegian corps upon his flank and rear, and draw his supplies by this road from a country abounding in men, food, and the means of conveyance by sea or land. But to suppose of a Norwegian corps being moveable, some strong place on the line, in advance perhaps of the pass of Indal, would appear necessary; otherwise it could scarcely advance above a day's march beyond Suul, without endangering its own communication with the country whence its supplies must come. It could only defend that country, but could not act on the offensive.

By this same line of road King Olaf came from Russia into Norway with that force which he defeated at Stiklestad, and since that period the Fjelde has been crossed on this line, or on some one parallel to it, and the north of Norway, that *country immediately north of Dronthiem*, has been entered

my, at five different times. It appears extraordinary, that, with such obvious reasons for establishing some strong point, or at least a safe depôt, on what must be the basis line of any military operation, offensive or defensive, in which Norway can possibly ever have to act, the attention of the country seems entirely directed to the fortifying of a rock opposite to Dronthiem, which does not protect the town, and will cost more than the value of the dozen or two of ships it might possibly cover in the bay, and to the establishing a naval depôt in Christiania Fiord. It is not from the fact that Norway has to dread an enemy.

It is probable that this wise old monarch did not come over the Helde merely to dine with the citizens of Dronthiem ; but to take a military view of his territories.

The whole population was up and out on foot or on horseback to meet the King. The enthusiasm was universal ; and Carl Johan's visit to Norway may well be compared to the visit of George IV. to Scotland. It was in better taste, both on the part of the monarch and of the people. The King came over the frontiers without military escort or guard, and with the most simple attendance and retinue. In Scotland there was a little too much pretence and attempt at show. All were to appear what they really were not,—Highlanders, or archers, or private well-dressed gentlemen ; and George IV., who appears to have had a little sly wit, told the good citizens of Edinburgh that he thought he had come into a nation of gentlemen, and the good folks swallowed the delicate irony of the remark without feeling its point. The King saw only the gentlemen of the nation, and saw them only in masquerade. In Carl Johan's visit to Norway every thing was on a more natural, and therefore more honourable, footing for the national character. There was no unreal representation ; no false exhibition ; no rhyers dressed like Highlanders, or tradesmen in bag-wigs and frocks. The bonder came out on their best horses and in their Sunday clothes to escort the King from station to station ; and there was not besides even a single dragoon. Their wives and children lined the roads, and erected numerous triumphal arches of branches of great simplicity and good taste ; and of more effect, than being the thought and work of the moment. The Sovereign, on his part, walked out among them without military attendance or suite, but a few civil functionaries ; shook hands with them ; greeted them in broken Norse "to make room for their old father,"

when they pressed in upon him too closely ; and really appeared, and was, a father walking among an affectionate, kind-hearted people. How different all this from the puppet-show at Holyrood House ! The reality of every thing, the total absence of pretence and attempt at effect, was honourable to the character of the nation and of its sovereign.

What must have been the feelings of this monarch at Stikklestadt ! He came a mile or two out of the road to visit the field of battle. He stood on the very spot on which, on the same hour of the same day of the same month — three o'clock in the afternoon of 31st August — eight hundred and five years before, King Olaf was slain by his subjects. He stood on the little eminence, surrounded by the descendants of the very peasants who fought and vanquished that prince : their priest, aged eighty-two, who has consequently lived through more than one tenth of this immense interval of time, gave the King his blessing on this very spot. In human existence there have been few such moments. The King was sensible of it, and with peculiar good taste went first to the mansion of the old priest, and exchanged his travelling dress for a suit of uniform, — probably an old and favourite one, — and then repaired to the spot where a monarch fell, who, in the earlier part of his career, was not unlike himself in talent and character.

The King appeared to have more knowledge of historical localities than many of his subjects. At Dronthiem, on the day before his departure, he went to visit the fortifications of the little island Munkholm ; and before reaching the custom-house where the barge was in waiting, he stopped the coach, got out, and walked with his hat off to the place of embarkation. There are probably not a dozen persons in Dronthiem who understood the reason. It was sacred ground for a king. The Orething at which the people of this part of Norway assembled, and at which above twenty kings have been proposed, accepted by the Thing, and proclaimed, was, according to the opinion of antiquaries, held on this spot.

The visit of Carl Johan to Norway furnishes to reflecting persons a strong proof of the superiority of the constitutional over the legitimate principle, as a stable basis for regal government. The *legitimate* monarchs of Europe were assembled at Kalisch, with *armies* to escort them through their own dominions. The French monarch, wishing to reign on legitimate principles, cannot take a

being in his carriage but between two squadrons of dragoons. This monarch was at that very time, as if the contrast had been intended by Providence for the instruction of mankind, walking in the towns, and in the country, in the midst of his people, without guards, without military attendance but what the people furnished, and enjoying in his old age, without the parade of a court train, the spontaneous effusions of their loyalty.

Yet Carl Johan never sacrificed a royal prerogative in order to gain popularity. The mistake of his reign, perhaps, as to this country, has been that for a series of years he viewed it, like his Swedish ministers, as one which ought to be governed on the same principles with Sweden. A stranger to the language, and possibly, like almost all men of his time of life who have been bred in the European ideas of fifty years back, to the principle of constitutional government, and surrounded by a nobility who considered their own and a few others of the higher classes of the community as constituting alone a nation, and with no choice of ministers but from among these classes, it is only wonderful with that tact and judgment he always seized the right view, amid all errors and wild attempts to alter the Norwegian constitution, when such questions were brought fairly before him. It was this clearness of mind and prudence, always exerted when he acted on his own judgment, and which contrasted so strongly with their rash and often ill-digested proposals, which developed so strongly in a nation that ground-principle of all constitutional monarchies, that the king can do no wrong, that his ministers are responsible for all the acts of the government. It is so perfectly developed in this country, that the confidence of the nation in the good sense and judgment of their sovereign, and their attachment and loyalty, were never for a moment shaken, even while their Storting was unanimously rejecting proposals from the cabinet for the most alarming alterations in their constitution. The wrong was ascribed to the minister, the good to the king. His reign was the moral triumph of the constitutional over the legitimate principle.

August 25.—On Monday the 20th of August, the electors of a parish met in the parish church to choose their Valgsmænd, election-men; and on the 30th of August, these Valgsmænd met at Steenkjær as a central point for all the Valgsmænd of different parishes of the amt or county, in number thirty-one,

to choose the representatives to the Storting. The minister and the fōged each keep a list of electors ; as age as well as property enter into the qualification.

It is far beyond my competency to give an opinion whether this middle wheel of election-men is or is not good in a representative system. One hundred electors or under, at the election meeting, choose one, from one hundred to two hundred, two, and so on. The number of election-men depends therefore on the number of electors who choose to meet ; but in case of sickness, written votes are taken. We had 270 electors, and therefore send three election-men. A very great number of qualified voters did not meet, as the hay crop was not all carried in. From what I see in the newspapers, one-fourth at least of the qualified voters over all Norway did not attend. There is a danger, therefore, in the working of this middle wheel, that it may deaden the interest in public affairs, from the want of direct communication between the representative and constituent. To travel ten or twenty miles from a bare sense of public duty, perhaps at a busy season, and without the assurance even of adding one election-man to the number, for 101 voters would send as many as 199, is too much perhaps to expect from public spirit. Yet it is an effectual preventive of bribery and undue influence in any shape. The election-men meet in ten days. It can only then be known how many representatives they can elect ; for that depends upon their own numbers.

*September.*—The distillation of spirits from potatoes is a process so simple, and the manufacture is so general and so important in Norway, where grain cannot be spared for that purpose, that I was anxious to obtain more exact information about it than I got at Dronthiem. In regular distilleries the saving of labour and of fuel, and the greater scale of operation, require arrangements, vessels, and machinery which are not necessary in the house-keeping of the common bonde, who only distils his own few barrels, and by far the greater part of the spirits used in the country is thus made. The principle is the same, and the operations in a regular distillery are no doubt more economical ; but the most simple mode of operating on so bulky a material is the most interesting, because the potatoes are in every cottage ; but it is only in this country that in every household they are converted into a valuable product without much machinery or trouble. It is part of the women's work, like cheese-making or brewing ; and is car

on once a week or fortnight on every gaard, for the sake of wash and refuse to the cattle, as well as of the spirits.

There is no choice of the potatoes. Those produced in dry soils are supposed to yield most spirit ; but nothing is ascertained, except that there are considerable differences in the quantity which they produce. They are first taken to the pump, well washed and scrubbed with the besom, and when quite clean and free from dirt are put into a barrel to be steamed. This barrel may be of any size, and should have iron hoops, and an opening in the head for putting in the potatoes, with a little door on the side at its bottom for taking them out. The bottom is bored full of holes to let the water, and the barrel is sometimes set upon a stand with rollers for the convenience of moving it about. When the potatoes are put in, and the door below fastened, the steam is admitted into the barrel by a metal pipe from a kettle or still of boiling water. The pipe comes from the lid or cover of the vessel in which the water is boiling into the side of the barrel, close to the bottom, and its mouth has a little grating to prevent its being stopped by the potatoes falling into it. The steam, when the water begins to boil, penetrates the potatoes ; and in this process a great quantity of water runs out through the holes in the bottom of the barrel. A kettle which will hold one barrel full of water is sufficiently large to steam six barrels of potatoes ; but as boiling is required in the process afterwards, it is a saving of labour and fuel to have a vessel holding five barrels of water. The steaming takes an hour and a half, and they know when it is finished by taking out one of the largest potatoes and eating it. In distilling in steam instead of water, the potatoes have a better flavour ; and there is a great saving of labour and fuel. When our distillers in Scotland attempted to make whiskey of potatoes, they boiled them ; but never could get rid of the potato taste in the spirits, which boiling alone does not take away. In the most common process, the potatoes are put into a basket with a tight lid, and a barrel with holes in the bottom and fitted close upon the top of the pot or kettle of boiling water, so that all the steam must pass through.

The most profitable way of distilling potatoes is with a mixture of ground wheat and malt, or, instead of wheat, rye or any other

The best *proportions* are these : — To six heaped barrels of potatoes, weighing seventy-eight stones of sixteen pounds each,



nine and a half stones of wheat or other corn, and five of malt from bear or big. If more of any of the parts be taken, the wort or liquor to be distilled is too heavy, and is apt to burn or singe in the still. By this proportion the smallest distilling, as a barrel or half a barrel at a time, is regulated. The crushed grain and malt are first mixed in about 120 quarts of water heated to  $50^{\circ}$  of Reaumur or  $144^{\circ}$  of Fahrenheit, and no higher. The potatoes being perfectly steamed, are crushed between two rollers, and as they leave the rollers are shovelled into the vat in which the fermentation is to take place. For small quantities, rollers are not necessary. A pestle, or a man with wooden shoes, crushes them under his feet in the vat, and the more they are reduced to a paste the better. Boiling water, to the extent of about 450 quarts, is then poured into the vat, and is cooled down with cold water to  $20^{\circ}$  Reaumur, or  $77^{\circ}$  Fahrenheit, at which the mash of wheat and malt is added to it; the vat is then immediately covered up as tightly as possible, and left to ferment. A vat for the above quantity must be large enough to hold fourteen or fifteen barrels, besides room for the liquor to ferment without running over, as the potatoes ferment with great violence with or without the addition of yeast. A still for this quantity should be large enough to hold about six barrels. There is no occasion to wait until the liquor is quite clear before taking it from the fermenting vat to the still, as much of the spirit would be lost by evaporation: the rule is, to divide the scum of seeds and froth upon its surface; and if the scum does not run together of itself, nor the opening close with air bubbles from below, the fermentation is over, and there is loss of spirit by delay. The distilling process is the same as from other liquors; and it is sometimes distilled twice, and flavoured with anise. The exact produce from a given quantity of potatoes is not easily ascertained, because the quantity of the spirit depends on its strength, which is not measured by our scale or instruments. The quantity of potatoes and grain above mentioned have been estimated to give 160 to 190 quarts of our measure of a spirit of six degrees of strength; but I do not understand the unit from which this measure of the strength proceeds, or its proportion to our proof. Judging by that common instrument, the mouth, I find a strong fiery spirit, with no disagreeable taste or smell, produced by a neighbour at the rate of fifteen pots, which would be somewhat above eighteen quarts English, from the barrel of potatoes; &

where potatoes and grain are good, I understand this is the ordinary produce. The value given to a potatoe crop by distillation is not easily ascertained. Besides the quantity and value of the spirits, there is that of the wash or refuse for the cattle, which is considered better for them than the potatoes would have been in any other shape: the value of the corn and malt is also to be reckoned. The best judgment of it may be gathered from the price which distillers give for potatoes under ordinary circumstances. This is a dollar per barrel, which is about three per cent. less than half an imperial quarter; a high price to be paid at the farmer's door, and which gives a real value to the land from a product which had formerly been merely cultivated for family use, and without the advantage of the manure produced by feeding the farm stock on the waste.

Norway in the year 1825 had a population of 967,959 persons. By the census of 1835 the numbers are 1,098,291, being an increase in these ten years of 130,332. In the towns there were in 1825 a population of 112,778, and in 1835 of 125,139, being an increase of 12,361. In the country in 1825 the population was 855,181, and in 1835, 973,152, being an increase of 117,971.

The town population is contained in thirty-eight places, only one of which exceed 3000 inhabitants, and only two reach 2000; and in all, excepting perhaps Bergen, a considerable proportion of the inhabitants are engaged in agriculture, raising at least of what they consume. The great increase therefore has evidently been in the agricultural population. No manufacture has risen during these ten years to be exchanged for food with other countries. The wood trade, which is the staple one, and formerly gave employment to a great population, has been in a very depressed state. The increase has evidently been from the greater quantity of food raised from the soil of the country by bringing in new lands or improving the old. The admitted advance of the people within these ten years in the enjoyment of the necessities and luxuries of life, taken together with this ascertained increase of their numbers, shows a very remarkable progress of the country under its own legislation. The gradual reduction of the taxes, and especially of that worst of all, the embodying almost all the able agricultural population to be exercised as militia during a great portion of the short season which the climate admits of being

applied to the clearing and preparing new land, may be one of the great steps by which this progress has been made. The greatest, however, has undoubtedly been the free use of his agricultural produce enjoyed by the farmer in malting, distilling, and in every way he pleases. The distilling of all the potatoes that can be spared from family use, has spread universally the improvement that comes nearest to extensive turnip husbandry of which the climate admits. There is the evil, no doubt, of drunkenness being more within the power of the lower classes. It is but a poor morality, however, which a government has to enforce by keeping the keys of the cellar; nor can I admit that the common people are more addicted to drunkenness in Norway than in Scotland. They use more spirits undoubtedly, but they spread it over a greater portion of time. If their two glasses of raw spirits daily, which is perhaps the average consumption of each of the labouring class, were taken all at once, or in two evenings of the week, they would lose two or perhaps four days of that week, from the effects of excess; but divided as they generally are in fourteen portions at intervals of twelve hours, it is the physician rather than the moralist who can speak to the effects. The ordinary observer can only remark that in spite of this poison they are a very athletic, healthy-looking set of men, carrying the bloom of youthful complexions to a much later period of life than other nations; they have particularly well-made limbs, in which respect the English peasant is often deficient, and their children are uncommonly and strikingly fine-looking little creatures. The ordinary observer in this country will be very apt, in balancing the good against the evil, to class the legislating for morality by distillery laws, or by any other means than the diffusion of religious and moral instruction, with the penal laws against fornication or Sabbath-breaking. It is painting and gilding a plank which we know has the dry-rot in its heart; and yet, trying to persuade ourselves and even Providence, that all is sound because it is made to look so. There is a little confusion in the religion and morality of many excellent and highly gifted men when they attempt to support them by Acts of Parliament instead of the only sound foundation, the instruction of the people. It is the mere outward semblance of morality and religion they obtain when they succeed best, and that is surely not the object at which they aim.

*The increase of population in Norway, connected as it evidently*

is with a proportional increase of property by improved husbandry, and a value being given to its products by new employments, is a striking proof that population and property, if the latter be distributed through the social body on the natural principle, will mutually act upon and check each other. The increase of numbers, previously to the establishment of an independent legislature, was extremely slow, because the increase of their property was slow; it is now much more rapid, because the state of property admits of it. The diminution of taxes, and the distillation of the products of husbandry which were formerly of little value, while the spirits had to be purchased from other countries, are visible additions to the mass of property gained within these ten years, and producing an addition of population. It is not an increase called into existence by any temporary advance of wages in cotton-spinning, or other manufactures; but the property which is to subsist the population being increased, the population has followed.

The progress of those tastes and habits which belong to property, tending to keep population within the bounds of what can be comfortably subsisted, and without which the increase of subsistence would tend to evil rather than good, has evidently kept its due pace. The consumption of foreign luxuries, such as coffee, tea, sugar, the gradual taste for finer cloth, for better stone-ware, and such household articles, and the increasing demand for mental amusement, prove that the habits which check undue increase of population are keeping pace with that ease of subsistence which would otherwise produce it. Twenty years ago there was not a newspaper published in Norway, excepting for advertisements of sales or of the official notices from government. Now there is not a town which has not several periodical papers; and news, especially of the domestic occurrences and affairs, is one of the wants of the people.

*October.* — The population of Norway, with reference to their means of living and employments, may be divided into three distinct classes. The seafaring peasantry occupy the islands, the entire provinces of Norland and Finmark, and the coast side of all the Fiords, even a hundred miles up from the main ocean. These grand-sitters, as they are called, have small farms, held generally a life-rent for their own and their widows' lives, and sufficient to keep a couple of cows, some sheep, and to yield potatoes and a

little corn in favourable situations. Their subsistence, however, depends upon their fishing.

The great scene of Norwegian fishery is in the Laffoden islands. In the beginning of February the fish set in from the ocean, and occupy the banks in West Fiord, which is that tract of sea comprehended between the chain of islands and the main land. These banks are from three to ten miles out in the Fiord, and at a depth of from sixty to eighty fathoms. Shelter from the fury of the main ocean, possibly also some special circumstances in the temperature, or in the food afforded on these banks, bring the cod in such crowds together to deposit their spawn, that it is said a deep-sea lead is often interrupted in its descent to the bottom through these fish hills, as they are called. From North Cape to Bergen, all the fishermen who have the means, assemble in the month of January at the different stations. The fish are caught in nets and on long lines. Nets are becoming more in use every season. An outfit for this fishing consists of two boats, each manned by five men. This company have six or eight nets, each twenty fathoms in length when mounted or put to the back or side ropes, and thirty meshes deep. The mesh of the cod net is about six inches when stretched from knot to knot, and is made of three-ply hempen thread barked. The nets have sinkers to carry them to the bottom, and light wood (cork being too expensive) as floaters on the back rope, to keep them in a perpendicular position; and the back ropes and ground ropes of each are fastened to the next, and the whole drift set as our herring nets, only with longer buoy-ropes, as the nets are set in from sixty to eighty fathoms. If the outfit is with long lines, the line consists of 1200 hooks, at five feet distance, consequently a thousand fathoms in length, with buoys and anchors; and the hooks, which are of tinned iron, are on hook-lines of about a fathom in length. The nets and lines are set at night, and taken up in the morning. Each company has its own set, or ground, determined by marks on the shore. Line fishers have the inside, and net fishers the outside. Lines and nets must be set from land to seaward, not along the coast. Each station must have only so many fishing companies, that a line fishing company may have twenty-five fathoms, and a net-fishing company twenty fathoms, clear of neighbours. There is a commander elected at each station by the fishermen themselves; and the police and regulation, such as going out together to raise their



lines and nets by signal, the prevention of night fishing, stealing, or encroachment on another company's ground, are entrusted to him; and, in concert with the commanders of the two nearest stations, he determines when the fishing shall begin and end. Government, besides these judicious regulations, which leave matters to the judgment of the fishermen themselves, has other absurd ones; such as fixing a particular day, before which the cured fish cannot be removed, and another after which they cannot remain. As the curing depends entirely on the weather, it would be altogether as wise to fix a day on which corn shall be cut down, ripe or not. It often happens that the fish are dry and cured before the 12th of June, being the day fixed, but just before it arrives wet weather begins, and they are destroyed; at other times the fish are not in a state to be removed when by law they must be so. The object is to prevent the stealing of those under cure, which might take place if every man removed his fish when he pleased; but the remedy is as fatal to property as the disease.

Every twenty or thirty of the fishing companies have a yacht, or large tender, to bring out their provisions, nets, and lines, and to take the produce to market. The fish are cured as round or stock-fish until April, after which they are split, salted, and carried to Dronniem or other places to be dried on the rocks, like our Scotch dried cod. The stock-fish are merely gutted and hung up, two together, across poles, which are provided by the owner of each station; and they are dried without salt, in the wind.

In a medium year, 1827, there were 2916 boats fishing in eighty-three different stations, accompanied by 124 yachts or tenders, the number of men in all being 15,324. The produce was 16,456,620 fish, which would be about 8800 tons dried: there were also 21,530 barrels of cod oil, and 6000 of cod roe.

This important winter fishing ends in the middle of April, after which the seafaring peasantry in Finmark and Nordland fish for the Russians; the others return to their homes, and catch sethe (*Gadus virens*) or herrings. The herring fishery is not clogged with the absurd regulations of our Board, with regard to the size of the mesh of the net. In order to preserve the breed, and prevent the young fish from being taken, our wise regulations oblige our fishermen to use nets with the mesh of an inch square. The consequence is, that only full fish, just about to spawn, can be



taken ; and in that state they are nowhere esteemed, and not marketable, if others containing neither roe nor melt, and not shotten but fat, can be procured. It is time that our government put an end to the absurd whims of the late George Rose and his fishery board, which have cost the country some millions of money. To preserve the race of herrings, if that were even a rational object for regulation, the way is not to kill the unspawned fish ; but on the contrary, to spare them, and kill the young : not to kill the goose about to lay her golden eggs, but her goslings. The Norwegians very wisely use nets of all sizes of mesh ; and take herrings of any size, at any time by day or night, as they can get them, leaving it to the fish curer to assort the sizes and kinds of fish to suit his customers, and leaving it to nature to replace the fish killed. By this wise and simple procedure, they have beat the Scotch herring curers out of the markets of the Baltic, as they deliver fish better assorted, and of better quality.

Besides these important general fisheries, there is in every creek of the Fiords, even at a hundred miles up from the ocean, as at Steenkjær in the Dronthiem Fiord, abundance of cod, whiting, haddock, flounder, sea-bream and herrings, caught for daily use and for sale by the seafaring peasantry.

The bonder, or agricultural peasantry, each the proprietor of his own farm, occupy the country from the shore side to the hill foot, and up every valley or glen, as far as corn will grow. This class is the kernel of the nation. They are, in general, fine athletic men, as their properties are not so large as to exempt them from work ; but large enough to afford them and their households abundance, and even superfluity of the best food. They farm, not to raise produce for sale so much as to grow every thing they eat, drink, and wear in their families. They build their own houses, make their own chairs, tables, ploughs, carts, harness, iron-work, basket-work, and wood-work ; in short, except the window glass, cast-iron ware, and pottery, every thing about their houses and furniture is of their own fabrication. There is not, probably, in Europe so great a population in so happy a condition as this Norwegian yeomanry. A body of small proprietors, each with his thirty or forty acres, scarcely exists elsewhere in Europe ; or, if it can be found, it is under the shadow of some more imposing body of wealthy proprietors or commercial men. Here they are the highest in the nation. The population of the few towns is only reckoned about one eleventh of

the whole, and of that only a very small proportion can be called rich : too few to have any influence on the habits or way of thinking of the nation. The settlers in the newer states of America, and in our colonies, possess properties probably of about the same extent ; but they have roads to make, lands to clear, houses to build, and the work that has been doing here for a thousand years to do, before they can be in the same condition. These Norwegian proprietors are in a happier condition than those in the older states of America, because they are not so much influenced by the spirit of gain. They farm their little estates, and consume the produce, without seeking to barter or sell, except what is necessary for paying their taxes and the few articles of luxury they consume. There is no money-making spirit among them, and none of extravagance. They enjoy the comforts of excellent houses, as good and large as those of the wealthiest individuals, good furniture, bedding, linen, clothing, fuel, victuals and drink, all in abundance, and of their own providing ; good horses, and a houseful of people who have more food than work. Food, furniture, and clothing being all home-made, the difference in these matters between the family and the servant is very small ; but there is a perfect distinction kept up. The servants invariably eat, sleep, and sit apart from the family, and have generally a distinct building adjoining to the family house.

There is a third class, the connecting link between this class of small proprietors and the wandering Laplanders, whose lot is not so fortunate. They possess land also, and have houses, which, although small, are comfortable, with floors of wood and glass windows ; but their situation is on the verge of the Fjelde, or in the glens which run into it, far above the level of the land which produces corn, and outside of the districts occupied by the other small proprietors. Their employments are consequently different. These Fjelde bonder live by the produce of cattle, by felling timber in those situations in which they have the advantage of a mountain-stream near the forest for floating the trees to a saw-mill ; and, as a secondary object, by the sale of game, carried in a frozen state in winter to the low-country markets. Snow remains late in spring on their territory, and night frosts set in early in August ; so that in the higher tracts on the borders of dense forests and of marshes, where these Scandinavian backwoodsmen have their land, the corn is generally frozen before the ear is filled. The bark of

the pine, mixed and ground up with their ill-ripened oats, is their common bread; and the trout of the Fjelde lakes, dried and salted for winter use, forms no inconsiderable part of their provision. They live a harder and more laborious life, have a stronger frame of body, and more active character, than the inhabitants of the agricultural country. Winter is no time of rest and enjoyment for them. While the snow prevents the agricultural bonder from doing any outdoor work, they must drive home in sledges the hay cut and stacked during the summer in distant bogs and grass valleys in the Fjelde, inaccessible for horses until the snow has levelled all obstructions. It is only at this season too, that the trunks of trees felled in the depths of the forests can be dragged over the fallen timber and blocks of stone which cover the earth, to the side of the stream which is to float them on a thaw to the lower country. This class of the peasantry includes not merely the outside settlers on the verge of the Fjelde, and in the heads of the valleys of which the lower levels are cultivated, but also the inhabitants of extensive districts and amts, whose condition is more or less influenced by these circumstances. They are the most rough, but most interesting of the inhabitants of Norway. They retain the dress, manners, character, and athletic forms which we imagine as belonging to men in ancient times. Each district and valley has some peculiarity of costume, pronunciation, and even character; and intermarriages of the isolated group of inhabitants with those in the next valley, or in the lower grounds, are rare. There are said to be families in these remote glens which can trace their descent from the days of Harold Harfaagre.\* It is not exactly necessary to believe that this peasant nobility have any real records of a lineage surpassing that of the most ancient nobility in

\* Gjesling is the name of a bonder family living on their estate, called Sandbu, in the parish of Vaage in Gulbrandsdal, who have parchments, says the antiquary Gerard Schoning, proving that in the year 1336 the family was possessing and living on this estate: also in Loom parish, Hrolf Blakar of Blakar preserves a headpiece or helmet complete with an opening only for the eyes, and parts of a coat of mail, a long sword, and other articles of his ancestors; and a writing of King Hakon Magnussen the younger, who lodged a night in Blakar Gaard in the fourteenth year of his reign, anno 1364.

These would be very ancient families in Britain. Are there many holding documents and family estates for so long a period? Of the authenticity of the documents of these bonder there can be no question. Schoning had them before him, and he was an antiquary of great learning and character.

See Gerard Schoning's Reise, Aaret, 1775; Budstikken, 1821 Nos. 91 and 92.

Britain or France, and with the preservation of which neither privilege nor consideration in society was ever connected in Norway; but one may believe that lands in these remote glens seldom change possessors by purchase and sale, and may have descended very generally to the posterity of those who possessed the same acres in the earliest times, especially as internal wars and confiscations in the middle ages never extended to the possessions of the great mass of these humble udallers. One may believe that as the descendants of Rolf Ganger, the great progenitor of William the Conqueror, may be traced to many of the thrones of Europe, those of Rolf's kinsmen who settled in Iceland, while their more ambitious relative steered to the south, may now exist as peaceful Icelandic peasants\* in the original domiciles of their forefathers; more happy, Deppin supposes, during the thousand years which have elapsed since their ancestors parted on the shores of Norway, than their distant relatives on their thrones.† It is at least pleasing to the imagination to see among this class of ancient proprietors the forms of countenance and figures to which we are accustomed, without perhaps having any distinct meaning, to attach the word noble.

\* Rolf Ganger is supposed to have resided in the island, on the coast of Landmar, called Vigerræ, before his expedition to Normandy. Where wood is the building material, remains of ancient dwellings can scarcely exist; but a dry dock or excavation for holding ships remains, and is said to be that which Rolf used in fitting out his expedition.

These docks or excavations for receiving vessels are called nousts in the ancient Norwegian language, a word still retained in Orkney and Zetland. Some antiquarians are fond of deriving this word noust from the Greek *nosterion*.

† Rognvald, Earl of North and South Møre, had two surviving sons; Rolf Ganger, who conquered Normandy, and was ancestor of our Norman line of kings; and Thore the Silent, who on his father's death was created Earl of Møre, and married King Harald Harfaagre's daughter Aulof. Jorund, a son of this marriage, and consequently nephew of Rolf Ganger, the great progenitor of so many crowned heads, went to Iceland, took a piece of land in the northern division of the island, between the lake Udarvatn and the river Logilsbek, and lived in a farm which he called Grund. His son Mar settled on a farm called Marstad. A bastard son of Earl Rognvald, Hrollaug, also settled on a farm now called Felzhverfi.

The royal families of Europe have more cousins than they are aware of.

## CHAPTER X.

Lapland girl.—Slighted by the Norwegians.—Condition.—Visit from Laplanders.—Ophthalmia.—Reindeer.—Sledges.—Speed.—Powers of Reindeer.—Reindeer cannot endure Wet.—Cannot live in Scotland.—Buy of Reindeer for Killing.—Lapland Butcher.—Weight of Four Quarter Cattle.—Cold.—Birds.—Wolves.—Travelling Dress in Winter.—Jenny Dronthien.—Vollan.—Ovne.—Jerkin.—Winter Scenery in the G—.—Sledge-driving.—Winter on the Fjelde.—Substitutes for Hay in the Fjelde.—Acquired Tastes of Cattle.—Remains of Old Buildings on the Fjelde.—Picts' Houses in Scotland.—Guldebrandsdal in Winter.—Sunshine as hurtful as Frost to the Crops in Norway.—Complete Potatoes.—How an English Family could live here.—American Trade.—Norwegian Horses.

*November.*—A LAPLAND beauty, and really a pretty girl, came into our kitchen to-day on her way from the Fjelde. She was dressed very smartly, in a cap of blue and red cloth edged with a gold cord, a red woollen wrapper round her neck, a reindeer skin like a waggoner's frock, reaching down to her knees, and worsted such as a girdle. She wore stockings or pantaloons of reindeer skin; shoes of the same, with the under leather or sole composed of round the foot, and neatly sewed to the upper; and she had a green worsted plaid, which she wore over one shoulder like a Highlander. She was quite a theatrical figure, and very brisk and smart in her movements. She was not one of the Fjelde or wandering class, but of those who possess reindeer in the Fjelde, to which they attend in summer, as the Norwegian women do the cattle in the sentera. In winter they have fixed habitations in the low country, and leave their reindeer to the care of one person with hired keepers; thus two or three families keep their stock together. It is a considerable step towards a more civilised state. Those who follow this life have either considerable property in reindeer, whence they obtain cheese, milk, venison, and skins which they dispose of in the low country during the winter; or they travel there from house to house, having nothing in the Fjelde. The young woman came to sell me fur shoes and mittens, or rather to ask if I would order some for winter. I found she could use a needle, and do all kinds of female work fully as well as the serving girls here; and her dress altogether was of more value than the

They knew also that her friends were considered wealthy among the Laplanders, and had often seen her on her way to or from the Fjelde; yet I observed they did not ask her to sit down. A Fin, as they call the Laplander in Norway, is looked upon with a sort of contempt, as an animal of a lower species; and to eat, sit, or associate with one of them, would be disdained by the lowest. When I bade them prepare some coffee for my visitor, and made her sit down to it, they stared and tittered as an English girl would do if you told her to prepare tarts or a cake for your lapdog. The Norwegians, however, are never harsh or unkind to these Fins, in which I find there is a little superstition as well as charity. It is considered unlucky not to give them something to eat under your roof. The idea of witchcraft is not entirely worn out; and the bonder have many tales of the supernatural powers of the old Fjelde women. I was considered very prudent in treating the Fin girl so kindly, as her relations might make things go well with me all winter.

During the autumn there was a great coming and going of these half-civilised Laplanders through the valley. They were preparing for the winter, bringing the women, children, and infirm relations, with what they had to sell, into the low country. When they heard that I made them welcome, I was seldom a day without visitors. The ophthalmia seems very prevalent, almost every family having a blind person, especially among its elderly people, and many even of the children had lost the sight of an eye. I thought at first it might have been the effect of small-pox; but they had no scars of that disease, and I afterwards found several whose sight was in a decaying state. It is probably an hereditary malady in the race. The goitres and the cretinism of Switzerland are not known among them, nor among the Norwegians.

About the 20th of November, the snow lay deep. Winter had fully set in. Carioles and every thing on wheels were laid up. Sledges, and bells, and fur caps, and snow boots, were brought out. Every household for a month before had been salting, pickling, and making black-puddings, and sausages for winter provision. A party of nine Laplanders paid me a visit on their way from the Fjelde. There were a father and mother, five children, and two pretty young women, all neighbours in their usual abodes in the low country, who were going into their winter quarters. They had five reindeer for winter provision, which



as lodged in Finnmark and his journey in Lapland, takes the  
of laughing a little at Captain Capel de Broke's account  
velling thirty Norwegian miles (above 210 English) in  
The Amtman says, if the reader divides the number by  
makes a large deduction if the snow happens to be soft, wh  
reindeer makes very little progress, and a very large deduc  
the journey is to be of more than one day, he will come ne  
the truth. The animal neither has, nor from its conformati  
have, any considerable powers of endurance. The Amtma  
laughs at the account of its alleged instinct of leaving the  
once in the summer, and seeking the shore to take a single d  
of sea-water, and then returning. The reindeer are taken  
coast, or to the Fjelde, according to the judgment or fancy  
owner, without regard to season; and thousands never tas  
water. It is a different animal altogether which has this i  
for a single summer draught of sea water, and goes in flock  
the Custom-house stairs to Margate, per steamer, to gratify

Several attempts have been made to introduce reindeer in  
Highlands of Scotland, but without success. This is not ov  
the want of food, for the animal eats grass and hay as v  
moss. It lives on moss, because there is nothing else to liv  
the Fjelde. Nor is it owing to its habits; for when domes  
it is considerably less wild, and wanders less than our black

wet seasons. In Norway, the heavy rains occur in spring or autumn, at which seasons what is rain below is dry snow higher up in the Fjelde. Our highest hills do not afford in summer this kind of refuge from rain and damp to an animal whose coat keeps out any degree of cold, but will not stand continued moisture. In Iceland, the reindeer were introduced by the Danish government about the middle of the last century; but they are understood to have proved a nuisance instead of a benefit. They have not the wolf to check the tendency of their population to exceed the means of subsistence, and they have multiplied so as to devour the summer pastures on which the inhabitants depend for their cattle; and having been allowed to run wild, they are of no use.

As I wanted a winter stock of fresh venison, I bargained for the fattest of the ox-deer. There were two females; and the others were castrated deer, very fat, with a breadth over the back and hips that would have graced a sheep of the Bakewell breed. They had all a quiet, domesticated look; and as compared to other deer, the muzzle appears not at all pointed, but broad, and resembling about the nostrils and lips that of a coarse small cow. After much consultation among the women, who appeared much better merchants than the men, our bargain was settled at six dollars and a half for the fattest of the deer, a pair of winter mittens of reindeer-skin for an ort, two or three pairs of shoes of the same for half a dollar each; and, over and above the money, a pot of brandy. One of the young women who had been several times before in the house presented me with a little whelp of the fine-furred breed, which she had brought in her bosom, or rather above the girdle of her skin pelisse, between which and their own skins the Laplanders stow everything. She had heard me express a wish for a dog of that kind, and had brought it; and in return for her attention received a suitable present of coffee and sugar.

Our complicated account being settled, and the money paid, the girl, after speaking with her friends, came back in some distress, and laid the cash down again on the table. She had forgot, she said, to make the bargain that their own people should kill the deer. They would do it immediately, and ask nothing; but it would be ill luck to allow one to be killed by any other persons. On consulting my housekeeper, a native of Finmark and acquainted with their usages, I found that it was a general prejudice among

the Laplanders, and that they would kill and cut up the animal more nicely than our houseman. As the deer was old and unaccustomed to eat hay, I could not have kept it in a thriving state, and it could scarcely have been fatter ; I agreed therefore to their request. I was curious to see how they would perform the operation. The man led the deer to a spot of clean snow, and stuck his little knife into the point of junction between the head and neck. The animal fell, and was dead immediately. He then stabbed it behind the fore shoulder to the heart, not withdrawing the knife for some time, and moving the limbs that it might bleed inwardly. The few drops of blood that followed when the knife was withdrawn were, I thought with a kind of superstitious care, taken up into a handful of snow, kneaded into a ball so that no blood could be seen, and then laid aside. He then flayed and opened the carcase on the ground with great dexterity and cleanliness, always laying a handful of snow on the place where he had to touch the meat. He next removed the whole of the entrails, and scooped out the blood when there was nothing else left into a vessel, when the women mixed it with salt and stirred it about to prepare it for black-puddings. The whole operation was carried on in so cleanly a manner, with so little touching or handling of the meat, and always with a handful of snow between it and the hand, that the most dainty could have found nothing to object to. A Scotch butcher tearing a carcass to pieces with axe, cleaver, saw, hands and knees, and none of them extremely clean, would have been put to shame by these anatomists. The man and his eldest boy, with little knives having three inches of blade stuck in a wooden handle, disjointed the back-bone and other strong parts of the body with the greatest ease, like a good carver cutting up a fowl, and so neatly that they scarcely left a speck of blood on the snow where they had been working.

I was so well pleased with this performance that I gave them a dinner of soup, potatoes, and herrings, with plenty of coffee and brandy. They were much gratified at being treated like other people and set down to a table regularly, instead of getting the victuals in their hands to eat in a corner or take with them, which is the usual way. I doubt if I could any way have pleased them *so much as by this little attention*, for even these poor people have *their pride*. At parting, they gave me a reindeer cheese ; and at *Christmas* sent me a very handsome and a very useful reindeer

skin pelisse made in the shape of their own, like a waggoner's frock, also driving reins for my sledge very curiously plaited of reindeer sinews. They would have taken nothing for these articles if I had not insisted on it. There is a good disposition in these harmless innocent little folk, if it were cultivated. But it is not: the Norwegians to the south of Dronthiem know as little about them as we do in England, and are almost as remote from them in time, if not in distance. Where they do come in contact with the Norwegian bonder, although received always kindly, partly perhaps from superstition, they are treated as an inferior caste. They are so indeed in strength, in size, and as yet in mental as well as bodily endowments; yet they have many good points, and scarcely any evil in them. From North Cape to Romsas it is universally said of this despised caste, "that a Fin never says what is not true, and never takes what is not his own." This is a high character for an outcast tribe.

My reindeer weighed 122lbs. the four quarters, and had 10lbs. of tallow. This is, I suppose, as much as the tame animal in general will feed to. The wild species, which comes considerably farther south, being found on Dovre Fjelde and in Bergens Amt as well as to the north, is considerably larger. This seems not the usual effect of domestication. The horse, the rabbit, the goose, the duck, the turkey, attain to greater size tame than wild.

Besides the wild and tame reindeer, the red deer and roebuck are pretty numerous in some districts. The elk, the largest of European wild animals, exists in two or three places, but is now very rare.

December, 1835. — The cold begins to drive birds from the Fjelde to the shelter of the valleys. Bonder bring in more capercaillie, ptarmigan, and jerper than I require; and besides these common birds, there are flocks of the beautiful Bohemian chatterer (*Amphispiza garrulus*) in the valley. The wolf is also a regular nightly visitor about the house. We trace his footprints in the snow every morning close to the doors of the cattle houses.

The wolves of this country are not such dangerous animals as those of the South of Europe or of Poland, although perhaps more numerous. They have probably more food in the Fjelde from the wild deer and smaller animals, and are therefore less ferocious. They very rarely attack a man, and are not dreaded even by women and children. Yet it is considered dangerous to meet a herd upon

a plain or frozen lake, especially on moonlight nights; but the animal is so timid in general that it is difficult to get within shot of him. By a bait of a dead dog or sheep, a patient sportsman may chance by night to shoot one; but they are so wary that he may watch long enough to no purpose. Yet the wolf, when least expected, will dash into the road, and take away your dog close to your sledge. He seems particularly fond of this flesh, and is altogether bold in seizing it. A merchant of Levanger had one taken from between his legs in his sledge this winter, on the road to Verdalsæren, but was not injured himself. I heard also, but not so certainly, that one seized a dog which a lad on horseback for security kept before him on the saddle. The loss of sheep, calves, cows, and foals, in some parishes during the season when they are at pasture, is immense. It has amounted to upwards of twelve head of animals on each farm in the course of four years. When the wolf gets into a herd he bites and tears all he can overtake. The bear follows a different course. Having seized one and killed it, he is content with this single prey. Although the wolves are so destructive and so numerous, and their skins too of considerable value, very few are killed. They are like the crows, never to be found when sought with a gun, — at other times seen in great numbers. Snares are of no avail, and traps of little; for this animal is as wary as his cousin the fox. Poison by *nux vomica*, and also by the long moss which grows on the branches of the pine, is the most usual way of destroying them; but few trouble themselves much about it; and in winter, when a poisoned bait can be laid out to advantage, the wolf leaves his summer haunts on the Fjelde, where he does most mischief to the cattle at the seaters, and comes down to the shores of the fiords and lakes.

*January, 1836.* — On the 1st of January there was a higher degree of cold than has been experienced in this country for some years. At Roraas, a small mining town on the Fjelde, about 3000 feet above the sea level, mercury exposed to the air was frozen in the course of two hours into a solid mass. In the lower levels there was perhaps no very exact observation made on the thermometer. I heard of 25 degrees of Reaumur, as observed in our neighbourhood. These timber-houses are so tight, and so equally warmed by the stoves, that this intense cold is not much felt indoors. I have suffered much more discomfort from cold, in ordinary winters, in a gimcrack English house a brick and a half thick



This cold is precious for the country, consolidating the snow, and making the transport of goods for a long time easy and sure. Good or bad winter driving is of such importance to every one, that it is remarked upon in all society, as the weather with us. Next to a good crop, it is the greatest blessing to the countryman, who makes it a standing toast, and a regular topic of conversation.

I resolved to take advantage of it, and travel in the fine exhilarating cold. January and February, for weeks together, afford generally delightful winter weather — bright, calm, cloudless; not thawing even at midday, but not freezing intensely; and the air so pure and buoyant, that there is a pleasure in simply moving or breathing. As to cold, the traveller in Norway sets it at defiance. He has over his ordinary pantaloons and boots a pair of huge boots lined with sheep-skin, which come up over his thighs, like those of a fisherman; but they are made of more pliable leather. These are absolutely necessary, because in a single sledge the feet are outside passengers, ready to keep it upright when it takes a yaw to one side, and are thus often in the snow. If the traveller feels particularly chilly, and thinks double boots not enough, he may get a pair of reindeer-skin shoes to go over both his boots. Over his clothes he has a pelisse of wolf, dog, or reindeer-skin, which last is preferable, being cheaper, warmer, and much lighter; but it has the disadvantage of not enduring wet so well. If the traveller puts on his leather great coat under it, he is armed against wet or dry. These are made of kid or goat skin, prepared so as to be as pliable and light as broadcloth, and are quite proof against water and cold. They are made in the fashionable shape of the day, and deserve a place on the coach-box in our night-travelling. The sledge has always an apron of bear-skin in front; and when the traveller has got himself thus packed up, and has put on his mittens of wolf or deer skin, his fur cap with laps to cover his ears and tie under his chin, a comforter round his neck, and another as a girdle to keep his pelisse close, he may show his face to the wind, and let mercury freeze if it will. The only inconvenience is, that he is very unwieldy, and almost needs, like Falstaff, to have levers to raise him when upset, which he may calculate on being a dozen times in a day's driving. The traveller who chooses to be in a hurry may easily get over seventy or eighty English miles in a winter day. As there is no weight on the horses, and with good driving little more resistance than upon an ordinary pair of skates,



the animals go easily at their best pace ; and the traveller feels no fatigue as in a wheeled carriage.

I was in no hurry, and therefore travelled with my own pony as far as Dronthiem, having hired a neighbour's horse and sledge to take my baggage thither, and will send back my pony by him. I like to loiter on the road, talk to the bonder who keep the station-houses, and take my thirty or thirty-five miles a day with daylight.

*Vollan, February 8, 1836.* — After staying a few days at Dronthiem, which the traveller will find a dull town, I set off this morning at nine, and got to this single post-house, five Norwegian or thirty-five English miles, by three o'clock. The cartage or sledging to and from Roraas makes this piece of road very unpleasant. The ruts which sledges work in the snow do not run lengthwise, but right across ; so that your vehicle labours like a boat rowing against a heavy head-sea.

It is not altogether uninteresting to travel in this country, even when covered with snow. The scenes are at least novel to the English traveller, and perhaps more striking from being composed of few objects. The country is white, but the forest and the cliff stand black upon its face. A smoke of snow rises in spots among the Fjelde where a whirling wind strikes. It makes a variety of scenery also to be out of high roads with fences and houses. The winter road is the bed of the river, or the lake that fills the bottom of the narrow valley.

*Ovne, February 9.* — I travelled six Norwegian miles to-day. Corn is cultivated here, but not much higher up the country. The river Driva, which comes from the neighbourhood of Sneehætta, separates at this point ; and its branches water two fertile and extensive vales, which have their apex here, and are separated by a mountain ridge.

I found the inn here as clean and comfortable as any country inn in England.

*Jerkin, February 10.* — This day's journey, of seven Norwegian miles up the glens of the Fjelde, has been very interesting. The road is upon the bed of the torrent ; and one looks up with astonishment at the windings and ascents of the common high road among the precipices far above. You are travelling in a mere fissure, not many feet wide, filled from side to side with a frozen and the mountain walls which enclose you rise so steep

and high that you are in some places involved in a sort of twilight. I was surprised to find, that although the cold had been so severe as to freeze mercury nearly at the same elevation about a month before, and there had not been a single hour of thaw since, the water of the mountain streams was not altogether frozen, even where they were shallow. There were many holes open in the bed of the river between Drivstuen and Kongsvold; and it required much driving to steer through the chaos of rocks to be turned, open places to be avoided, bridges of ice between open places to be passed, on which a jerk of your sledge to one side would hurl you into a gulf; and although the ice is undoubtedly strong enough, you cannot help thinking it just possible, in passing some of those spots, where you know, from the steepness of the precipices around, there must be a deep and silent pool, that the ice may not bear you and your horse and sledge. So attentive are people here to their road business, that to the no small comfort of the doubtful traveller, even in this torrent bed, there were little green twigs of fir stuck in the snow, or laid on the ice, to show where to cross to the other side, or what line to drive through the masses of rock and holes of water. On the lakes one may drive for miles together, under guidance of these twigs, in a drift of snow or in darkness. At dangerous spots there is always something left, a bush or stone, or some object, to caution the next traveller. A little way beyond Kongsvold the glen opens into the plateau of the Dovre Fjelde. The road over it, at this season, is well marked with poles, as near each other as the lamp-posts in a town; and this is no more than necessary. A smothering snow-drift came on, and it was scarcely possible to see from pole to pole. I asked the boy from Kongsvold, who drove the baggage sledge, if he was sure we were on the road. He said, they always left that to the horses on this stage, when the path could not be discerned. They would not go long if they were not put out of their pace, but left to take their way themselves. The journeying on this elevated plain, enveloped in a cloud of snow as dense almost as that on which you are driving, makes an impression that is sublime. You seem travelling in the sky. What you see or touch of the earth is scarcely more substantial than the snow that is whirling round and above you. It seems all one element, and you alone in the midst of it. We got on very well to this place, although we had a terrible falling from the time we got over the brow of the Fjelde.

*February 11.* — This is the most comfortable inn, I believe, in Norway. The four—Drivstuen, Kongsvold, Jerkin, and Fogstuen—were established as hospices or lodges for the succour of travellers across the Fjelde early in the twelfth century. There is no grain cultivated at this elevation, but there are valuable grass farms; the proprietors apparently as well off as the most substantial of the bonder, who rear crops of corn. It was attempted some years ago to raise Himmalaya bear here. A small quantity had been received by the Norwegian Agricultural Society from Abo, to which it had come by way of Irkutsk. It did not succeed on the Dovre Fjelde; but it is a valuable species. I had about half an acre of it, which, although sown too late, proved excellent. It grows like our common bear, not like barley, that is, six-sided; and is without husk about the pickle, and yields a particularly white meal. It would probably be a good change of seed for those districts in Scotland which do not produce barley.

I saw this forenoon a piece of rural management which will scarcely be believed. The stock of this farm is thirty cows and sixteen horses. The latter, of course, get no corn. A man came out of the stable with as much horse-dung as could be heaped on his spade, and laid it down on the snow. He brought one spadeful after another, till the stable was cleaned out; and placed each in a little heap by itself. He then went with the women, and let out the cows, which ran to the dung and ate it with great relish. This repast, it seems, was regularly given to them once a day. These cows were far from being in a starving condition, or driven by hunger to this strange diet. They were frolicsome, and their skins clean and glossy. They were not at all “at the lifting,” as it is called in Scotland, when the cattle of a small farmer are, from mere starvation, scarcely able to rise. They would have been reckoned in very fair condition for a lean stock, not intended for market, on any ordinary farm in the north of Scotland. The practice is general on the skirts of the Fjelde, about Roraas, and over all Bergens Amt. The farmers can keep in summer a much greater stock than they can provide food for in winter. If by these substitutes they can save a fourth part of hay, that would otherwise be consumed, and can show a stock of cattle in such very fair condition for the month of February, the management may not be so laughable as it appears at first. The inferior animals appear to be capable of forming acquired tastes as well as man. If

the farmer can avail himself of these, whether produced at first by hunger or imitation, so as to spare other food, he is wise to use it. The taste for salt is among those acquired ones which will lead cattle to consume provender which they otherwise would not touch. That for warm food is another, and cattle will eat in this state what they would not touch cold. In this district moss of every kind is used very extensively; and sea-weed very generally on the coast is dried, and carted two or three miles into the country, and being scalded with boiling water, which is poured off, it forms good and nourishing food for cows. Fish heads and bones are carefully preserved in Nordland, Finmark, and in Bergens Amt, and are boiled down to a soup, of which these animals are exceedingly fond. In Bergens Amt, when more herrings or sprats are caught in any particular spot than there are barrels and salt to preserve, the fish are spitted on sticks, and hung up to dry; they are then greedily devoured by the cows, which in many places subsist very much on this diet. The hay-crop last summer on the south side of Dovre Fjelde, was, owing to a long continuance of dry weather, exceedingly scanty; and but for these substitutes, the farmer could not have preserved his stock. If fish make a diet nutritive enough for a man, there seems no very good reason why they should not suit a cow, if she can be got to like them. It appears to be the plan here, not to wait until the cattle are starving before giving them any of those articles in the room of hay or straw; but in all years, good or bad, to give them one or two of these warm feeds weekly or daily. The animal at first has probably been driven by hunger to such food; but imitation would induce a whole stable of cattle to eat what one appears to relish. It is not likely that substitutes can be brought so far that the horse and the rider will sit down to a beefsteak together, although in Germany they take slice for slice of the brown loaf; but it is very possible that many a poor cottar in Scotland and Ireland might save his cow in a backward spring, if he had spared fodder, by giving her one feed a day of scalded sea-weed or fish heads, or any procurable substitute which he could give her a taste for.

It appears extraordinary that in this track of country leading over Dovre Fjelde, where now there is but this house and Fogstuen in a distance of thirty miles, marks of human labour are found, which show that it must at some unknown period have been a populated district. The antiquary Gerard Schoning in his Travels

in the north end of Guldebrandsdal in the year 1775, published from his manuscripts in 1820, in a periodical work called the "Budstick," mentions that he found the foundations of a building, supposed to be a church or temple, thirty-two paces long and twenty-four broad, not far from this farm. On many parts of Dovre Fjelde, there are found close to each other an incredible number of square holes, about six feet deep and twelve feet broad, built in the inside with stones, and which he considers to have been intended for catching reindeer and elk, or to have been foundations and cellars of houses. What we call Picts' houses, in the north of Scotland, have evidently been cellars and store-rooms of houses, of which the superstructure has been of wood or turf. They are always under hillocks of accumulated rubbish, often mixed with the ashes of the dwelling that has stood above them. The pits mentioned by Schoning appear to be of this description, but square, and larger than the Picts' houses. He also mentions a singular fact, that the bottoms of the lakes on this Fjelde tract are strewed with the trunks of furu or pine trees, from seven to eight fathoms in length, with the roots attached; and, as he justly observes, although there are pine trees still growing on the Fjelde, sufficient to show that the tract may have been a pine forest, yet there is no declivity towards these lakes by which, in the present shape of the land, any stream or torrent could have swept trees down into them. These remains cannot be reconciled to the theory of trees only growing within certain zones of elevation, unless by supposing a change in the temperature, or in the elevation, since the time when they were produced of such a size on Dovre Fjelde. Schoning also notices the accumulations of rounded pebbles and stones, forming banks and hillocks, which have apparently been rounded and brought into these heaps by the agency of water; but that, in the present shape of the country, there is no back ground to pour down any stream or torrent upon this elevated table-land to round or collect them.

*Hammer, February 14.*—It makes a fine contrast of scenery even in winter, after driving twenty-five or thirty miles over the uninhabited waste of the Dovre Fjelde, to descend into the sunny cheerful Guldebrandsdal, studded with farm houses, and its magnificent drooping birches, showing a luxuriance of vegetation unknown to the upper valleys on the north side of the mountains. The scenery there is of a more stern character. The pine forest

a gloomy cover to a country; and the interruption of a bare white rock rearing its head over the dark mass of foliage, or of a deep narrow glen marked by its black shade, does not enliven the face of the country. All is more open and gay on this side of the Dovre Fjelde. I travelled leisurely down the magnificent Guldebrandsdal, generally upon the bed of the river, and long river-like lakes which occupy its bottom; they were frozen, unless near to the cascades where one lake falls into another on a lower level.

The Guldebrandsdal, from the head of the Myosen lake at this place, up to the Dovre Fjelde, is about a hundred and sixty-eight English miles in length, and its breadth of cultivated land in the valley bottom scarcely any where exceeds six or seven. In general it forms only a narrow stripe of cultivated land between the hill foot and the water. But behind, over the hills, are, I understand, the finest high pastures or seaters in Norway; and, including these, the breadth of the district belonging to the Guldebrandsdal farmers may not be less than thirty or thirty-five English miles. There are eight parishes and twenty-six churches in the district. The population is reckoned about thirty-five or forty thousand, including that of the lateral valleys. Of these the largest, to judge from its river, the Gausa, is Gusdal. There is also another considerable river, the Otta, which joins the Laug, the main river of Guldebrandsdal, after running through a considerable valley. The arable land of this district is much encumbered with stones, so that fields of any considerable size are rare. The crops also in the higher parts and in the lateral valleys are rendered very uncertain by early frosts; while in the lower grounds they suffer much from sunshine. It appears strange to one accustomed to our cloudy climate, to hear the latter reckoned an equal or greater enemy to the crops. Yet such is the fact. Frost early in August often destroys the corn before it is filled, but it leaves the fodder; even some of the grain may have been previously ripe; but sunshine in June or July often shines it away in blade before it has covered the ground, and thus leaves nothing. A *shine* year, as it is called, is a very common calamity in almost all the inland parts of Norway. Besides these evils of early frost and sunshine, drought is another to which the crops are almost every year exposed, and is overcome only by the great exertions made, as before mentioned, to irrigate the growing corn. This is carried to such perfection, though with means which appear rude, that I understand it is



not uncommon for those who have an insufficient share or none in the irrigation concern, to hire a day's water from those who can spare it. The returns upon these small patches, so carefully laboured and watered, are almost incredible. Twenty fold is common in favourable seasons. Very possibly where the prolific power of the soil is so often checked it will be less exhausted, and may be very great when such weather does occur as brings it into full action. Pasturage in this district forms the most valuable branch of farming. The best horses in Norway are also reared in the upper end of Guldebrandsdal. The bonder are considered to be prosperous and substantial. They manufacture a good deal of woollen and linen cloth for country use; and in winter shoot a good many wild reindeer, and sometimes, though rarely, an elk or two, in the tract of the Fjelde north of the Gausa river. The freshwater fish in the river Laug, and in the lakes which it forms in its course to the Myosen, are also of much more importance to the subsistence of the inhabitants than any similar fishery in the north of Europe. There is difficulty, perhaps, even for the naturalist, to ascertain the English names of some of the fresh-water fish in this country, being varieties not found in our waters. There is in the Myosen a species of herring, at least it goes by that name. I have not seen it; but it is caught in such abundance that in the parish of Faaberg, about two hundred barrels were salted yearly, until the year 1789; when a great flood in the river brought down so many stones, and altered the bottom of the fishing ground so much, that the produce has not since been so great. A smaller kind of this fish is also caught in the Myosen. Trout also run up from the lake to spawn, as salmon, which they equal in size, do from the sea. At Hunefoss, a waterfall on the Laug, about fourteen miles above its junction with the Myosen, these Hunne trout, as they are called, have been caught of nearly three Bismar pounds, or thirty-six avoirdupois. The falls on the river, by which the Myosen sends its waters to the sea, make it impossible that herrings or salmon could get into it. These are varieties of fresh-water fish with which we are unacquainted.

It surprises the traveller from England, where almost every thing that man uses is provided with and valued in money, to find a whole population, in an old European country, dealing direct *with nature* as it were, for every article,—fuel, lodging, clothing, fish, meat, grain, dairy produce, fermented and distilled liquors,—

which are all provided without the intervention of money, or even of barter. Some of these little estates, worth perhaps four or five thousand dollars, are the most complete possible in this respect. They have within them every material of an abundant subsistence; not only the usual products of land—grain, meat, dairy produce, &c.,—but besides, a great command of the comforts and even luxuries of life: fuel; commodious houses, or building materials to erect them; game, venison, fish, fruits. They have even labour unpaid, through the portions of land let to housemen. Where will a thousand pounds value in land thus supply a family with all necessities and essential comforts, and a rational share of luxuries? A family with 2000*l.*, laying out 1000*l.* in the purchase of a well-situated estate, and keeping another at interest in case of sunshine or frost making it necessary to go to market, would live in greater plenty here, more free from care, and in the enjoyment of more of the comforts and luxuries of life, than could be done upon an estate of 500*l.* a year in Britain; where the whole produce must first be turned into money, and that money into every thing wanted; where neither fuel, labour, nor a commodious house, much less the luxuries of fish, game, and venison, are within the estate or its privileges. Nor would they be so entirely without good society as might be supposed; provided they did not set out too high, and live,—as the English abroad generally do,—differently from their neighbours, instead of following the modes of the country. In every parish there is the clergyman and his chaplain, men always of high education and acquirements. The whole corps of law officers and solicitors are well educated, and have taken degrees either at the university of Copenhagen or of Christiania, as otherwise none are allowed to practise; and they are not, as with us, huddled together in the country towns or metropolis, but are spread over the country; as the courts, by a wise arrangement, are held as much as possible in single houses, in each parish, removed from villages or towns, and from opportunities of feasting or drinking. In every parish, also, there are retired military officers living very often on small means, but men of education and acquirements superior to our own half-pay of the old school; because the Danish government began a generation before the British to educate its officers. The system is kept up in Norway; none being admitted into the *service who have not gone through a course of education at the military college, which is good, and at least equal to that*

which many of our officers obtain. The ladies here are necessarily more occupied with house-keeping; but in appearance, in manners, and in the usual female accomplishments of music, dancing, and conversation, they are not behind our own. They have read less, but are not uneducated. Such a state of society and property would undoubtedly suit many an English emigrant family better than a log hut in the forests of Upper Canada or Australia. The difference of language is the only difficulty; but it is short-lived. If the trees in Canada could speak English, it would be a reasonable ground of preference. As it is, I suspect such emigrants as have a little capital would sooner learn to speak a language than to fell a tree.

This place, Hammer, ought in all conscience to be a considerable market town. It is situated in a beautiful little bay of the Myosen, at the end of the well-inhabited Guldebrandsdal, at a great distance, by a road over the hills, from the great and well-inhabited valley of the Glomen, or Hedemark, and from Sweden and so far from Christiania that no competition thence can prevent its rise. Yet it is not a town, — scarcely, indeed, a village, — although it has a few shops and straggling houses. It will not advance, notwithstanding all the encouragement which government has at different times given. What can be the reason that in America villages and towns start up, as by magic, in the midst of the forest while, in Europe, it requires several generations to form one, unless pushed on by some cotton, iron, or other manufacture that leads to the congregating of people to one spot? One reason may be the want of roads, of tradesmen, and of a distribution of raw materials and skill over a newly-settled country. The blacksmith and his iron, the shoemaker and his leather, the tailor and his cloth, all, in short, but the woodman and his axe, must be collected in one central spot to serve the country. But when a country is fully settled and inhabited, its roads and communications numerous and good, and its demands for labour well supplied, it is to be apprehended that these Aladdin-lamp formations of towns and villages in America will disappear. Tradesmen, professional men, and even dealers, will have to seek their customers, instead of their customers having to seek them. They will have to live in the neighbourhood of their employers, or others in the same trades will spread themselves over the country, and then adieu to the existence of all those American towns which are not supported by any peculiar manufacture.

commerce, but simply by the aggregation of ordinary handicrafts, storekeepers, and professional people. They will die away as the country advances, just as such country towns decay in Europe. This place was at one time of considerable extent, and the seat of a bishop. It had a cathedral and a monastery, both founded about the year 1160 by Adrian, an Englishman, who at that time was the pope's legate in Norway. He became afterwards a cardinal, under the name of Nicholas Breakspear, ab Albano; and pope, under the title of Hadrian the Fourth. The place was reduced to ashes by the Swedes in the seventeenth century, and appears never to have been flourishing. I searched in vain for some appearance of remains of this city, its cathedral and monastery. I feel a doubt whether, as there is another place of the same name lower down on the Myosen, I may not have mistaken the spot. The building material, however, in Norway, leaves little trace. The wooden structure may last a couple of centuries; but when it decays, there is nothing left for posterity to gaze at. For a town, into which government has attempted to foster it, the situation is beautiful. The ground slopes gently towards the lake, which is here only 800 yards broad. The variety and luxuriant growth of the trees show that the soil must be good. I walked across the lake on the ice; and I understand it is frozen for about twenty miles down, but is open below, so that I must travel on the high road. The Myosen for the first ten miles appears not to exceed a mile or a mile and a half in breadth, a size favourable to the scenery. Trees, points of land, rocks, houses on the opposite coast, unite in rendering it beautiful.

*February.* — The Myosen expands into a great breadth about twenty miles below Hammer, where its waves and shores are like those of an inlet of the ocean. The opposite coast is so distant, that the eye cannot distinguish single features. The outlet of this grand body of water seems very small. It is crossed by a ferry-boat and a rope stretched across the river. The evaporation of so great an expanse may render a large river from it unnecessary to keep up a proper balance between its influx and efflux.

*February.* — The horses in Norway have a very sensible manner of taking their food. Instead of swilling themselves like ours with a pailful of water at a draught, no doubt from the fear of not getting it soon again, and then overgorging themselves with dry food for the same reason, they have a bucket of water put down beside

their allowance of hay. It is amusing to see with what relish take a sip of the one and a mouthful of the other alternately, times only moistening their mouths as a rational being would while eating a dinner of such dry food. A broken-winded horse is scarcely ever seen in Norway, nor have I met with one in the slightest degree so affected. The animal is not impelled to load its stomach, and distend the vessels with unnecessary quantities of water or hay at one time. Broken wind is understood to be a rupture of the vessels connected with the lungs, and to be brought on by over-feeding, or over-exertion with a full stomach. In the field, when left to himself, the horse is perpetually eating, and does not fill himself at once, like a cow, and remain then for two or four hours without food; yet we treat him like a cow, giving him two or three feeds only in the day, and he consequently fills too rapidly, and without sufficient mastication. Probably many of the diseases of our horses arise from this unnatural custom. The horse probably knows better than the groom when he should eat and drink, and would be more free from diseases if left to his discretion.

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## CHAPTER XI.

Christiania. — Fiord frozen. — Population. — University. — Students of Education in Norway. — The Meeting of Storthing. — Number of Members. — Principle of Reform of the Representation always acting. — Description of Persons in this Storthing. — Pay of Members. — The Storthing, or House of Lords. — How elected. — What Description of Members. — Storthing properly Three Houses of Parliament. — Mode of Proceeding with Bills. — Rejection of Royal Propositions for a Veto and for Naturalization. — Chambers. — Dress. — Appearance of Members. — Speeches. — Examples of Procedure. — Ornaments of a Statue of Odin. —

and crowded. The difference, I suspect, is not so much in itself, as in the impressions of the traveller — then fresh from the stir and life of English towns, now from the solitude and quiet of the Fjelde valley. The meeting of the Storthing, however, adds no doubt something to the bustle. The university also is now sitting ; and its six hundred students make the streets fuller than in summer. The driving also is good this winter ; all the wood and other articles for exportation are brought into town at this season by the country people from great distances, and produce a little movement in the market-place.

I was surprised to find the Fiord here quite frozen, although the sea is ten fathoms deep ; horses, sledges, and people are travelling in all directions over it, while the fresh water of the Myosen, for forty or fifty miles up, is quite clear of ice. The Fiord is no doubt narrower at Christiania than the Myosen, and more shut in by islands and points of land than the lower end of that lake. As the vessels are frozen in, and no arrivals can take place, little business is going on ; and from the appearance of the accommodation for shipping, the want of warehouses, of an open exchange, or of the conveyance of goods in the streets, the mercantile business cannot be very great. Professional men, public functionaries — those whom the courts of law, the university, and the various departments of administration, support, — form the principal part of the society, and that by which a great part of the other citizens live. In the construction of its society, it is the Edinburgh of Norway.

Christiania is considered to have twenty-four thousand inhabitants. The town appears small for this population ; but there are suburbs stretching out like spiders' legs from the body of the place, and little connected with it. It contains no building of any importance. The streets are not particularly clean, although wide, and in straight lines. It is altogether inferior to Dronthiem. The inhabitants, also, are by no means so handsome as the Dronthiemers. It is probably not a very healthy place. The people look pale and sickly ; and there is not, from the form of the ground, such a rapid drainage into the sea as Dronthiem possesses. The university has not buildings, as yet, sufficient for its business. The professors lecture in detached rooms, not in any public edifice. The library is considerable, but not rich in old or valuable editions of scarce works. *It is entirely for use, and upon a very liberal footing. It is open for two hours daily for lending out books ; but*



there are reading rooms for those who wish to consult maps, manuscripts, or works of too great value to be lent out. It is not necessary to be a member or a student in order to obtain the use of the books. Any householder giving his note for their return enables the stranger to get them out upon his own receipt; and the number of persons, of all classes, whom I have seen changing books at the hours of delivery gives a favourable impression of the reading disposition of the people.

The students of this university have none of the silly propensities of the German students: no affectation of being a separate class, or of distinguishing themselves, as Burschen, by peculiarity of dress or roughness of manner. They are dressed like other gentlemen, — live like the students at Edinburgh, mixed with the inhabitants, and associating with them. They have a society to which they all belong, and subscribe to its funds; but its objects are altogether literary, and the money is employed in providing elementary books, of which the university library cannot be expected to have so many copies as must be required at once by those attending a course of lectures. If they ever dabbled in political questions, government had no power to prevent them; and therefore, being made of no importance, they were of none. They form no distinct body at war with the citizens. Many give instruction in families, or to younger students preparing to pass examinations; and from the number of advertisements in the newspapers to and from tutors and teachers from all classes, the diffusion of knowledge appears to be going on very rapidly. It is not at all uncommon to see a person advertised for to teach in a bonder family, and frequently in two neighbouring ones, or in a small country circle.

The considerable number of periodical publications which circulate in Norway, proves a state of education among the people which is far from being limited. There are two daily newspapers, and at least six published two or three times a week, all in extensive circulation. Every little town also — as Stavanger, Arendal, and others — has local newspapers. A penny or skilling magazine has an extensive sale, and also another publication on the same plan. It is not merely from the sale of these works, but from their matter, the advertisements to and from parties, and the subjects treated of, that I infer, in proportion to the population, a considerable reading public in Norway. There are also periodical works

of a higher class, literary journals, and others on peculiar branches of knowledge antiquarian, topographical, military. The education of the body of the people in country parishes is provided for by an arrangement similar to that in Scotland. There are parochial school-masters, of whom some have fixed houses, others live six months in one locality and six in another. From the great extent of country, and its being inhabited in valleys or districts, separated by uninhabitable and in many cases impassable ridges, or by fiords, it is impossible that education can be brought to the door of each isolated little community; nor can any just conclusion be drawn from the state of intelligence and knowledge in one of these little societies as to its state in others. There are districts in which, from peculiar circumstances, as the example and success of some one self-taught individual, some of the finer mechanical arts which require considerable powers of mind as well as manual dexterity, as watch and clock making, are spread generally among the bonder. There are others in which, by the same means, a knowledge of the practical branches of mathematics is so general, that every lad is acquainted with land-measuring. In the parish in which I passed the last winter, there were eleven schools for a population of five thousand persons, besides three or four private family teachers. This is not a low provision, being a school to every five hundred. There are counties in England which have nothing like it. It could not, however, be justly inferred that education is diffused in the same or nearly the same degree through the whole Norwegian population. The means are undoubtedly good. A small tax is levied from each householder, besides a personal payment from each adult, male and female, amounting, in the case of agricultural servants, to about eight skillings, or half of a day's wages in the year, out of which schools and teachers in each district are provided. The great and unremitting attention of the clergy to the confirmants personally, and the importance before explained which is universally attached by the people themselves to the rite of confirmation, have undoubtedly diffused education by the aid of these schools very generally, to the extent at least of reading. There are causes, however, in the constitution of society in Norway, which must keep education always on a low footing, however widely its first elements may be spread. Whether this be better or worse for the people, *let others determine*. One is the high education of the clergy and other professional men. To send a young man to the

university, and maintain him there, although the students pay fees, costs between 300 and 400 dollars yearly; which is in this country a very important sum. The preliminary education in the ancient languages, must be sought for generally at a distance, and is consequently expensive. A man cannot reasonably bring up his son with a view to a professional livelihood, unless he happens to be himself in a profession, or in a situation with peculiar local advantages. There is no demand for educated labour, but what the classes living by it can breed up to and supply out of their own stock. There is not, as there is or was in Scotland, a defined demand for educated men in the medical, legal, or commercial professions, and even, by the secession church, for clerical; one, too, extending not merely to employment in this country, but in England, with all its colonies, and in America. National education, as in every thing else, supply follows demand, and here there is no demand beyond what the supply is sufficient for. Education, beyond the ordinary acquirements of reading and writing, can lead to none of the ordinary objects of ambition; and being therefore less valuable than with us, is less valued. The restrictions, also, upon the free exercise of trade and industry, limit the demand for young men of good but not high education. If a person must obtain peculiar privileges from a corporate body, not merely before he can carry on any medical or mercantile employment, but before he can buy and sell, or manufacture, or engage in any trade or calling for which intelligence and education fit him, he naturally lets the educational part of his qualifications stand until he is sure of the apprenticeship or privilege part. As the expense of preparation, and the number of prizes to be obtained, place the higher and learned professions out of the reach of the main body of the people as a rule, and of rational ambition, for which they might endeavour to

most powerful stimulant to the human mind to investigate, to obtain knowledge, to exert the mental powers. The spirit of religious controversy adds nothing certainly to their domestic happiness, but much to their intelligence, acuteness, desire for education, and value for religion. Scotland and England, without their seceders and dissenters, would have been countries in which the human mind slumbered. A land of universal conformity is necessarily one of universal apathy as to religious matters, or else of gross superstition. It is to expect effect without cause, to expect zeal or enlightened belief without inquiry and opposition, and the collision of mind against mind. There is something of this apathy, and of this superstition observable in Norway: there is no stimulant awakening men from the passive state of mind produced by uninquiring conformity. Those who maintain that a nation should have but one religious code fixed by law, to the exclusion of all dissent, should look round and see whether there is a sound and true sense of religion in those countries, whether Catholic or Protestant, where the public mind has remained in this state. "If ignorance be bliss," it has been said, "'tis folly to be wise." It is this bliss, and this wisdom, which universal conformity to the doctrines of an established church, either in a nation or parish, will produce.

The almost mechanical arts of reading and writing are certainly diffused very generally in Norway, considering its local circumstances, but there its education stops. Books are scarce. The means of obtaining them in the country are difficult, there being no coaches or carriers conveying parcels or goods in all directions. The teachers themselves in the country schools have little opportunity of obtaining information. The plan also which was unfortunately adopted of having one large university, instead of two or three in different places, militates against the diffusion of knowledge in a poor country. Scotland had four universities when her population did not greatly exceed that of Norway at present; and all the four probably cost the country less, in proportion to her wealth, than this one costs Norway. The inhabitants of great part of the country, as of the province of Bergen and of the territory north of the Dovre Fjelde, have little benefit from a single university situated at the extreme verge almost of the kingdom, at a distance of three or four hundred miles, and in the capital, in which the expense of the students' living is necessarily

high. The diffusion of knowledge over a country from a centre cannot be rapid. It is not accessible, owing to the distance and expense, to the great body of the people. The establishment of a university on the north side of the Dovre Fjelde seems necessary for the general diffusion of education of a higher description among the inhabitants of Norway.

*Christiania, April, 1836.* — The eighth Norwegian Storting met on the 1st of February, in terms of the ground-law of the constitution. I have before explained that it is elected and meets *jure* on the first day of February of every third year, and continues its session in its own right for three months, or until the last day of April. This triennial meeting and session of the legislative body, being constitutionally independent altogether of the will of the executive, cannot be arbitrarily postponed, as the bringing together of parliaments was by our Charles I. The prolongation of the session, however, beyond the period of three months, is entirely a matter of royal prerogative, and in practice depends much on the nature and amount of the business to be dispatched. It has been prolonged to autumn. As the powers of an extraordinary Storting do not extend to the altering of constitutional law, and its enactments are but temporary, and must be ratified by the next regular Storting, there have been many propositions from the executive which could only be disposed of by the regular Storting, and which have prolonged the session. The budget is necessarily one of the last subjects discussed and passed by the Storting. There is consequently the same difficulty which is acknowledged in our constitution in the hands of the British House of Commons, for securing sufficient time for discussing and passing its legislative measures before granting the ways and means to the executive.

I consider the Norwegian Storting as a working model of a constitutional government on a small scale, and one which is so well adapted as highly to deserve the consideration of the people of Great Britain. The qualifications of electors, the mode of election, the position of the middle wheel in the machinery — that of election-intermediation between the electors and representative — and the constitutional powers of the legislative body I have explained before, and as I have done so from conversation or books I was able to do so; but I had a great curiosity to see the meetings of a Storting, to hear the debates, and to understand the procedure of a legislative assembly so

elected by the people from among themselves, and which has shown so much wisdom in its enactments. I may confess, as an idle man, that it was my principal inducement to visit Christia-nia. I shall endeavour to condense into small compass the obser-vations I made during my stay, being quite aware that subjects deemed very interesting by the traveller are not always so by the reader.

The present Storthing consists of ninety-six members, elected in the way before explained. Each town and district elects as many substitutes (suppleanter) as it elects representatives; so that in case of the illness or death of the one, the suppleant is sent for and takes his seat, and the constituency cannot remain unrepresented. The elective franchise, it is to be observed, is not connected with the place, as in England, — with the brick and mortar, for instance, of Sarum, or Aldborough, — but with the number of electors in a place. The city of Dronthiem, for instance, had just the number of qualified electors to send four representatives. If the electors had been fewer, it could only have sent three, or two, or one, or even none, if its number of qualified electors had been under fifty; and must have joined itself in that case to the constituency of the nearest town, Christiansund, and elected jointly with them. And again, if the number of its electors had increased, it would have sent its proportional number of representatives. This goes on without any process of disfranchising or enfranchising places; it being a self-acting principle of parliamentary reform, operating without any stoppage in the machinery of government in order to rectify the representation, and obtained by simply considering the elective franchise a privilege belonging to the constituency, according to the numbers dwelling in a place, and not a privilege attached to the place. The number of members of the Storthing may consequently be different in different Storthings; but the variation cannot well exceed two or three, more or less, and can be of no practical importance.

I was very desirous, and was at considerable pains, to ascertain that description of persons were sent to the Storthing; from what classes or employments; what proportion, from their functions, — civil, military, or clerical, — might be connected with the executive government, and have possibly a leaning towards the source from which their own advancement, or that of their families might flow. I could not discover, in the district in which I lived,



North Dronthiem Amt, any influence at work during the elections; and the representatives elected were two bondsmen and a clergyman. I was desirous to know if this was the case generally. The representative to the Storting is allowed a dollar and fifty cents per day during his attendance, and his travelling expenses. I was desirous to ascertain if this had any influence on the election. I have heard this allowance objected to by sensible men; and the propriety of it has been under the consideration of former Stortings. The objection is, that a member, living up to his rank and station, may save money out of it. In the best hotels, five dollars a month is the charge for lodging, board, fuel, and accommodation. In private lodgings he is suitably accommodated for sixteen or eighteen. Many of the bonder class who have turned to the Storting live for half a dollar a day, and bring a little capital saved in this trade of legislation. It is thought and alleged that it becomes a sort of intrigue among them to be elected for the sake of the profit, to the exclusion of more able and educated men in the district, — clergy, public functionaries, or gentlemen — who would otherwise be preferred. This objection, whether well grounded or not, does not, in my opinion, outweigh the advantages in this country of the allowance. There is no idleness in its society, few individuals indeed, except some of the lower functionaries, clergy, and merchants, who could afford to leave their homes and employments and live in Christiania at the expense, and without any remuneration for their time, during the session of the Storting. The representation of the country therefore, fall entirely into the hands of those few who, from the very circumstance of being above the ordinary business of the country, would necessarily be, as in England, the least acquainted with its interests or affairs. The bonder class also, although efficient in the higher branches of education, or in extended knowledge on political subjects, do not want sound good sense; and are chosen by several thousand of his fellow parishioners to be an election-man, and again selected by his fellow election-men as willing to take two and a half dollars a day as he is, much more a man distinguished for his judgment and character. He cannot be a fool nor a knave. Another consideration is, that if a man is *paid* for discharging his duty faithfully, and according to the dictates of his judgment and conscience, he can scarcely be induced to take the *contrary* part. It is, in general, the needy man who is

who can, as Paley expresses it, afford to keep a conscience generally does keep one.

This Storting consists of twenty-two persons in civil offices, three in military, sixteen in clerical, four lawyers, fourteen mercantile men, thirty-seven landowners. Of the civil functionaries, eleven are connected with executive function, the others with judicial. I have included in this class one rector of a school, and one collector of taxes. Of the clerical, four are parish clerks or prebendaries (*kirke sanger*), not clergymen. Of the mercantile, some are landed proprietors as well as merchants, some country dealers. The mercantile towns, as Bergen, Dronthiem, and Christiania, are not represented entirely by mercantile men, but by men of high reputation from various professions. Of the landowners, with the exception of one or two who possess more than one farm, the thirty-seven are substantial bonder; proprietors only of the farms they live on. It appears from this analysis of the composition of the Storting, that there is no foundation for the objection to the daily allowance, as the class of bonder have not sent any undue proportion of their own numbers, but have chosen representatives from other professions. A much more important inference may be drawn, — that, while the qualification is as low as it well can be, and the education of the electors is also but low, there is still such an amount of good sense in a community at large, that where undue influence, bribery, delusion, or party spirit, are not at work (and by the machinery of the middle wheel of election-men these are entirely excluded), a great majority of educated and enlightened men will be elected to do their business. In this representative body there are nearly sixty members, who, from their professions, must have enjoyed the best education which the country affords, and must be among its most able men; and there are only thirty-seven who may be presumed, from their occupation, not to have habits of business, although they are likely to possess great natural talents and judgment. The representatives belonging to this class in former Storthings have, I understand, often proved the most efficient members, after they got acquainted with the routine of business.

The first proceeding of the Storting is to elect its president, or speaker, and its secretary. This is done once a week. A president has much in his power, in the form in which he may propose a question to be voted upon to the house, and in the turn of ex-

pression that may be given to proceedings, or motions, in writing them in the protocol. Great jealousy is therefore exercised by Storthing in preserving the nomination of president and secret in their own hands. It was one of the rejected propositions of cabinet in 1824, that the king should have the nomination.

The next proceeding is to examine the writs or full power the members from their constituents, to ascertain that all are elected.

The Storthing then proceeds to elect what is equivalent to House of Peers, the Lagthing, or division in which the deliberative functions of the legislative body are invested. This consists of one fourth of the members of the Storthing, being in the present assembly twenty-four, who are voted for by the whole body; they form a separate house, and sit in a different chamber, with their own president and secretary, also elected by themselves weekly. The functions of the Lagthing are not exactly the same as those of our House of Lords, but are more confined. No bill can have its initiative there. It can only receive bills from the other house, the Odelsting; deliberate upon what is sent up to it, and approve, or reject, or send back the bill with proposed amendments. It is also the court before which, aided by the Hoieste Court (which is an independent branch of the state), the lower house, the Odelsting, may impeach ministers of state. The composition of this House of Lords, which does its business quite as well as a house of bishops, dukes, and barons, may be an object of curiosity to our British radicals. It consists, in the present Storthing, of eight persons in civil offices, five in clerical functions, lawyers, and nine bonder or peasants; in all twenty-four. They are not elected to the Lagthing with any reference to professional rank, but simply from the opinion their fellow-members in Storthing may have formed of their judgment, knowledge, and fitness for deliberative function.

Of the whole ninety-six members of the present Storthing, forty-five have sat in one or more preceding Storthings; the rest are new members.

The mode of procedure differs in some important respects from that of the British parliament. The Storthing consists, in fact, of *three houses*: the Lagthing of 24 members, the Odelsting of 24 members, and the entire Storthing, consisting of the whole 96 united in one house. In this latter all motions are made and discussed; and

entertained, are referred to committees to report upon to the Storting. The report, when received back from its committee, is debated and voted upon; and if approved, a bill in terms of the report is ordered to be brought into the Odelsting. This house entertains or rejects the proposed bill; frames and discusses the enactments, if it is not rejected *in toto*; and sends it up to the Lagthing or upper house to be deliberated upon, approved, rejected, or amended. The Storting appoints standing committees at the beginning of the session for each branch of the public business. These have to revise and report upon the proceedings of each department during the preceding three years; and every motion or petition to Storting is, if not rejected at once, referred to the proper committee in the first instance to report upon to the house. Two propositions presented on the part of the King by a counsellor of state, and delivered in writing to the president, were, I observed, rejected by a unanimous vote, when brought before the house, as having been referred to a committee already in the last Storting, and unanimously negatived. The one was to give the king an absolute instead of a suspensive veto; the other to give the king the power of naturalisation. By the groundlaw of the constitution none but Norwegians can hold office in Norway, and the Storting alone has the power of naturalising foreigners. The Swedish cabinet cannot fill up a single post or office in Norway with a Swede. It appears extraordinary that the Swedish cabinet should be so much in the dark with regard to the state of this country as to bring forward, Storting after Storting, such crude proposals in the king's name as cannot be expected to find even a single vote in Norway. It appears almost a jest to propose to the legislature of an independent nation to allow its public offices to be filled with strangers ignorant of its laws and language, and to divest itself of its own most efficient power in legislating. But the Swedes of the higher class really are, I suspect, extremely ignorant of the state of their Norwegian neighbours. They seem to travel very rarely into Norway. During nearly two years I met only two Swedish travellers of the higher class; and in the books kept at the inns on the road, in which every person who takes post horses writes his name and residence, I observed many more English and German than Swedish travellers. The Swedish nobleman may naturally conceive the Norwegian bonder to be like the peasants on his own estates, and that they may be treated in

the same way. The lower classes of Swedes have much more intercourse than the higher with Norway by frequenting the fairs ; but still it is so inconsiderable, that Swedish money is not current.

The mode of taking the votes in the Storthing is by the ayes standing up in their places, and the noes sitting still ; or if there is difficulty in thus making out the numbers, the president takes the votes by the list. There are no right and left sides, no ministerial and opposition benches. *Ya* and *Ney* sit side by side all over the house. Each member usually occupies the same place for the whole session, and has pens, ink, and paper before him. There are evidently no such formed parties as in our parliament. Some members are more constitutional than others ; but government, having no means of returning even a single member to Storthing, there is no ministerial and consequently no opposition party. It is considered a defect, and, practically, a hindrance to business, that government has no member in the Storthing to bring forward and support its propositions, and who, being instructed in its views, might be able to give the information on points of public business which is often required. There is a proposition from government to the present Storthing to remedy this defect by giving a seat and right of speaking, but not of voting, to a counsellor of state in each of the houses of Storthing. This is approved of by some, as a measure absolutely necessary for the despatch of business. Others think it contrary to the representative principle that a member not elected by any part of the community should take part in the deliberations, and influence the resolutions of a constitutional assembly. The influence of a practised speaker, with all the weight derived from his uttering the sentiments of government, might lead to results not to be foreseen. The "*nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*" will probably be the principle on which the proposition will be disposed of. The constitution has gone on well for twenty years ; each Storthing is more expert than its predecessor in getting through business. A little inconvenience attends the want of a person in the assembly to give the information which can now only be obtained by sending to different departments ; but no injury, on the whole, has been sustained by the present system. It is, therefore, not probable that the proposition will be adopted. It appears to be a fixed principle with all the Norwegians to allow the constitution to consolidate itself by time ; to alter nothing in its ground-law, even for the better, because the very precedent of



an admitted alteration would, in the peculiar spirit of jealousy, or, in fact, animosity towards the constitution, shown by the different Swedish cabinets since it was established, be an opening to other alterations, which state of alteration upon alteration would be a greater and more dangerous evil than any which the country is exposed to from its constitution as it is.

The room in which the Storthing holds its meetings is small, and lighted by four windows on one side. The president sits at a table, a little elevated, between two of the windows. The members occupy the other side of the room in five rows of benches and desks, like the seats in a chapel. The gallery is behind the seats of the members, and could contain perhaps two hundred persons. It is generally full; and the lobby leading to the gallery is always crowded before the Storthing opens, when any interesting subject is under discussion. When the Storthing resolves itself into its two parts, the Odelsting occupies this room, and the Lagthing, or upper house, has an adjoining one communicating by folding doors. The rooms are very simply but tastefully fitted up. They are too small for show, not being larger than the drawing rooms in a large private house; but are light and comfortable, well ventilated, and apparently not requiring more exertion from a speaker to make himself heard than in ordinary conversation. Neither the president nor the members wear any peculiar dress. They do not, like the members of the French Chambers, enact a scene of a free constitution in theatrical costume. Those members who, as public functionaries, have uniforms, or happen to be decorated with orders, have in this Storthing, as a matter of taste or propriety, laid aside these distinctions by common consent, when officiating in the higher capacity of representatives. The appearance of the assembly resembles very much that of a meeting of gentlemen in one of our Scotch counties. Some traveller tells us that he saw the bonder sitting in the Storthing with red nightcaps, and clad in homespun clothes of the fashion of the sixteenth century. This is not the truth. Whatever they may wear in their own valleys, in Christiania they dress like other members of the Storthing.

The representatives belonging to this class look like the respectable farmers one sees on a market-day at Haddington or Edinburgh. In the Storthing no member wears his hat. The greatest decorum and propriety of manners are observed. There is not even the coughing or scraping down of an unmercifully



tedious speaker, which legislative assemblies of higher pretensions allow themselves to practise. There is, however, seldom occasion for it, as members seem to speak only when they have something to say. The style of speaking is altogether business-like, and to the point. It is not oratorical, but rather conversational. It is very much in the taste of good public speaking in England at the present time. I have heard nothing that could be called haranguing, or making set written-out speeches, or beginning with something far off from the point to which every one but the orator has got long before : but I have heard clear expositions of views delivered without premeditation, but fluently and to the purpose. This is in good taste, because it is adapted to the end, which is simply to get at the best and most suitable views of the subject. There is no party within doors to strengthen or weaken, no public out of doors to gain by fine speeches ; at least the art of reporting is but in its infancy, and could not convey a fine speech. There being no demand for oratory, there is no supply ; but for plain and clear statement of argument or fact, there are several members of this Storthing who are equal to any of that class of our public speakers.

To show the course of procedure through these three houses, I shall follow out a case which, as it relates to a literary subject, and not to local politics, may be of some interest to an English reader.

In August, 1834, a considerable number of valuable gold ornaments, the metal weighing above eighty-eight ounces, were found about three feet under the surface of the ground in a spot which had formerly been a lake or pond, near the farm of Hoen, in the parish of Egger in Aggerhuuts Amt. The value of the gold is considerable, but is greatly enhanced to the antiquary, as these ornaments are supposed by the learned in northern antiquities to have adorned a statue of Odin, and on the introduction of Christianity and the spoliation of the temples of the old religion, to have been hid in the spot where they were now discovered. In feudal kingdoms, the king, as lord of the soil, has generally a right to such treasure-trove. In this country, the government is only entitled, by some Danish law, to purchase such objects as may be *interesting to science* from the owner of the land and the finder, *at the market value*. The sum of 2030 dollars was accordingly paid to these parties for the articles ; and in submitting this item, alone

with the other extraordinaries, to be examined and provided for by the Storthing, government also proposed that they should be presented to the museum of the University. The royal proposition was referred by the Storthing to their budget committee, who in due time gave in their report. It recommended the adoption of the royal proposition, as to disposing of these articles to the University museum; but as the University had a yearly allowance granted by Storthing of 550 dollars, to purchase articles for its museum, that it should repay to the state by yearly instalments, in nine years, the 2030 dollars.

When this report came before the Storthing, it gave occasion to a very animated discussion. Several good and interesting speeches were made against the adoption of the committee's proposition, as derogatory to the honour of the nation, and contrary to the spirit of the age. The cause of the University, of which the resources would have been seriously diminished for a long period by such a repayment, met with zealous support. The question excited a great deal of interest out of doors, and the gallery was full at nine in the morning, when the Storthing begins its business. On the division there were only fifteen votes in favour of the committee's proposition. Its members made out a very good case in favour, or at least in excuse, of their report. They were a budget committee, entitled only to treat the subject in an economical view. The property of the nation was in their hands to be taxed; and they were not warranted to take either the honour of the country, or the interests of science, as principles to be included in their consideration of the amount of burden to be imposed, but simply what was most economical.

The course of procedure is, that after a proposition, such as the above, comes back from their committee, and is considered by the united Storthing, a bill is ordered to be prepared in terms of the resolution formed on the subject. The Storthing then dividing itself into its two chambers, the bill is brought into the Odelsting, which treats it as in our House of Commons, rejecting or amending it as they see fit; and when prepared it is sent up to the Lagthing, or upper house. If not approved of there, the bill is lost. If amended, it is sent back with the amendments to the Odelsting. If they do not approve them, the two houses have a conference; the whole procedure being similar to that established in our two Houses of Parliament. The only peculiarity is that

which necessarily flows from the upper house being chosen out of the representative body. As that house has only a deliberative, and not an initiative power in the legislation, their constituents would enjoy only in a secondary degree the benefit of representation, if it were not for the expedient of the united Storting, consisting of both houses, handling by itself, and by its committees, every proposition in the first place upon which a bill is to be founded.

The gold ornaments above referred to consist of fifty-two gold and thirteen silver ornaments ; among which are a massive gold collar, various bracelets, a brooch or breast-ornament for fastening the cloak, rings, and a number of coins, each furnished with a loop or eye for passing a string through and suspending them as embellishments, or amulets, on the person. The workmanship of these ornaments, and of the loops or eyes attached to the coins in general, is so much superior to what could have been executed in that early age in the north of Europe, that the eastern origin of the articles is considered unquestionable. The coins are nine Arabian, Cuftish, four Byzantine, five Franco-Gallic, one Anglo-Saxon ; and of these one is of the fourth century, one of the sixth, and the rest are coins struck between the years 769 and 867 of our era. There are no Scandinavian coins among them ; and it is doubtful whether any were struck in Scandinavia before the time of Canute in the beginning of the eleventh century.

Proféssor Holmboe of Christiania delivered a learned and elegant descriptive account of these very interesting antiquities in the Latin language, at the University commemoration of his Majesty's birthday in 1835 ; and it has been published by order of the University. This learned antiquary conjectures that these ornaments may have belonged to one or more idols about the time of the introduction of Christianity into Norway in the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century, and may have been concealed to prevent their becoming the spoil of the Christians who plundered the temples and destroyed the idols of the worshippers of Odin. The conjecture he considers probable, because three of the ornaments for the arm, or bracelets, are too small to have been intended for a man, or to allow the hand of a male adult to pass through them, and too heavy to have been worn conveniently by a woman ; they have therefore probably been made for an idol ; and it is proved by many passages which he quotes from

the Saga, that the idols of the religion of Odin were very richly decorated with gold and silver ornaments.

There are two or three considerations which I conceive militate against this ingenious conjecture. The images by which a barbarous people represent their deities naturally run into the gigantic, not the diminutive. The fine arts, and the ideas of a people, must be in an advanced state, before they disconnect the idea of greatness and power from bulk and personal strength. These qualities were still at the introduction of Christianity, and long after, prized as the highest endowments of man. It is not likely they would fashion their idols without them. In the Saga also, the descriptions occasionally given of the idols seem to indicate an image above, not below the human size. That which Kolbeen Kæmpe, by order of King Olaf, struck into pieces with his axe, before the assembly of the bonder in Guldebrandsdal, was a hollow figure brought out apparently with difficulty, and large enough for rats and other vermin to have lodged in its cavity. This account gives the idea of a figure larger than human. But allowing any particular image to have been less than an adult man, is it likely that the measure of its arm and hand should have been sent from Norway to the workmen in the East, in order to make a gold ornament to fit it? There is a third consideration: it is not likely that a Byzantine coin, struck by Michael III. between A. D. 842 and A. D. 867, bearing not only the name of Jesus Christ, but also the figure of the cross, should have been used as an ornament of an idol of which the worshippers were persecuted by those of whose religion the cross was the symbol. For these reasons it occurs to me as more probable, that this treasure has been the plunder brought home from the East by one of the *væringers* or body-guard of the Greek Emperors. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the *væringers* at Constantinople appear to have been principally from Norway, and to have returned with great wealth, of which there is an instance in the *Orkneyinga Saga*. The bracelets, too small to admit the hand of an adult man, and too heavy for female ornaments, are probably just the size which at the present day would fit the Arab, or other natives of the East, whose frame of body, like that of his horse, is fine-boned, and slight compared to the massive limbs of the Norwegian, although in muscular strength perhaps not inferior.

Another subject which I heard discussed with great ability, and

... at least more intelligible than those  
... legislature has dealt with a  
... BANK to cash payments. The  
... should, after a certain  
... have begun to pay its notes in  
... the exchange of Hamburg,  
... against silver at the rate of 187½ dollars  
... The Storting, therefore, passed a  
... 100 dollars in silver for 190  
... at their discretion.  
... without any new enactment. This  
... within their limits the variations  
... in the money market of Europe,  
... in the Bank stock of  
... to reduce the maximum  
... the value at Hamburg  
... silver. In 1827, it was again found practi-  
... at which it has  
... for a considerable time been  
... Hamburg. The Bank  
... silver; and the question before  
... 25 paper for 100 silver  
... 100 paper for 100 silver.  
... on the circulating  
... the opinions of judicious  
... the question is divested of  
... and interests, which, in  
... the real effects of  
... the value of money by legis-  
... consequently, that of all labour,  
... the alteration in the true  
... taxes, salaries, annuities,  
... the value of 25  
... was not and could not  
... these effects appeared more  
... of this country than in England,  
... interests with which  
... there enveloped.

... was supported here with great ability by members  
... were undoubtedly right: that by bringing the paper

llar to what on its face it promises to be, — the representative of a silver dollar, — all articles imported from abroad, of which this is an important one, would be supplied so much cheaper, being paid for in money of the same value as that in which they were bought; that the wages of labour and value of its produce would suffer only a temporary and inconsiderable shock, the difference between paper and silver being too inconsiderable to affect ordinary transactions of life; and that as to the relation of debtor and creditor, every man who borrowed knew at the time that he was borrowing in a kind of money liable to be repaid by silver, and which every year was rapidly approaching to parity in value. The government therefore would do no injustice in declaring the two kinds of money now to be of the same value, upon which must be taken at some time or other, and could never be done so easily as at present. As to salaries paid by government, and taxes, a reduction might be made equal to the increased value of the currency in which they were paid.

The novelty of argument was on the other side. It was forcibly set forth in a very able speech by the representative of Dronthiem, that a bank was only a kind of broker or middle-man between man and man in their transactions; and however extensive its operations might be *en masse*, it was in each operation only an individual standing between two others, issuing notes of hand for the sum of the twenty, or hundred, or thousand dollars involved in each transaction; and the value of these notes of this great broker was no more a subject of legitimate legislation, than the value of any matter passing between the other two individuals in each transaction. Government might for special reasons pass laws to protect this broker from ruinous speculations in his notes, by fixing a certain maximum and minimum rate at which he might be called in for silver; and this rate was always adjusted by law according to the real value of his notes in the general money market of the country. This legal rate merely put it in his power to protect himself by reference to the law from any forced or undue run for silver from speculators, by putting it in his power to demand for silver a somewhat higher rate than his notes in the general market were worth; it was optional to go to him or to the market. But this was a very different operation from that of forcing by legislative enactment a particular value on his notes, at and from a particular date. Every man in his transactions, either



buying, selling, or borrowing, was prepared for the rise or fall of the value in the general money market of Europe of that particular money medium in which he was transacting; and be the change sudden or gradual, it is a kind of natural contingency, which he cannot complain of, and which he is prepared against or runs the risk of. But no man can be prepared for changes of value effected by interference of government. It would be legislating upon a principle monstrously unjust, to give by law to these notes a greater value than that which parties contracting in this medium might have reasonably foreseen at the time, and have reckoned upon being liable to in the currency of their engagements. It was also argued on this side, that as the value of the paper dollar has risen gradually from  $187\frac{1}{2}$  to 112 for 100 silver, it was more prudent to continue the same system of allowing them to find their own level in the general money market of the world, merely giving power to the Bank, as before, to protect itself against any speculative demand for its silver by fixing a maximum rate of exchange; and by continuing the same system, the bank-note would of itself gradually come to par without any shock. This opinion prevailed and was adopted by the Storting, as recommended by its committee; and a law, fixing 115 and 110 paper dollars as the maximum and minimum rates at which the Bank could pay 100 silver, was ordered to be brought into the Odelsting. The value of the paper dollars in Hamburgh is  $111\frac{1}{2}$  for 100 dollars.

This view is different from that which the British legislature acted upon in the operation in the currency during Sir Robert Peel's administration. There is perhaps such a radical difference in the state of the two countries, that it would be impossible to conclude that what is good and prudent in the one would have been so in the other. To have left the Bank of England to work out a value for its notes equal to gold, as this bank has nearly done, having brought its notes from  $187\frac{1}{2}$  to  $111\frac{1}{2}$  for 100 silver, would have been a more just, although a more slow operation, than that which was adopted; and by fixing a bank rate of exchange from time to time, the danger of any sudden run for specie, arising from speculation alone, would have been checked. There is, however, the important difference between the paper-money of this and of other banks, — it is an issue almost entirely upon the value of land, and of goods, or bills of which goods are the basis. There can be but one issue upon one basis of value where that basis is land. If the

bank gives out its notes upon the security of land, it does not of course take the same security of one piece of land twice over. But there may be ten or twenty issues upon one and the same basis of value, where that basis consists in goods. Each buyer in succession may have his bills for their full value in the circle at the same time, and the bank's notes are issued upon each bill; so that twenty times as much paper money as is represented by real value may be in circulation. This difference might make it much more easy to bring the paper of the Bank of Norway than that of the Bank of England to par.

In the course of this discussion there occurred an instance of the influence and importance in this country of the periodical press. In a daily newspaper lately established, the *Constitutionelle*, there appeared the first part of an article of great ability upon the subject. It was resolved by the Storting to postpone the discussion for a week, in order to give members time to consider the question under the new points of view in which it was thus anonymously presented to them.

There is great and rather amusing simplicity sometimes in the mode of procedure. I saw in the newspaper one morning, that a royal proposition was to be presented to the Storting by a counsellor of state. I repaired to the gallery to see the ceremony. A deputation of six members was sent out to receive and usher in the royal messenger. The counsellor of state, in full court dress, enters through the folding doors, is received by the president and members standing, and walks up to a table placed for him on the floor of the house. After a bow to the president, and another to the members, he reads an open letter under the royal signature, with the great seal attached to it, authorising him to appear before the Norwegian Storting and deliver this special proposition, which he lays upon the table. He then retires through the folding doors, repeating his bows. The proposition was one relative to the distillery laws. The Storting, on resuming, merely ordered the royal proposition to be referred to its standing committee of trade and manufactures, as materials for the report upon the distillery laws which that committee had to prepare. It seemed not to enter into the head of any one that a proposition delivered with so much form, ought to be referred to a special committee, or be ordered to be printed, or be treated in some way or other ceremoniously. The simplicity struck me; for it was simplicity, not rudeness or

intentional disrespect, because a day or two before I had remarked that a member had presented a paper, not a petition, to the house, containing propositions upon the same subject — the distillery laws — from a peasant in Hedemark. The member saying he adopts the propositions as his own, was sufficient to give the same effect to this paper as to that containing the royal propositions. It was ordered, precisely in the same way, to be referred to the committee. The result of this simple way of doing business is, that the plan of his Majesty's ministers with regard to a new distillery law, and that of the peasant of Hedemark, will be weighed and made use of exactly according to their merits. It is impossible that an executive and a legislative power existing together as parts of one state, can perform their functions more independently of each other, and with less encroachment or influence upon the duties belonging to each, than in this Norwegian constitution.

I have often asked by whom this constitution was originally framed. It is evident that it could not be the work of four days — from the 12th April to the 16th, 1814, — which is all the time the committee sat before the constitution, as it now stands, was laid before the national assembly. From the contrivance of the safeguards with which it is protected against every thing but the hand of open violence, it appears more like the work of some philosophic mind, a Sieyès or a Bentham, long meditated upon before it was produced in such perfection in all its details. On the other hand, although the principles and machinery of this constitution might lead to the supposition that it was the production of one of these master minds, the perfect adaptation from the first of every arrangement to the local and very peculiar circumstances of the country as to law, property, and state of society, could only have been the work of a native.

It is fortunate for mankind that this model of a free constitution, formed in the closet of some philosopher, and not the hasty erection of a revolutionary spirit, exists under the powerful guarantee of England, Russia, and its own excellent sovereign. The darkest spot perhaps in the history of Great Britain is her treaty with Sweden, dated March 3, 1813. By that treaty England gives to the King of Sweden the kingdom of Norway, — of which Britain *was not* in possession — together with Guadaloupe, and a million of pounds sterling, in consideration of his Swedish Majesty joining the Allied Powers against France. The money and Guadaloupe

were ours to give; but Norway was a separate kingdom belonging to a power then at peace with the two contracting parties, and to which neither could pretend the shadow of a claim. The partition of Poland was a pure and innocent transaction compared with this; and, but for one redeeming circumstance, it would be recorded in history as the most unprincipled transaction of modern times. It is, that however indefensible as a spoliation of the Danish monarch, it was not, like the partition of Poland, the annihilation of an independently existing nation; it was not the reduction of a people from a distinct social state of its own, to that of vassals of a province under a new master, which is the character of the partition of Poland. The independent existence of Norway as a kingdom was secured in this treaty, and was brought out even more distinctly than it had been latterly during the union with the Danish crown. It was, as a kingdom, to be united to the Swedish crown; and not, as a province, to be amalgamated or united with the Swedish kingdom. Whether from the compunctious visitings of conscience, from which it is to be hoped that cabinets are not exempt, or from the hurry to get the Norwegian nation pacified and quieted at any rate, so as to allow Sweden to take the field with the Allies, this constitution, which the Norwegians had prepared in April, 1814, and which, together with their independence as a nation under the Crown Prince of Denmark, whom they had proclaimed sovereign, they were in arms to maintain, was guaranteed to them, on the Crown Prince laying down his short-lived royalty, upon condition of accepting, along with this constitution, the Swedish monarch as their king. This was done; and on the 17th of May, and 4th of November, 1814, both parties,—the Norwegian nation and the Swedish king,—solemnly entered into this compact under the guarantee of the Allied Powers. England, as a party to the nefarious treaty of March, 1813, is more particularly bound in principle to take care now that the results which may come from it shall not bring it into the same class of transactions with the Polish partition; and that to the unjustifiable dismemberment of a power with which she was at peace, is not added the crime of the extinction of the independent existence of a nation. In the headlong attempt of the Swedish cabinet in 1824 to force on the Norwegian nation an amalgamation with Sweden, the firmness of the Storthing, the good faith of the sovereign, and, it is said, the interference of Russia on the part of the Allied Powers,



prevented a measure which it would have tarnished the honour of England to permit. It is not known whether the British Resident at the Court of Stockholm at that time interfered also to prevent the guarantee of this country to the Norwegian nation from being infringed. England having positive duties to fulfil towards Norway as a distinct nation, should have distinct diplomatic relations with that country. Hanover and England are not more distinct nations than Sweden and Norway. The crowns alone are united in each case: the rights and interests do not always coincide; and in this case of Norway, England is especially bound to guard her separate existence as an independent kingdom, having her own legislation guaranteed to her from the 17th of May, 1814, when it was adopted by the national assembly at Eidsvold, on the part of Norway, and on the 4th of November by Charles XIII., on the part of himself and his successors.

There is not probably in the history of mankind another instance of a free constitution, not erected amidst ruins and revolutions, not cemented with blood, but taken from the closet of the philosopher and quietly reared and set to work, and found to be suitable without alteration to all the ends of good government. The reason of this apparent singularity is, that all the essential parts of liberty were already in the country. The property was in the hands of the whole body of the people. The ancient laws and institutions affecting property were in full operation, and were conceived and administered in the very spirit of liberty. As far as regards property, these laws and institutions left nothing for the most liberal constituted assembly to legislate upon. As far as regards personal rights, the mild and enlightened administration of Denmark, although under an arbitrary form, had left few general grievances to be redressed. There was nothing in the condition of the people, the state of property, the civil or religious establishments, which did not fit in with a free constitution, in which legislative power was vested in the people. These had all emanated from the people in ancient times; and, there being no hereditary privilege, power, or property vested in any class of the community, had been handed down unbroken through ages. The new constitution was but the superstructure of a building of which the foundation had been laid, and the lower walls constructed, eight centuries before, by the ancestors of the present generation. *Esto perpetuum* must be the earnest prayer of every man who sees this content

and amiable people enjoying the blessings of rational liberty under laws, institutions, and a constitution the most liberal of which any modern nation can boast.

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The conclusion which I would draw from these views and impressions of the state of society and property in Norway, will appear to many extravagant or visionary. By stating them, however, I may direct the attention of some to points very interesting in political science, and may set thinking people a-thinking upon subjects which they have not considered before. My conclusions are these :—

*First.*—That the structure of society, in which, through the effects of the natural law of succession in equal shares, there is a very general diffusion of property among all classes and individuals, is better calculated for the end of all society—the producing the greatest possible quantity of well-being and happiness to the greatest number of persons—than that structure in which the possession of property by the operation of an artificial law of succession, such as the feudal law of primogeniture, is restricted to particular classes and individuals among the families of the community.

*Second.*—That the influences of property upon the human mind,—the never-ceasing propensity to acquire, to save, and the equally strong propensity to indulge in the tastes and habits generated by property,—form the real checks which nature has intended for restraining the propensity to propagation by improvident marriages, and for preventing the population of a country from exceeding the means or property upon which it is to subsist. Consequently the diffusion of property through society is the only radical cure for that king's-evil of all feudally constructed societies,—pauperism and over-multiplication. Consequently the idea of bolstering up this unnatural structure of society, as proposed by Dr. Chalmers and other eminent political economists, by inculcating in the minds of the labouring classes a fictitious moral restraint upon marriage—an act which may be eminently imprudent, but can never be designated as immoral, without confounding together prudence and morality, and overturning all the land-



marks of human virtue,—is as contrary to political as it is to moral principle.

*Third.*—That for the admitted evil condition of the vast population of Ireland, there is no other effectual remedy than an alteration in the law of succession to property, by which, without injury to the just existing rights of any living individual, the succeeding generations in that country would become gradually connected with its property ; inoculated and imbued with the civilising tastes, habits, and influences thence arising ; and their increase of numbers thus placed under the restraint of the only natural and effective checks which Providence has imposed upon the tendency of population to exceed the means of subsistence.

THE END.

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New-street-Square.

**NOTES OF A TRAVELLER,**  
**ON THE**  
**SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STATE**  
**OF**  
**FRANCE, PRUSSIA, SWITZERLAND,**  
**ITALY,**  
**AND OTHER PARTS OF EUROPE,**  
**During the present Century.**

**BY SAMUEL LAING, ESQ.,**

**AUTHOR OF "A JOURNAL OF A RESIDENCE IN NORWAY," AND OF "A TOUR IN SWEDEN."**

*First Series.*

**LONDON :**  
**LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS.**  
**1854**



## PREFACE.

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**THE** changes produced by the French Revolution in the social economy of the European people are so extensive and important, reaching downwards to the very foundation of the former feudal structure of society, that History, it may be truly said, only begins for posterity with this century. The monarchical, aristocratical, and ecclesiastical elements of the former social economy of Europe, even property, law, power, have all been altered in relations, proportions, and intensity of influence; and the living of the generation which witnessed the commencement of the French Revolution have, in fifty years, been removed five hundred from the order of things previously established. The events and personages connected with this great convulsion will, no doubt, find their historian; but the alterations produced by it in the social structure and arrangements of almost every country, are scarcely noticed by our travellers and political writers, occupied with the more brilliant scenes or novelties of the age; and the future historian or philosopher may even want materials, notwithstanding all the literature of our days, for forming a just



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estimate of the amount, nature, and tendencies of the changes effected, or in progress, during this half century, in the social economy of Europe. The Author of the following Notes has attempted in two preceding works—one on Norway,\* and one on Sweden†—to collect materials on the social economy of those two countries, which, although distant from the centre of action, have not been beyond the reach of its disturbing force. This work is intended to be a continuation of the same attempt, to collect materials for the future historian or philosopher who shall endeavour to describe and estimate the new social elements in Europe which are springing up from, and covering the ashes of, the French Revolution.

\* *Journal of a Residence in Norway*, by Samuel Laing. Longmans, London.

† *A Tour in Sweden*, by Samuel Laing. Longmans, London.

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# NOTES OF A TRAVELLER,

&c.

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## CHAPTER I.

**TRAVEL-WRITING.—HOLLAND.—THE SUBLIME IN SCENERY.—THE PICTURESQUE IN HOLLAND.—GARDEN HOUSES.—DECAY OF HOLLAND.—CAUSES.—MANUFACTURING STABILITY.—USEFUL ARTS.—FINE ARTS.—USEFUL AND FINE ARTS COMPARED.—THE POOR IN HOLLAND.—THE POOR IN MANUFACTURING TOWNS.—POOR COLONIES.—KINGLY POWER IN HOLLAND.—BELGIUM.—FEDERALISM.—UNION OF THE TWO COUNTRIES.—THE FEDERAL PRINCIPLE.**

IN the social state of the Continent, as it has settled itself since the great political and moral epoch of the French Revolution, there is a vast field to explore which has scarcely been looked at by our Continental travellers. No period since the introduction of Christianity will be considered by posterity of equal importance with this half of the nineteenth century—of equal influence in forming the future social and moral condition of the European people. All the great social influences, moral and physical, which have sprung up from the ashes of the French Revolution, and all the influences accumulating in prior times ;—the diffusion of knowledge by the press ; of sentiments of religious and civil freedom by the Reformation ; of wealth, wellbeing, and political importance in the middle class, or those between the nobility and peasantry of the feudal ages, by trades, manufactures, and industry ; the influence over all ranks of acquired tastes, and wants unknown to their forefathers ; the influence of public opinion over the highest political affairs ; and the influence of all the vast discoveries of the preceding 400 years, in navigation, science, and the useful arts ;—are, in reality, only coming into full play and operation now, in this *half century*, upon the social state of *Europe*. *The French Revolution* was but the first act in the



great social drama. Travellers complain that travel-wisdom is overdone—that the Continent is exhausted of all its interest. Is it not possible that they themselves are blind to the great interests and influences which would attract the public mind? Are they continuing to feed the man with the panada and gruel of the child? In these our locomotive days, the public has no leisure to sit listening to the traveller of the school, piping the little song of his personal adventures in a strain as familiar to their imaginations as the county of York. He pours his tale into a sleeping ear, if he has nothing to put before him of his personal feelings and adventures, or his voracious desire for the tea and toast of the village inn: he is like a blind man trying to amuse the children of the deaf and dumb asylum by playing a tune on his fiddle.

I am an excellent travel-reader myself. I eat, drink, and sleep, for my part, with my traveller. I mourn with him over all the calamities of jolting roads, saucy landladies, scanty dinners, and dirty tablecloths; and am enchanted with the gale, the calm, the distant sail, the piece of scenery floating past, the solitary sea-bird skimming round, and other memorabilia of a voyage across the Queensferry or the Atlantic. But this school of readers is almost extinct. The public of the present day labours under a literary dyspepsia; it has no appetite for the former ordinary fare. Diaries, journals, narratives, descriptions, feelings, and wisdom of the first travellers from every corner of the world, have so satiated the omnivorous reader, that results only, the concentrated essences of the traveller's observations, are in demand, not the detail of petty incidents by which they have been obtained; the sums total and not the items and units of his account current. This fastidiousness of the public taste places the traveller, especially in the known lands, in an awkward dilemma. The little trivial incidents of travel, duly recorded as they occur, were very agreeable to the public and reading; although they certainly mix very discordant details, or speculations on political and social events, which not only the philosopher, or the historian, but the common reader of the present day, expects from the Continental traveller. These are not the results or observations of a single incident, or a single forenoon, or a single tour, and cannot, with any propriety, be interwoven in his accounts of any one day or place. He is obliged to concentrate his observations for the sake of travelling, and to meet the public taste; yet he runs the risk in doing so.

ducing a work which will lull to sleep, not amuse the reader. The risk must be run. A great field of inquiry and observation on the Continent is open. The traveller may not be the most suitable literary labourer to explore it; but if his views should be narrow and incorrect, his conclusions ill founded or egregiously wrong, still they may be useful by inducing men of higher capacity to take the same path, to examine the same subjects, and discover what is right and well founded. In political philosophy the road to truth lies through error.

Holland, the land of cheese and butter, is to my eye no unpicturesque, uninteresting country. Flat it is; but it is so geometrically only, and in no other sense. Spires, church towers, bright farm-houses—their windows glancing in the sun, long rows of willow-trees—their bluish foliage ruffling up white in the breeze; grassy embankments of a tender vivid green, partly hiding the meadows behind, and crowded with glittering gaudily painted gigs, and stool waggons, loaded with rosy-cheeked laughing country girls, decked out in ribbons of many more colours than the rainbow, all astreaming in the wind;—these are the objects which strike the eye of the traveller from seaward, and form a gay front view of Holland, as he sails or steams along its coast and up its rivers. On shore, the long continuity of horizontal lines of country in the background, each line rising behind the other to a distant, level, unbroken horizon, gives the impressions of vastness and of novelty. It is curious how differently we are impressed by expansion in the horizontal and expansion in the perpendicular plane. Take a section of this country spread out horizontally before the eye, four miles or five in length, and one or two in breadth, and it is but a flat unimpressive plain. But elevate this small unimpressive parallelogram of land to an angle of sixty degrees with the horizon, and it becomes the most sublime of natural objects; it surpasses Mont Blanc—it is the side of Chimborazo. Set it on edge, and it would overwhelm the beholder with its sublimity. It would be the Hymalaya mountains cut down from their dizziest peak to the level of the ocean—a precipice so sublime, that the mind would shrink in terror from its very recollection. Now why does this section of land, which would be but a small portion of the extent of flat plain under the eye at once from any little elevation, such as a dyke or a church tower, in this country, pass from the unimpressive through the beautiful, the grand, and to the utmost sublime by mathematical steps, *one may say*, and according to its angle of elevation?

The only solution of this fact in the sublimity of natural objects is, that terror is not, as has been assumed by Burke and greatest philosophers, the cause of the impression of sublimity on the human mind. Terror must be the effect of the sublime; its cause, source, or principle. In this supposed instance of sublime in nature, power is evidently the cause of that impression,—the intuitive mental perception that great unknown power has been exerted to produce this sublime object. It is the feeling or impression, of this vast power, which produces that feeling of terror allied with and considered the cause, although in reality only the effect, of the sublime. This impression of power, received from any great and rare deviation from the usual, makes the perpendicular more sublime than the horizontal, the Gothic cathedral than the Grecian temple, the mountain than the plain, the cataract than the lake, the storm than the calm. Unusual vastness, such as the great extent of flat country seen from the tops of the church towers in Holland, is also an expression of power and is not without its grandeur; but it never reaches the sublime because the mind, accustomed to the sight of extension developed horizontally, perceives not the principle of power in it at all. This sentiment of power may possibly have something to do with our impression of the beautiful in natural objects. The waved line—Hogarth's line of beauty—is agreeable, and the angular, broken, or jagged line, the contrary; because the former expresses a continuity of power in its formation—the other a disturbance, or break, in the action of the forming power. The latter would reach the sublime, if the disturbance, or break, were on a great scale, indicating vastness of power.

Holland can boast of nothing sublime; but for pictures of foregrounds—for close, compact, snug home scenery, with everything in harmony, and stamped with one strong peculiar character, Holland is a cabinet picture, in which nature and art join to produce one impression, one homogeneous effect. The Dutch cottage, with its glistening brick walls, white painted wood-work and rails, and its massive roof of thatch, with the stork clapping to her young on her old-established nest on top of the gable, is admirably in place and keeping, just what it is—at the turn of the canal, shut in by a screen of willow-trees or tall reeds, from seeing, or being seen, beyond the suburbs in the bight of the still calm water, in which its every tint and part is brightly repeated. Then the peculiar character of every article of the household furniture, which the Dutch built house-mother

is scouring on the green before the door so industriously ; the Dutch character impressed on every thing Dutch, and intuitively recognised, like the Jewish or Gipsy countenance, wherever it is met with ; the people, their dwellings, and all in or about them—their very movements in accordance with this style or character, and all bearing its impress strongly—make this Holland, to my eye, no dull unimpressive land. There is soul in all you see ; the strongly marked character about every thing Dutch pleases intellectually, as much as beauty of form itself. What else is the charm so universally felt, requiring so little to be acquired, of the paintings of the Dutch school ? The objects or scenes painted are neither graceful, nor beautiful, nor sublime ; but they are Dutch. They have a strongly marked mind and character impressed on them, and expressed by them ; and every accompaniment in the picture has the same, and harmonises with all around it.

The Hollander has a decided taste for the romantic : great amateurs are the Mynheers of the rural. Every Dutchman above the necessity of working to-day for the bread of to-morrow, has his garden-house (*Buyteplaats*) in the suburbs of his town (for the Dutch population lives very much in towns surrounded by wet ditches), and repairs to it on Saturday evening with his family, to ruralise until Monday over his pipe of tobacco. Dirk Hatterick, we are told in *Guy Mannering*, did so. It is the main extravagance of the Dutch middle-class man, and it is often an expensive one. This garden-house is a wooden box gaily painted, of eight or ten feet square ; its name, “My Delight,” or “Rural Felicity,” or “Sweet Solitude,” stuck up in gilt tin letters on the front ; and situated usually at the end of a narrow slip of ground, inclosed on three sides with well-trimmed hedges and slimy ditches, and overhanging the canal, which forms the boundary of the garden plot on its fourth side. The slip of land is laid out in flower-beds, all the flowers in one bed being generally of one kind and colour ; and the brilliancy of these large masses of flowers—the white and green paint-work, and the gilding about the garden-houses—and a row of those glittering, fairy summer lodges, shining in the sun, upon the side of the wide canal, and swimming in humid brilliancy in the midst of plots and parterres of splendid flowers, and with the accompaniments of gaily dressed ladies at the windows, swiftly passing pleasure boats with bright burnished sides below, and a whole city population afloat, or on foot, enjoying themselves in

their holyday clothes—form, in truth, a summer evening scene which one dwells upon with much delight. I pity the taste which can stop to inquire if all this human enjoyment be of good taste or bad taste, vulgar or refined. I stuff my pipe, hire a boatman to row me in his *schuytje* up the canal to a te garden, and pass the evening as Dutchly and happily as my fellow-men.

Holland is the land of the chivalry of the middle class. Here they may say in honest pride, to the hereditary lords and nobles of the earth in the other countries of Europe, See, what we grocers, fishcurers, and shipowners have done in days of yore in this little country! But, alas! this glory is faded. In the deserted streets of Delft, and Leyden, and Haarlem, the grass growing through the seams of the brick pavements; the ragged petticoat flutters in the wind out of the drawing-room chamber of a palace; the echo of wooden shoes clattering through empty saloons tells of past magnificence—of actual indigence. This has been a land of warlike deed, of high and independent feeling; the home of patriots, of heroes, of scholars, of philosophers, of men of science, of artists, of the persecuted for religious or political opinions from every country, and of the generous spirits who patronised and protected them. Why is the Holland of our times no longer that old Holland of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? Why are her streets silent, her canals green with undisturbed slime?

The greatness of Holland was founded upon commercial prosperity and capital, not upon productive industry.\* Her capital and industry were not employed in producing what ministers to human wants and gratifications; but in transmitting what other countries produced or manufactured, from one country to another. She was their broker. When their capitals, applied at first more beneficially to productive industry, had grown

\* The herring fishery of Holland has usually been represented as the branch of productive industry from which her wealth was drawn. Amsterdam is founded, we are told, on herring bones. Sir William Temple, and all political economists since his day, have indulged in gross exaggerations of the importance and value of this branch of productive industry; and our government has scarcely yet thrown off the mania of legislating, by bounties, boards, and regulations, for an unnatural extension of the British herring fishery—unnatural because it is production beyond consumption, and is forced by bounties beyond the demand for the article. The following is the present state of the Dutch herring fishery; viz. In 1841—

large enough to enter also into the business of circulation, as well as into that of production—into commerce, properly so called—the prosperity of Holland, founded upon commerce alone, unsupported by a basis of productive industry within herself, and among the mass of her own population, fell to the ground. This is the history of Holland. It speaks an important lesson to nations.

The world has witnessed the decline of commercial greatness in Venice, in Genoa, in Florence, in the Hans Towns, in Holland, —of military greatness in Rome, France, Sweden, Prussia; but has yet to learn whether productive greatness, that which is

Flardingen	has	fitted	out	79	busses.
Delfshaven	-	-	-	2	—
Zwartwaal	-	-	-	4	—
Mittelhaus	-	-	-	2	—
Schevening	-	-	-	1	—
Pirnis	-	-	-	1	—
Schiedam	-	-	-	1	—
Maassluis	-	-	-	10	—
Enkhuizen	-	-	-	4	—
Rip	-	-	-	6	—
Amsterdam	-	-	-	7	—
Total				123	—

Now suppose each buss to stow 400 barrels—and they are not vessels which can stow more, being small and lumbered with their nets and provisions—and suppose each to make two trips, and to be a full ship each trip; this count will produce, after all, only 98,400 barrels of herrings, or about one half of the quantity usually cured in the county of Caithness. We have no reason to suppose that the real effective market for herrings was ever more extensive than it is now. By dint of bounties, no doubt, the Dutch may have sent out more busses, and cured more fish formerly; but if this increased production was forced beyond the demand and consumption, and the loss made good by the bounty to the producer, which is precisely the working of our bounty system in all things as well as in herrings, the country was no gainer by this surplus of production beyond a consumption at a reproductive price. Suppose, in the highest state of prosperity of the Dutch herring fishery, that they had the number of busses at sea which bounties before our eyes in the pamphlets innumerable on the Dutch herring fishery say that they had 600 or 800, say 1200 sail in any one year and all full ships; this gives us but 960,000 barrels of herrings, worth about as many pounds sterling. This is probably one-third more of this kind of food than all the markets, including the Russian and West Indian, ever consumed in one year; but throw it all to the credit of the Dutch herring fishery as clear gain, still it is no great item of national wealth and production. It is at best a small thing magnified by bounty-fishers into a source of great national wealth.



founded upon the manufacturing industry of a people in all the useful arts, be equally fleeting. It seems to rest upon principles in political philosophy of a more stable nature. It is more bound to soil and locality by natural circumstances. The useful metals, coals, fire-power, water-power, harbours, easy transport by sea and land, a climate favourable to out-door labour in winter and summer, are advantages peculiar to certain districts of the earth, and are not to be forced by the power of capital into new localities. Markets may be established any where, but not manufactures. Human character also, in the large, is formed by human employment, and is only removable with it. The busy, active, industrious spirit of a population trained to quick work, and energetic exertion of every power, in the competition of a manufacturing country, is an unchangeable moral element in its national prosperity, founded upon productive industry. Look at an Englishman at his work, and at one of these Dutchmen, or at any other European man. It is no exaggeration to say, that one million of our working men do more work in a twelvemonth, act more, think more, get through more, produce more, live more as active beings in this world, than any three millions in Europe, in the same space of time ; and in this sense I hold it to be no vulgar exaggeration, that the Englishman is equal to three or to four of the men of any other country. Transplant these men to England ; and under the same impulse to exertion, and expeditious working habits, which quickens the English working class, they also would exceed their countrymen at home in productiveness. It is not in the human animal, but in the circumstances in which he is placed, that this most important element of national prosperity, this general habit of quick, energetic, persevering activity, resides ; and these circumstances, formed by nature, are not to be forced into any country, independently of natural agency, by mere dint of capital.

How little the mass of the people of the Seven United Provinces, the boors or peasants, or even the burgesses of the middle and lower classes, had been acted upon by the wealth and prosperity of the commercial class in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, may be seen in their dwellings, furniture, clothing, and enjoyments and habits of civilized life. These are all of the make, material, and age prior to the rise of the opulence and power of Holland—of the age of Queen Elizabeth—and have remained, unchanged and unimproved, until that power and opulence have fallen again to the level from which they rose.

A commercial class, an aristocracy of capitalists, numerous perhaps as a moneyed body, but nothing as a national mass, were alone acted upon by this commercial prosperity ; and when trade gradually removed to other countries, the Dutch capitalist, without changing his domicile, easily transferred his capital to where the use of it was wanted and profitable. Holland remains a country full of capitalists and paupers ; her wealth giving little employment, comparatively, to her own population in productive industry, and adding little to their prosperity, wellbeing, and habits of activity in producing and enjoying the objects of civilised life.

The difference of national mind, or character, in countries of which the wealth rests upon commerce, from that where it rests upon productive industry, is curiously brought out in the difference of their application to, and estimation of, the fine arts. In Italy and in Holland, the social condition of great commercial wealth, with comparatively little employment given by it to the mass of the people, called into existence painters, sculptors, architects ; furnished artists, and encouragement for them—that is, demand and taste for their works. It was the main outlet for the activity of the public mind, and for the excess of capital beyond what could be profitably engaged in commerce. But a national mind formed, like that of the English people, in the school of productive industry, seeks the shadow at least of utility, even in its most extravagant gratifications. Horses, hounds, carriages, a seat in parliament, yachts, gardens, pet-farms, are the objects in which great wealth in England indulges, much more frequently than in grand palaces, fine jewels, valuable paintings, delightful music, or other tastes connected with the fine arts. The turn of the public mind is decidedly towards the useful arts, for which all, high and low, have a taste differing not so much in kind, as in the means and scale of its gratification. Capital can be so much more extensively employed in reproduction in the useful arts, where a whole population has a taste for, and consumes their objects, that the excess to be invested in objects of the fine arts is surprisingly small in England, considering the vast amount and diffusion of her wealth. What is not useful, at least in appearance, is but lightly esteemed as an expenditure of money. A duke and his shoemaker, or tailor, or tenant, have precisely the same tastes, lay out their excess of capital in objects of the same nature, in gratifications of the same kind ; differing only in

cost, not in principle. Look, in England, into the tradesman's parlour, kitchen, garden, stable, way of living, amusements, and modes of gratification—all is in the same taste as the nobleman's: the same principle of utility runs through all. The cultivated or acquired tastes for the fine arts, for music, painting, sculpture, architecture, are little, if at all, more developed among the higher or wealthier classes, than among the middle or lower classes. England at this day, with ten thousand times the wealth, furnishes no such demand for, and supply of objects of the fine arts, as Florence, Genoa, or Holland did, in the days of their prosperity. Is this peculiar development of the national mind of the English people, this low appreciation and small social influence of the fine arts compared to the useful, among them, matter of just regret, as many amateurs consider it; or is it matter of just and enlightened exultation, that our social condition has advanced so far beyond that of any civilized people who have preceded us, that the tastes and gratifications which the few only of great wealth and great station in a community can cultivate and enjoy, are as nothing in the mass of intellectual and bodily employment which the many give, by the demands upon intellect, and industry, for their gratifications?

What, after all, is the real value, in the social condition of man, of the fine arts? Are they not too highly estimated—raised by prejudices inherited from a period of intellectual culture far behind our own, into a false importance? Do they contribute to the wellbeing, civilisation, and intellectuality of mankind, as much as the cultivation of the useful arts? Do they call into activity higher mental powers, or more of the moral qualities of human nature, than the useful arts? Is the painter, the sculptor, the musician, the theatrical performer, generally a more cultivated, more intellectual, more moral member of society, a man approaching nearer to the highest end and perfection of human nature, than the engineer, the mechanic, the manufacturer? Is Rome, the seat of the fine arts, upon a higher, or so high a grade, in all that distinguishes a civilized community, as Glasgow, Manchester, or Birmingham,—the seats of the useful arts? Are Scotland and the United States of America—without a good picture, a good statue, or a good palace within their bounds, and without more taste, feeling *or knowledge* in the fine arts, among the mass of the people, *than among* so many New Zealanders—very far below Italy, or *Bavaria*, with their fine arts, tastes, and artists, as moral and

intellectual communities of civilized men? Is a picture, a statue, or a building, so high an effort of the human powers, intellectual and physical, as a ship, a foundery, a cotton-mill, with all their complicated machineries and combinations? We give, in reality, an undue importance to the fine arts—reckon them important because they minister to the gratification, and are among the legitimate and proper enjoyments of kings and important personages; but, like the military profession, or the servile employments about a royal court, their importance is derivative only—is founded on prejudice or fashion, not on sound philosophic grounds. If the exercise of mental and physical power over inert matter for the advantage of man—if moral and physical improvement in our social condition be the standards by which the importance of human action and production should, in reason, be measured, (and to what other standard can they be applied?) the fine arts may descend from the pedestals on which the court literature of the age of Louis XIV. had placed them in France, and in the little imitative German courts, and range themselves in the rear of the modern applications of science and genius to the useful arts. Raffaele, Michael Angelo, Canova—immortal artists! sublime producers! what are ye in the sober estimation of reason? The Arkwrights, the Watts, the Davys, the thousands of scientific inventors and producers in the useful arts, in our age, must rank before you, as wielders of great intellectual powers for great social good. The exponent of the civilisation, and intellectual and social progress of man, is not a statue, but a steam-engine. The lisping amateur hopping about the saloons of the great, may prattle of taste, and refined feeling in music, sculpture, painting, as humanising influences in society, as effective means and distinguishing proofs of the diffusion of civilisation among mankind; but the plain, undeniable, knock-me down truth is, that the Glasgow manufacturer, whose printed cotton handkerchiefs the traveller Landers found adorning the woolly heads of negroes far in the interior of Africa, who had never seen a white human face, has done more for civilisation, has extended humanising influences more widely, than all the painters, sculptors, architects, and musicians of our age put together. Monstrous Vandalism, but true!

The Dutch are mostly caged in half-empty large towns, or villages. To live a town life in the country, or a country life in the town is the most insipid and unsatisfactory of all ways of passing

life. Except in pictures, and in the novelty and character of their home-scenery, which is often a Dutch picture in real, Holland and its inhabitants are, in fact, not attractive. The climate is damp, raw, and cold for eight months; hot and unwholesome for four. The Dutch people, eminently charitable and benevolent as a public, their country full of beneficent institutions admirably conducted and munificently supported, are as individuals somewhat rough, hard, and, although it be uncharitable to say so, uncharitable and unfeeling. We have, too, at home, our excellent benevolent men, who will subscribe their sovereign, or their twenty, to an hospital, house of refuge, or missionary or charitable society for the relief or instruction of the poor; but on principle withhold their penny from the shivering female on their door-steps, imploring alms for the pale, sickly infant in her arms. They are right on principle and consideration, quite right; but one is not particularly in love with such quite right people. The instinct of benevolence in the heart is worth a whole theory of such political economy in the head. Here, in Holland, the privations and misery of the poor are necessarily very severe, the labouring class having very little agricultural work to turn to, as the land is mostly under old grass for dairy husbandry; and even the inclosures, being wet ditches, not hedges or walls, require few annual repairs; no manufacturing employment of any consequence, and, in fact, no work, except the transport of goods from the seaports to the interior. Fuel, too, that greatest item next to food in a poor man's comfort, is scarce and dear, being principally of peat-mud scooped out of the bogs in the interior of the country, and baked in the sun like bricks. The centre of the province of Holland is excavated like a great lagoon, by the extraction of peat for ages. A small earthen dish of live embers, inclosed in a perforated wooden box, is carried about by the women of the poor, and even of the middle class; and when they sit down to work, is put under their petticoats, and is the principal firing in the winter life of the poor female. The effect of the scarcity of fuel, or of the economy of it, in the Dutch household, is visible in the usual costume of the working and middle classes. The proverbial multiplicity of the Dutchman's integuments of his nether man, and the tier above tier of petticoat which makes his bulky frow a *first-rate* under sail, are effects of the dearth of fuel in a raw, cold, damp clime.

In our manufacturing towns, the poor, however badly off

have more advantages in fuel, lodging, and occasional work produced by manufacturing establishments, than in towns of greater wealth arising from commerce, or from the fixed incomes of capitalists, landholders, and public functionaries. Edinburgh, for instance, is not a seat of manufactures. We see a wealthy or well-off upper class in it; a thriving, well-to-do middle class, living by their expenditure; and the class below, living by the family work and handicrafts required by the other two, not very ill off either; but dive to the bottom of society even in Edinburgh, where fuel and fish are cheap, and land work and building work not scarce, but on the contrary taking off much common labour at all seasons, you find the surplus of the labouring class, beyond what the other two classes regularly employ, in extreme distress from the want of manufactures on a great scale circulating employment around them. Now, Holland is just one such great city spread over a small country; and not a manufacturing city, but such a city of capitalists and of middle-class people living by their expenditure, but affording no labour to the lowest class—nothing but city work, as tradesmen, family servants, and porters, seamen, or bargemen. The two upper classes, and those they employ of the lower class, may be well enough off; but such employment is stationary, has no principle of an increase in it keeping pace, in some degree, with the growth of population; and the surplus who cannot find work in such a social body, is more wretched than in any other land.

After the peace of 1816, Holland was among the first countries in Europe that was obliged to grapple with a pauperism which threatened to subvert all social arrangements. She established poor colonies on some of the barren, sandy tracts of back country, above and behind the rich alluvial delta of the Rhine and Scheldt. In 1821, when Holland and Belgium united in one monarchy, were recovering from the unsettled idle state in which countries exposed to the agitations and vicissitudes of war are kept—and which is the greatest evil of war—the total population of the two was 5,715,347; and of these 753,218 persons, or 1 person nearly in every 7½ of the population, was supported by public charity. The proportion of this pauperism which belonged to Holland and Belgium, severally, is not mentioned; but from the very different social state of the two populations—that of Holland altogether commercial and agricultural, that of Belgium manufacturing as well as agricultural, and scarcely at all commercial



—it would have been interesting to have seen distinctly the effects of pauperism on the two distinct elements, commercial activity and manufacturing industry. The total pauperism appears to have exceeded, in 1821, the highest proportion of the population of England that was ever supported, wholly or in part, by poor rate. It is generally understood that 1 in 8 of the population was the greatest proportion in England, when poor rates were under no regulation, that ever received parochial relief. The rich alluvial delta which the Scheldt, the Rhine, with its branches, the Maese, the Waal, the Yssel, and many smaller waters, form around the great inlets of the sea, the Biesbos, the Zuyder Zee, and the Dollert, are bounded on the land side by a frame of barren sandy ground of very little elevation above the rich land—the richest soil, perhaps, to be found north of the Alps—which it adjoins, but of very different fertility. A stunted heath growing from a thin covering of peat earth which hides only in patches the rough sand and gravel, is the principal natural vegetation. In some spots, the pine exists rather than flourishes, and shallow pools are found in the hollows which have any soil in the bottom sufficiently tenacious to retain the rain-water. Unpromising as this land may appear for agricultural purposes, there is good reason for supposing that some of the best tracts of Flanders, and which now are the most fertile in the north of Europe, have originally been of the same quality. About Breda, and in many other districts, spots of the original land, untouched as yet by cultivation, remain visible as an encouragement to industry. But it is not an individual, nor a generation, that can reclaim a barren waste with advantage. Yet it may be done by the labour of many successive generations, applied without intermission to the same spot. Such improvement carries no profit with it. Capital is thrown away, and labour is not repaid for many generations, unless a scanty subsistence from the soil be a repayment for the labour of cultivating it. Yet, if the land be the labourer's own, he will put up with that recompense. Each succeeding generation is better off, by the gradual improvement of the soil from continued cultivation. The foot of man itself leaves fertility behind it; and the poorest inhabited spot is always superior to the waste around it, and always in proportion to the length of time it has been used. The basis of this improvement of the uncultivated land of a country is undoubtedly population settled as proprietors, and working on small garden-like portions, from generation to generation. Large

operations with outlay of capital, and hired labour, and the system of large farming, rarely succeed in reclaiming land, and still more rarely afford a real profit, even when attempted on single fields adjoining a cultivated large farm. The first operation in reclaiming land from a state of nature, is certainly to plant it with men.

The Dutch began, in 1818, to plant poor colonies in the barren tract behind the Zuyder Zee. A society of subscribers to a fund for the diminution of pauperism, aided by assistance from government, purchased an estate near Steenwyk, a small town in that tract of country, and commenced a poor colony, called Frederics-oort, with fifty-two families sent from different parishes which had subscribed to the fund. The whole cost 56,000 florins, or about £4650 sterling, and its extent was about 1200 acres, of which about 200 had been cultivated, or at least laid into the shape of fields. The poor quality of the land may be imagined from its price. Each family, consisting on an average of six persons of all ages, and settled on an allotment of seven acres, was found to cost in outfit, including the expense of their house, furniture, food, and seed for one year, clothing, flax, and wool for their spinning, land for their cultivating, and two cows, about 1700 florins, or £141, 10s. sterling; and in sixteen years the colonist was expected to repay this advance by the surplus production of his labour, besides maintaining his family. A strict system of co-operative and coercive labour, under discipline as in a penal workhouse, was established. The colonist worked by the piece under inspection of overseers, was paid by a ticket according to fixed rates for the different kinds of work, and the ticket was good for rations of food, or stores, at the shop or magazine of the society, delivered at fixed and moderate prices. The allotment of land was to become ultimately the colonist's own property when he had cleared the 1700 florins of advance; and, by good conduct and industry, he could obtain various indulgences and encouragements during the sixteen years which were required to clear that sum, according to the calculations of the society. The founder of this establishment was a Dutch officer, General Van der Bosh, who had seen in the East Indies, among the Chinese settlers in Java, the great agricultural results from the co-operative labour of small proprietors of land. With the people he had to deal—the paupers of town populations, with vice and idleness, as well as want and misery, in their social composition—he had to establish the arrangements and discipline, both as to rewards and punish-

ments, of a penal colony. Constant employment under overseers was the fundamental law. The free proprietorship of the land at the end of sixteen years was the ultimate reward ; and medals for good conduct, and indulgences in the liberty of going about, were minor intermediate rewards. The punishments were confinement and hard labour in a small town called Omme Schantz. The parishes which subscribed to the funds of the society 5100 guilders, or £425, had the privilege of sending three families or housekeepings, two of them consisting of six grown persons each, and the third of six orphans, or foundlings, not under six years of age, and a married couple with them to manage for the children. For the maintenance of each child, 60 guilders, or £5, was to be paid yearly. It appears that, in 1826, the poor colony at Wortel, near Antwerp, established on the same plan, contained 125 farms, and the managers of it had contracted to take 1000 paupers for 16 years, at 35 guilders, or 58s. 4d. sterling, per head yearly. In all, 20,000 persons were reckoned in 1826 in these poor colonies of Frederics-oort and Wortel.

The separation of Holland and Belgium was of course unfavourable to the progress of this great experiment on pauperism. I found, on visiting the pauper colony of Wortel, in 1841, that not one colonist had prospered so far as to repay the advance, according to the prospectus given out at its establishment in 1822; and that of 125 farms in cultivation in 1823, and 1000 paupers contracted for, only 21 families are now remaining. It may be thought that this Belgian division of the great experiment on pauperism, is scarcely to be taken as a fair example of its feasibility, because it has not received from the present Belgian government the same fostering aid and encouragement as it did, and as that of Frederics-oort still does from the former Dutch government, the scheme having been specially favoured and cherished by the late or ex-king of Holland.

But his schemes were not always the most judicious. This establishment at Wortel had the advantage of four years' experience of the system as carried on at Frederics-oort, which was established in 1818; it had the advantage of being established by Captain Van der Bosh, the son of the original proposer; it had the advantage, if any, of all the government aid from 1822 till the separation of Belgium and Holland; and it has since had the real, and, for the political economist, much greater advantage, of having been left by government to its own resources, to the efficacy of its own principles. It has proved a failure: the col-

nists who remain are, however, very far above pauperism. Their crops, houses, clothing, indicate very considerable prosperity ; but a good house which cost forty pounds sterling, seven acres of land, very barren to be sure, being mere sandy heath, but still capable of improvement, and requiring no draining, or clearing of rocks, roots, trees, or obstructions, are data upon which a pauper may well become rich for his station, if work also be found him for four days in the week, and paid for in rations of food, or in stores, and the other two days allowed him for working upon his own rent-free land. The question is, whether the work found for him by the public pays its cost, the wages paid for it either in rations of food, or in stores. The work consists in planting or cutting down trees ; in fencing and preparing land for cultivation ; in cultivating the land which, in part at least, is to furnish the paupers themselves with rations for their own subsistence ; and also as in-door employment, in spinning, weaving, and manufacturing all that is used, or issued in the colony. Poor-rate and workhouse labour applied in this way is undoubtedly a better general system, than if they are applied to the supply of the ordinary markets of a country, with the same articles which give employment to the classes who are but just one step above pauperism. If every workhouse or poorhouse in the kingdom maintained itself by the value and sale of the work of its inmates, in shoemaking, weaving, rope-making, and such ordinary crafts as are carried on in workhouses, the system would just drive so much unaided, independent industry, into the poor-house : for the single unaided tradesman, with house-rent, fuel, light, cost of raw materials of his product, and risk of its sale, all against him, could not stand against the competition of such assisted pauper-work. It is a wise principle, therefore, and in so far this pauper colony has been well considered, to apply pauper or penal labour only to the production of what the pauper or convict establishment consumes within itself. In the same barren tract of sandy heath in which the pauper colony of Wortel is established, there is a penal colony of about 600 convicts. They are worked under overseers, like all convict gangs, but in farm work, and producing their own necessities, and they thus raise some portion, at least, of their own food and clothing. It does not appear that escape is frequent ; and classification by separate working gangs, in this out-door work, of which all are capable, may be obtained without seclusion.

*The crops of rye, clover, flax, potatoes, buckwheat, raised on*

this barren land, both in the penal and in the pauper colony at Wortel, are very fine; and when one sees the miserable, sandy, sterile heath land, out of which these fertile spots have been created, foot by foot, as it were, by the most minute labour, and the most careful manuring, the ultimate failure with us of almost every attempt to bring such barren wastes into fertility, by grand applications of labour and capital to a large area at once, is easily accounted for. The repetition of work on the same spot, the exposure of it by repeated turnings to the influence of the atmosphere, the admixture of manure almost by hand, with every particle of the raw, barren soil, are operations which even capital cannot command, and which hired work upon the large scale cannot profitably accomplish. It is the time only, and that time not valued, of the small proprietor, which can fertilise, bit by bit, such land. It is, in one view, certainly not a profitable application of time and labour. They are not repaid in money or other value within any moderate time. In another view, it is profitable; the man who would be a pauper, feeds himself by his time and labour and adds a little, however little, to the perpetual productiveness of his little farm.

This land of flowers and of frogs is marvellously ill-adapted for the bed of royalty. Kingly government, a court, and nobility are not in harmony with the character, habits, tastes, manners, ways of thinking and living, and established social economy of this commercial, counting-house population who for ages have been strangers to conventional rank and influence, either hereditary, military, or literary, or to any other social distinction than what a man acquires for himself on 'Change. Such property and influence are too variable in society to be a secure basis for kingly power. They owe nothing to it. Competition, dissension, union, and change, enter also more into them than into the element of landed property, which seems to be the only stable basis for monarchical government. Men who have acquired their own personal property and social weight, submit unwillingly to irresponsible royal management; and a public bred, individually to guide their own affairs, will not sit passive, and see them guided by a king and cabinet. They scrutinise too rigidly, perhaps, the royal doings, and have too little respect for royal dignity. The ex-king of Holland landed at Schevening, in 1813, with his port-manteau, and a bunch of orange ribands at his breast. His majesty retired from business in 1841, the richest individual in Europe, worth, it is said, above twenty millions of pounds sterling.

The recognition by law of 14th May, 1814, of all the old and forgotten state debts or obligations of Holland, was the origin of this enormous wealth. These old state paper debts were considered to be as worthless as the assignats of the French Republic, and until their acknowledgment in 1814, were sold for a small value. By the stock-jobbing with the syndicates for paying off these state obligations from 1822-1830, and by the establishment of the Bank of Brussels, of which his majesty was a principal stockholder, immense sums were gained. Besides, the exclusive management of the revenues of the East India colonies, without any obligation to render accounts of it, was, by a questionable interpretation of the 60th article of the Ground Law of the kingdom of the Netherlands, held to belong to, and was exercised by, the sovereign. In a trading country like Holland, and an exhausted country with a population of only 2,700,000 people, and a debt of 1129 millions of guilders bearing interest, and of 316 millions of old debt gradually to be redeemed, in short with a taxation which cannot be pushed above  $52\frac{1}{2}$  millions, and a yearly expenditure of 72,183,500 guilders to provide for; the accumulation of wealth of such an enormous amount by the head of the state, as a private man, is looked upon with no very dutiful eye. It cannot be concealed, that the monarchical principle has been seriously injured in Holland, Sweden, and France, by the money-making, stock-jobbing propensities of the sovereigns. A king, in these censorious times, cannot turn an honest penny in trade, or stock-jobbing, like another man, without losing that isolation from all private interests and feelings which is the essential in the royal position, and the main support of the monarchical principle in the human mind. In many branches of trade "one man's gain is another man's loss," according to the apprehension of the public; and where this relation steps in between king and people—the king the gainer, the people the loser—the prestige of loyalty to the millionaire-monarch is gone. He is but a Rothschild on the throne. In Holland, where material interests have long been predominant, and are well understood, the successful application of their ex-king to his private material interests has not added to the real power or stability of the throne.

The total separation of Holland and Belgium was a false step for the welfare of both. They should have divorced each other, the two little countries, from bed and board only. The one country is necessary to the other, and neither has the means to support a distinct housekeeping. Holland has capital, commerce,



and magnificent colonies, but has nothing of her own manufacturing to send to her colonies, no productions of her own industry to exchange with their industry, no commerce in any products of her own. Belgium has manufacturing industry, and the raw materials on which it works, coal-fields, iron-works, and many productive capabilities; but has no colonies, no outlets, no markets, no ships, no commerce. With the Prussian manufacturing provinces on the land side, England on the sea side, and no shipping or seaports but two, Antwerp and Ostend, and no free river trade even to the consumers on the continent behind her, Belgium is like the rich man in the fable, shut up with his treasures in his own secret closet, and starving to death in the midst of his gold, because he cannot unlock the door. These two little states will come together again before a hundred years go over their heads—not as one monarchy, for both want the foundation in their social structure for monarchical government to stand upon—but as two independent states federally united under one general government, like the United States of America, or the Swiss cantons.

The principle of federalism has not been sufficiently examined by political philosophers. Theoretically, it is better adapted to the wants of man in society, than the principle of great monarchical dominions under a sole central government, wheresoever the physical or moral interests of the governed are discordant, wheresoever the rights and advantages of one mass of population, their prosperity, industry, well-being, property, natural benefits of soil, situation, and climate, their manners, language, religion, nationality in spirit or prejudice, are set aside, and sacrificed to those of another mass. In almost all extensive monarchies this must be the case, from the centralisation inseparable from that species of general government. Federalism seems a more natural and just principle of general government, theoretically considered, than this forced centralisation. No rights or advantages of any of the parts are sacrificed in federalism, for nothing is centralised but what is necessary for the external defence, safety, and welfare of all the parts. The peculiar internal welfare of each part, according to its own peculiar internal circumstances, physical and moral, according to its own political idiosyncrasy, is in its own keeping, in its own internal legislative and administrative powers. As civilisation, peace, and industry acquire an influence in the *affairs of mankind*, which the individual ambition of a sovereign, or the ignorance and evil passions of a ministry, will not back

lowed to shake, the superiority of small independent states federally united, each extending over such territory, or masses of society only, as can be governed together, without the sacrifice of one part to another, and each interested in the general civilisation, peace, and industry, will probably be acknowledged by all civilised populations. Junctions morally or physically discordant, as that of Belgium and Holland, Austria and Lombardy, districts and populations on the Vistula and Niemen, with districts and populations on the Rhine and Moselle, are political arrangements which lack any principle of permanency founded upon their benefits to the governed. Nature forbids, by the unalterable differences of soil, climate, situation, and natural advantages of country, or by the equally unalterable moral differences between people and people, that one government can equally serve all—be equally suited to promote the utmost good of all. Federalism involves a principle more akin to natural, free, and beneficial legislation, and to the improvement of the social condition of man, than governments in single extensive states, holding legislative and executive powers over distant and distinct countries and populations, whether such governments be constitutional or despotic. It is much more likely to be the future progress of society, that Europe, in the course of time, civilisation, and the increasing influence of public opinion on all public affairs, will resolve itself into one great federal union of many states, of extent suitable to their moral and physical peculiarities, like the union of the American states, than that those American states will, in the course of time and civilisation, fall back into separate, unconnected, and hostile monarchies and aristocracies, which some modern travellers in America assure us is their inevitable doom. With all respect for their gifts of prophecy, the tendency of human affairs is not to retrograde towards the old, but to advance towards the new, towards a higher physical, moral, and religious condition; towards forms of government in which the interests of the people shall be directed by the people, and for the people. Moral and intellectual power is leavening the whole mass, and not merely the upper crust of European society.

## CHAPTER II.

**FRANCE—FACE OF THE COUNTRY.—OF ENGLAND—OLD SUBDIVISION OF LAND IN ENGLAND.—GREAT SOCIAL EXPERIMENT IN FRANCE—ABOLITION OF PRIMOGENITURE.—OPINIONS OF ARTHUR YOUNG—MR. BIRBECK—EDINBURGH REVIEWERS—DR. CHALMERS, REVIEWED.—EFFECTS OF THE DIVISION OF LAND IN FRANCE EXAMINED.—FRENCH CHARACTER—MORALS—HONESTY—DECIMAL DIVISION OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, WHY NOT POPULAR.**

THE traveller should either know a great deal about the country he is going to visit, or nothing at all ; and perhaps his reader would find themselves better off with his ignorance than his knowledge. He is very apt to shut one eye, and look with the other through a coloured glass which he has been at great pain to stain with the opinions and prejudices of other people, and which gives its own hue to every thing he sees through it. In politics, political economy, and the fine arts, most people can only see through their neighbours' spectacles. In France it is particularly difficult to exert the rare faculty of seeing through one's own eyes. France is a moral volcano which has shaken to the ground ancient social structures, laws, governments, and the very ideas, principles, or prejudices which supported them. Who of this generation can approach the crater of such mighty movements, and conscientiously say, that he is able to examine them calmly, philosophically, without preconceived theories, or speculations upon their causes or tendencies ? Every reflecting traveller admits that the great elements of change in the social condition of Europe which were thrown out by the French revolution, are only now beginning to work powerfully ; that the most important and permanent of its results have been moral, not political ; that in reality the French revolution is but in its commencement, as a great social movement. So far all observers of the times we live in travel together : but here they diverge. Each observes the agencies brought into operation upon the mass of the European people by the French revolution, through the distorting medium of the opinions and prejudices of his own country, class, or social position as an individual, and reasons and prophecies only upon the shapes and colours which he sees through this false medium. Am I in a condition to see with clearer eyes ? I doubt it. I do not profess it.

The traveller in France finds much to observe, but little to describe. The landscape is a wearisome expanse of tillage land, unvaried by hill and dale, stream and lake, rock and wood land. The towns and villages are squatting in the plains, like stranger beggar women tired of wandering in an unknown land. No suburbs of connected rows of houses and gardens, and of lanes dotted with buildings, trees, and brick walls, stretch, as in England, like feelers into the country, fastening the towns to it by so many lines, that the traveller is in doubt where country ends, and town begins. Here, the towns and villages are distinct, round, inhabited patches upon the face of the land, just as they are represented upon a map: and the flat monotonous surface of the map is no uncharacteristic sketch of the appearance of the country. La belle France, in truth, is a Calmuc beauty; her flat pancake of a face destitute of feature, of projection or dimple, and not even tattooed with lines and cross lines of hedges, walls, and ditches. This wide unhedged expanse of corn land on either hand, without divisions, or enclosures, or pasture fields, or old trees, single or in groups, is supremely tiresome. The traveller at once admits that France has a natural claim to the word which all other countries have borrowed from her ennui.

The green network of hedges spread over the face of England, that peculiar charm of English land, must have been formed at some very peculiar period in the history of the English people. It must have been the work of a nation of small proprietors long employed upon it. We view it as an embellishment only, and frequently as an incumbrance, rather than a convenience in husbandry; but it is a memorial of an extinct social condition, different from the present, which has prevailed in some former and distant age in England. This subdivision of the land into small portions by permanent hedges and mounds of earth, is almost peculiar to England. In Scotland, in France, in Germany, in all European countries in which the feudal system gave the original law and tenure of land, no small properties fenced all round from each other have existed of old, unless, it may be, in a few small localities. In England, the history of society and property is written upon the face of the country. This immense work, unexampled in extent in any other country, must have been executed in the 600 years between the final departure of the Romans and the Norman conquest. The open unenclosed surface of those districts of France which belonged to

the earlier kings of our Norman line, shows that in the state of the possession of landed property in those provinces in their time, no subdivisions by numerous small permanent enclosures had ever been required or formed. The small enclosures in England must have been made in a different state of society, before the Norman conquest, yet probably after the Romans left the country. No country occupied by the Romans shows any such traces of subdivision among a small proprietary. The Roman occupation of Britain was altogether military; and such a body of small proprietary would have been adverse in a civil view, and their separate strong enclosures upon the face of the country obstructive in a military view, to the Roman power. The Saxons and Danes—one people in the principles of their laws, institutions, and languages, although in different states of civilisation—must have woven this immense veil over the face of the land during the six centuries they possessed England, under a social arrangement altogether different from the present; one in which their law of partition of property, among all the children, excluding the feudal principle of primogeniture, would produce this subdivision of the land into small distinct fields.

France is now, by the abolition of the feudal tenure of land and of the law of primogeniture, recommencing a state of society which was extinguished in England by the Norman conquest, and the laws of succession adopted from that period. France is in the midst of a great social experiment. Its results upon civilisation can only be guessed at now, and will only be distinctly seen, perhaps, after the lapse of ages. The opinions of all our political economists are adverse to it. Listen to the groans of the most acute observers of our days, on the appalling consequences of this division of landed property. Says Arthur Young, in 1789 (consequently before the sale of the national domains, crown and church estates, and confiscated estates of the noblesse, and before the law of the partition of property among all the children became obligatory on all classes of the community,) "Small properties, much divided, prove the greatest source of misery that can possibly be conceived, and has operated to such a degree and extent in France, that a law ought certainly to be made to render all division below a certain number of arpens illegal." Arthur Young wrote this just about fifty years ago, and a few months only before a law was passed directly opposed to the principle he recommends—the law abolishing the rights of primogeniture, and making the division

of property among all the children obligatory ; and which law has been ever since, that is, for nearly half a century, in general and uninterrupted operation. Listen, again, to Mr. Birbeck, a traveller of no ordinary sagacity. "Poor," says he, of the French people under this law, "from generation to generation, and growing continually poorer as they increase in numbers,—in the country, by the incessant division and subdivision of property ; in the towns, by the division and subdivision of trades and professions, such a people, instead of proceeding from the necessities to the comforts of life, and then to the luxuries, as is the condition of things in England, are rather retrograde than progressive. There is no advancement in French society, no improvement, no hope of it." Hear, too, the chirp of Mr. Peter Paul Cobbet, in his ride through France. "Here, in Normandy, great lamentation on account of this revolutionary law. They tell me it has dispersed thousands upon thousands of families who had been upon the same spot for centuries." Listen, too, to the thunders of the *Edinburgh Review*. "In no country of Europe is there such a vast body of proprietors (one half of the population of France is stated in the preceding paragraph to be proprietors,) and in no civilised European country, with the exception of Ireland, is there so large a proportion of the population (stated to be two-thirds) engaged directly in the cultivation, or rather, we should say, in the torture of the soil. And yet the system is but in its infancy. Should it be supported for another half century, *la grande nation* will certainly be the greatest pauper warren in Europe, and will, along with Ireland, have the honour of furnishing hewers of wood and drawers of water, for all other countries in the world." Alas, for human wisdom ! Alas, for the predictions of Arthur Young, Mr Birbeck, and the *Edinburgh Review* ! But who can be a prophet at home ? Not that their prophecies were undervalued at home ; but their home-made prophecies were of no value—were framed upon narrow local views, and prejudices. When new social arrangements, diametrically opposed in principle and spirit to the feudal, grew up, and unfolded themselves, first in America and afterwards in France, and gradually spread from thence over great part of the present Prussia, the feudalised minds of our Scotch political economists were lavish in their predictions of the degradation, misery, and barbarism which must inevitably ensue among that portion of the human race who were so unfortunate as to adopt the dictates of nature



and reason in their legislation on property and social rank, instead of adhering to conventional and barbarous laws, and institutions, derived from the darkest period of the middle ages.

If natural affection, humanity, reason, religion—if all that distinguishes man from the brute creation—speak more clearly in the human breast on the obligation of one duty than of another, it is on that of the parent providing equally according to his means for all the beings he has brought into existence and added to society; leaving none of them to want and distress if he can help it, or to chance for a precarious subsistence, or to be supported by his neighbours out of their alms, as paupers, or out of their taxes, as useless functionaries, or by uncertain dependence upon employment and bread from others. Is not this a moral and religious duty? Is it not the clearest duty of the parent, not only to the offspring he has brought into existence, but to the social body of which he and they are members? Can any argument of expediency, drawn from our artificial state of society under the feudal system and feudal law of succession to property, and of the advantages of that system, turn away the natural sentiments of men from this great moral duty to their own offspring? from this great moral duty to the rest of society? Yet listen to the morality and political economy taught lately in no obscure corner, and to no uninfluential pupils, but from the Divinity chair of the University of Edinburgh, to the young men who were to go forth, and are now, the religious and moral instructors of the people in the established church of Scotland. “We know,” says Dr. Chalmers, in his *Political Economy in connection with the Moral State and Moral Prospects of Society*, being the substance of a course of lectures delivered to the students of the Theological Hall in Edinburgh,—“We know,” says this distinguished philosopher, “that there is a mighty force of sentiment and natural affection arrayed against the law of primogeniture. But here is the way in which we would appease these feelings, and make compensation for the violence done to them. We would make no inroad on the integrity of estates, or, for the sake of a second brother, take off to the extent of a thousand a year from that domain of ten thousand a year which devolved by succession on the eldest son of the family. We should think it vastly better, if, by means of a liberal provision in all the branches of the public service, a place of a thousand a year by

open to the younger son, whether in the law, or in the church, or in colleges, or in any other well-appointed establishment kept up for the good and interest of the nation."

Will the teachers, or the taught, of this new school of morality and political economy in the Theological Hall of Edinburgh, explain the moral principle on which they recommend the getting rid of "a mighty force of sentiment and natural affection," and "the appeasing those feelings, and making compensation for the violence done to them, by places of a thousand a year," or by any other pecuniary compensation in the public service? The "mighty force of sentiment and natural affection," the "feelings to be appeased and compensated for the violence done them" by places in the church, or the law, or in colleges, or some other well-appointed establishment, are nothing less sacred, or of less moral value, than the paternal affection and the moral sentiment of justice to others, urging on the feelings of the parent to provide equally for each of his children to the utmost of his means; and dictating to him, as a man, the moral duty to his fellow men of not imposing upon them the burden of maintaining his progeny, either as paupers, or as superfluous public functionaries, if he has property to maintain them himself. Will the teachers, or the taught, of this new school of moral and political philosophy in the University of Edinburgh explain the moral, religious, or philosophical principle of this "appeasing and compensating" for the sacrifice of natural affection, moral feeling, and sentiment of duty, by places in the church, or the law, or in any other well-appointed establishments? They are not in the position of ordinary men speaking or writing speculatively on morals, and responsible only as idle and uninfluential philosophers, or political writers, for the errors of their speculations. The men who are the professional teachers of the people in morals and religion, are bound to hold none but the clearest and purest doctrines—to teach, and to be taught, nothing obscure or doubtful in political, moral, or religious science. The feudal system with its corner-stone, the law of primogeniture, may be a very good or very expedient system; but it is admitted by themselves to be an artificial arrangement of society and property, not established or upheld in the human mind by nature or religion, but, on the contrary, one against which "there is a mighty force of sentiment and natural affection arrayed." Will they explain the moral principle of their doctrine, that the most virtuous feelings in our nature—the

mighty force of natural affection for our children, and the mighty force of the sentiment of justice to our fellow-men—should be sacrificed to support an artificial system or arrangement of society, be that system or arrangement ever so expedient or beneficial? Will they explain the moral principle upon which they recommend “the appeasing those natural feelings of affection and moral duty, and the compensating for the violence done to them,” by an appointment of a thousand a year, or by any other pecuniary compensation? Will they explain the moral difference between the conduct of the owner of a domain of ten thousand a year, who leaves it all to his eldest son, and leaves his younger son to be provided for by his neighbours out of their taxes, in some appointment of a thousand a year in the church, or the law, or in any other public establishment—which is the case propounded and recommended by them—and the conduct of the wretched female who exposes her new-born babe on her neighbour’s door-step to be provided for out of his means? The moral guilt of the latter, driven by want and misery to abandon the infant she is unable to maintain, appears to all men whose moral sense has not been cultivated at the Theological Hall of the University of Edinburgh, infinitely less than that of the man of ten thousand a year, who abandons his younger children to the support of the public, in order to leave all his estate to the eldest son. Will they explain the moral grounds of their teaching, that the abandonment of his parental and social duties to his offspring, and to his fellow-men, is a laudable act in the case of the rich domain owner, and the same abandonment an immoral and criminal act in the case of the wretched strumpet? They are the teachers of the people of Scotland, whose principles of moral and political philosophy, as laid down in their own text-book, are here arraigned, and they ought to satisfy every doubt that is suggested to the public mind, either of the moral purity or of the philosophical correctness of their speculations. Will they explain the principle and justice of their political economy on this subject, and also its working and effects on society? If the owner of a domain of ten thousand a year is morally, and for the general benefit of society, entitled to a provision of a thousand a year for his younger son from the rest of the community—for they, the rest, pay with their taxes the appointments in the law, the church, and all other branches of public service, which it is proposed and recommended to establish for the benefit of the younger sons of those rich per-

pers, and as a compensation to the latter for having stifled their natural affections as parents, and their sense of duty to their fellow-men—that younger son must be equally entitled to a provision for his younger son ; for he too has natural affection and a moral sense to stifle, and to be compensated for. How long, to what extent, and with what effect on the wellbeing of society is this clerical system of political economy to work, by which the property of all is to be devoted to the subsistence, in highly paid offices, of a part of the community ? Will they also explain if all those younger sons of domain owners, thus to be provided for *ad infinitum* at the public expense, in order to enable and encourage wealthy parents to stifle the feelings of natural affection and social duty, and leave undiminished their domains of ten thousand a year to their eldest sons, are all to be born with the necessary qualifications for those liberal appointments in the church, or in the law, or in the public service, which it is proposed to establish for their subsistence ? Are they, for instance, to be born clergymen of the church of Scotland, with all the talents and acquirements needful, or are they only to bring into the world with them all the learning and divinity necessary, but are to acquire their principles of moral philosophy and political economy at the Theological Hall of the University of Edinburgh ?

It is the duty of every inquirer into political and social economy to raise his voice against such attempts to educate a people into the support of any social or political system founded on mere expediency, not upon moral principle ; and which is not the only social arrangement among civilised men, nor proved by reasoning, or experience, to be incontrovertibly the best for the general wellbeing of a community. This is perverting education to the most despicable end—the support of a political system. Other social arrangements than the feudal do exist in civilised countries. Religion, morality, and social wellbeing flourish in those countries, as well as in the countries feudally constituted. To enlist the passions or prejudices of mankind by education into a partisanship for one or the other constitution of society, to inculcate the sacrifice of moral duty, of natural sentiment, of the highest affections and feelings of human beings, for the support of one or the other social arrangement on account of its real or supposed expediency, is unsound doctrine.

The condition of Ireland, divided and subdivided among a small *tenantry*, whose savings, be it remembered, by wretched

diet, lodging, and raiment, and the privation of every comfort of civilised life, is a saving which goes in the shape of high rent into the pockets of another class, the landowners, not into their own pockets, as the gains of their frugality, to be added to their property, or means of expenditure, was, and still is, the grand bugbear of our Scotch political economists, and still furnishes the main argument against the distribution of landed property through the social body, by the natural and moral law of succession. They did not, and do not at present consider the somewhat important difference of people being the owners or not the owners of the land divided. The belly is too faithful, a counsellor to the head, to allow a man to sit down to live upon a piece of land of his own, if it be not large enough to support him in the way he has been accustomed to live. He turns his property into another shape—into money, and makes a living out of it as a tradesman. Between the condition of such a landowner, and an Irish cottar-tenant, there is the important difference, that the former has a capital which he may keep in land, or invest in leather or sugar; he may be a peasant, or a shoemaker, or a grocer, according to his judgment, and if he lives merely upon potatoes and water, what he spares is increasing his capital, and means of gratification in some other shape. The Irish cottar-tenant has no property to begin with, in the land or in any thing else. He is, and his whole class, in consequence of the working of the law of primogeniture in society, pauper *ab initio*; and all that is spared by his inferior condition, in respect of the comforts and necessities of life, goes into his landlord's pocket, in the shape of rent, not into his own as the savings of his own prudence and frugality. He is also placed in a false position by the landholders of Ireland, even as compared to the cottar-tenantry which existed formerly, all over Scotland, and still continue in the northern counties. The latter were generally charged a rent in kind, that is, in a proportion of the crops produced, or with a reference to the average crops of the land. The peasant could understand the simple data before him, knew at once whether the land could produce enough to feed his family and leave a surplus such as was demanded for rent, and, if not, he sought a living in some other employment. His standard of living was not deteriorated by his rent in kind, because he had a clearly seen surplus of the best as well as of the worst of the products of his farm for family consumption, after paying the portion of *these* products that were his rent. The Irish small tenantry, on

contrary, have to pay for their land in money. It would be just as reasonable to make them pay for their land in French dresses for the squire, or Parisian dresses for the lady. Their land produces neither gold, nor silver, nor Irish bank-notes. It is not reasonable to make the peasant, the ignorant man, pay in these commodities—they are but commodities like wines and silks, and to make men, simple, inexperienced in trade, and a prey to market-jobbers, to run the double mercantile risk of selling their commodities, and buying those in which their landlords choose to be paid their rents. The great capitalist-farmer may choose to change the trade of the corn-merchant to that of the agriculturist, and make the mercantile as well as the agricultural risks and profits his own; but even the shrewdest of this class, the great farmers of the south of Scotland, are dropping, as fast as they can, this mercantile branch of farming business, and coming back to the original principle of farming, that of paying for their land a proportion of what the land produces, so many bolls of grain per acre—throwing upon the laird the risk which, in reason and common-sense, ought to devolve upon him, that of turning his share of the produce raised by the farmer's labour, skill, and talent, out of his acres, into gold or bank-bills.

Money rent deteriorates the condition of a small tenant in two ways. The more honestly he is inclined, the more poorly and simply he must live. He must sell all his best produce, his corn, his butter, his flax, his pig, and subsist upon the meanest food, his worst potatoes and water, to make sure of money for rent. It thus deteriorates his standard of living. He is also led by money-rent out of the path of certainty into that of chance. It thus deteriorates his moral condition. Ask him six shillings of oats, or barley, or six stones of butter, or flax, for an acre of land which never produced four, and his common-sense and experience guides him. He sees and comprehends the whole data before him, knows from his experience that such a crop cannot be raised, such a rent cannot be afforded, and he is off to England or America to seek a living. But ask him six guineas an acre for a piece of land, proportionably as much over-rented as the other, and he trusts to chance, to accident, to high market prices, to odd jobs of work turning up, to summer or harvest drought out of the country—in short, he does not know to what; he is placed in a false position, made to depend upon chance markets, and on mercantile success and profits, as much as on industry and skill in working his little farm.



In all those respects the condition of the small tenant, and that of the small proprietor, are so totally different, that our political economists reason upon false data, when they conclude that a country divided among small proprietors must necessarily present, or fall into, the same evils in the social condition of the people, as a country occupied by a small over-rented tenantry.

They set out, also, in their speculations, with a false axiom. They admit that a certainty of subsistence—food, fuel, clothing, and lodging, being all comprehended under this term, subsistence—is the first and greatest good in the physical condition of an individual or of a society; and they assume it as an axiom, that those parts of a social body, those individuals or classes, who are employed in producing articles of general use or desire among men—to put the case in the strongest light, say blacksmiths, tailors, shoemakers, and such classes as produce articles which every individual in the community requires and uses,—are as near to this first and greatest good of a certain subsistence by their work, as those immediately employed in its production by husbandry. Now this may be true, where husbandry is a manufacture, as with us in Britain, for producing by hired labourers the greatest quantity possible of grain, meat, and other products out of the soil, to be exchanged against the products of other branches of industry. It may be true that the hired labourers of the manufacturer of corn from land are no nearer to a certainty of subsistence than the hired labourers of the manufacturer of cloth or leather. But it is not true, where husbandry is followed as in France, and in the countries divided among a small proprietary, for the sake of subsisting the husbandman himself, the actual labourer on the land, as its first object; and where the exchanging its products for other articles, even of general use and necessity, is but a secondary object. A man will not give up his needful food, fuel, clothing, or lodging, to gratify even his real and most pressing wants of iron-work, leather-work, or cloth-work. His surplus only will be applied to acquiring those secondary necessities of life; and those who live by making them are, consequently, far from being so near to that first good in social condition, a certain subsistence, as he is. But if two-thirds of the population of a country be in the situation of this individual, who has his certain subsistence out of his own land, by his own labour, and depends upon no man's surplus for his own needful food, fuel, clothing, and lodging, I take that to be a good state of society, a better arrangement of the

social structure, than where needful subsistence is not certain to the great majority of its numbers. It carries, moreover, within itself, a check upon over-population, and the consequent deterioration of the social condition, and which is totally wanting in the other social system. In even the most useful and necessary arts and manufactures, the demand for labourers is not a seen, known, steady, and appreciable demand; but it is so in husbandry under this social construction. The labour to be done, the subsistence that labour will produce out of his portion of land, are seen and known elements in a man's calculation upon his means of subsistence. Can his square of land, or can it not, subsist a family? Can he marry, or not? are questions which every man can answer without delay, doubt, or speculation. It is the depending on chance, where judgment has nothing clearly set before it, that causes reckless, improvident marriages in the lower, as in the higher classes, and produces among us the evils of over-population: and chance necessarily enters into every man's calculations, when certainty is removed altogether; as it is, where certain subsistence is, by our distribution of property, the lot of but a small portion, instead of about two-thirds of the people.

Another axiom taken up as granted, and as quite undeniable, by our agriculturists and political economists, is, that small farms are incompatible with a high or perfect state of cultivation in a country. In the same breath they recommend a garden-like cultivation of the land. Pray what is a garden but a small farm? and what do they recommend, but that a large farm should be, as nearly as possible, brought into the state of cultivation and productiveness of a garden or small farm? This can only be done, they tell us, by the application of large capitals, such as small farmers cannot command, to agriculture: let us reduce these grand words to their proper value. Capital signifies the means of purchasing labour; the application of capital to agriculture means the application of labour to land. A man's own labour, as far as it goes, is as good as any he can buy, nay, a great deal better, because it is attended by a perpetual overseer—his self-interest—watching that it is not wasted or misapplied. If this labour be applied to a suitable, not too large, nor too small, area of soil, it is capital applied to land, and the best kind of capital, and applied in the best way to a garden-like cultivation. A garden is better dug, and manured, and weeded, and drained, and is proportionably far more pro-

ductive than a large farm, because more toil and labour, that is, more capital is bestowed upon it, in proportion to its area. A small farm, held not by the temporary right of a tenant, and under the burden of a heavy rent, but by the owner of the soil, and cultivated by the labour of his family, is precisely the principle of gardening applied to farming ; and in the countries in which land has long been occupied and cultivated in small farms by the owners—in Tuscany, Switzerland, and Flanders—the garden-like cultivation and productiveness of the soil are cried up by those very agriculturists and political economists, who cry down the means, the only means, by which it can be attained universally in a country—the division of the land into small, garden-like estates, farmed by the proprietors. It is possible that the family of the small proprietor-farmer consume almost all that they produce, and have very little surplus to send to market ; but that merely affects the proportions of the population engaged in producing food, and in producing objects to be exchanged for food. The produce supports the same number of human beings—every potatoe finds a mouth—whether the whole of it belongs to one man, who sells it for the labour and productions of the rest of the number, or belongs in small portions to the whole. The traveller who considers the prices, supplies, and varieties of agricultural food in the market towns in Flanders, France, Switzerland, and the liberal use, or, more correctly, the abundance and waste in the cooking and housekeeping of all classes in those countries, will scarcely admit even, that in proportion to the number of the whole community not engaged in husbandry, a smaller surplus for their consumpt is sent to market by the small farmers. It cannot be denied that a minute division of the land into small, free, garden-like properties, seems, *à priori*, more favourable to a garden-like cultivation of a country than its division into vast baronial estates, and the sub-division of these into extensive farms, on which the actual husbandmen, as a class, are but hired labourers, having no interest in the productions of the soil, and no object in their work but to get the day over.

How stand the statistical facts that bear upon this important question ? It is stated by Dupin, that the amount of arable land at present in France is but little more than it was in 1789, but that the population is increased by about eight millions ; and in consequence of the division of property by the law of succession, that one-half of the whole population are proprietors,

and, counting their families, two-thirds of the whole are engaged in the direct cultivation of the soil. It will not be said by the most strenuous advocate of those feudal arrangements of society which the French revolution annihilated in France, that the French people now are worse fed, worse clothed, worse lodged, or less generally provided with the necessaries, comforts, and luxuries of life, than they were before 1789, before the revolution, when Arthur Young described the wretched condition of the people. The imports and consumpt of the tropical products in France prove how superior, beyond all comparison, is the present state of the people. Now, how is this additional population of eight millions of individuals fed from the same extent of arable land, if not by their superior cultivation of that land? The same extent of arable land is supporting about one-third more people—for the population of France was then reckoned about 25 millions, and now about 33 millions—and in greater abundance and comfort. How is this, if the land is not in a more productive cultivation, under the present division into small properties? It is evident from the statistical facts, that without any noticeable improvement in the modes, rotations, or utensils of husbandry, the mere subdivision of the area to which labour is applied into small-property-farms, cultivated in a garden-like way, and the converting the labour formerly applied to the same area, from hired labour, or perhaps unpaid labour of serfs, into the labour of proprietors working on their own land, are sufficient to account for a more garden-like cultivation and productiveness of the same extent of arable land. Two generations of adults, or fifty years, have passed away under the deteriorating effects of the partition of land, denounced by Arthur Young, in 1789, as even then, “the greatest source of misery that can be conceived.” This greatest conceivable source of misery has not diminished the population, nor made it more miserable. This partition and repartition of land has not reduced all estates to one minimum size, like an Irish cottar’s acre. Estates of all sizes and values, from £500 to £50,000 in price, are to be found on sale in France, as in England. The aggregation of land by deaths of co-relatives, balances the partition of land by deaths of parents. The application even of great capitals, and scientific skill to objects of husbandry, has not been impeded by this partition of land. The capital, for example, laid out in France in establishments for making beet-root sugar, is *greater, perhaps, than* has been laid out in Britain.

during the same period, on any one agricultural object. The thing itself, the making sugar from beet-root, as an agricultural operation in modern husbandry, may be impolitic, if such sugar can only be made under protecting duties, and if sugar can be got cheaper, and without slave labour, from the West Indies—a point not at all ascertained; but the value of the fact for our argument remains the same. A beet-root sugar work requires science, skill, expensive machinery, and very considerable capital. Hydraulic presses of the best construction to express the juice, and steam engines to pump it up, are not rare in beet-root sugar works. I have visited one in the Pas de Calais, in which the presses and engines had been made in London for the work, at a time when we scarcely knew that such an agricultural object existed, and was carried on so near us. At present, that is, in 1841, France has 389 beet-root sugar works in activity, although no longer favoured or protected by any unequal duty on colonial sugar; and from January 1840 to the end of May 1841, these have delivered to the consumpt of the country 26,174,547 kilogrammes, or 5,234,909 cwt., which have paid in duty to the revenue 3,205,783 francs. The total consumpt of France yearly appears to be about 16,518,840 cwt. of sugar. It may perhaps be a question whether in all England, south of Trent, there can be found so many threshing machines of the best and most expensive construction—such as cost from £800 to £1200, in the best agricultural districts of Northumberland, Roxburghshire, and the Lothians—as France, under her partition law of succession, can produce of these complicated, and far more expensive establishments.

The social effects of the partition of property upon the condition of the people, as well as the economical effects on their agriculture, are very wide of those preconceived and predicted. What has been the march of society under this law since 1816, when France first began to enjoy it in a settled state of peace! In the first seven or eight years after 1816, all society had still a martial air and habit. The soldier was everything and everywhere. Boys would strut about, and have you believe that they had seen fire at Montmartre, or, at the least, had been with the army of the Loire. For the first three or four years, France was one great camp of disbanded soldiers, swaggering and idling about, in town and country. The small proprietors had not confidence in the security of their portions of confiscated domains of the church, or of the emigrant noblesse, and had not

the means or courage to improve them. The predictions of our political economists, seemed hastening to fulfilment. But in the next period of six or eight years, a change came over the spirit of the land. The military mania abated. *On se lasse de* that, especially in France. The soldier was in the back-ground. The *vieux militaire* was voted a tiresome, old, stupid bore. Idlers of the middle and lower classes were evidently diminishing in numbers and importance. The young men you met with in the diligence, or at the table d'hôte, were no longer billiard-table loungers and half pay officers, but sons of proprietors from the south, selling their wines in the northern departments, or of merchants and manufacturers from the north, extending their business in the south. Industry was evidently on the move. Houses were in building in every village. The small land-owners had acquired means and confidence, and were beginning to lodge themselves on their little estates. Prices, profits, speculations, undertakings, establishments in business, engrossed all conversation among all classes. Now, in the last period of seven or eight years, the French are passing from a military to an industrious people, as rapidly as such a change in the spirit of so vast a mass of population so lately military can be expected. This change in the spirit of a nation cannot be rapid, because there is at first an under supply of commercial and manufacturing means and objects, to employ the activity and restlessness of mind reared in military habits, and the government, unfortunately, agitates for military pre-eminence in Europe, instead of favouring the advance of peaceful habits in the population; but the change evidently is in progress, is advancing, is far advanced, and all France is undoubtedly alive with an industry, and a commercial manufacturing spirit, unknown at any former period of her history.

The condition of the French people as to food, clothing, and the comforts of life, compared to their condition before 1789, is undoubtedly better. What is the condition of their labouring class at present, compared to that of our own? The only means of comparison is to take one class of men, whose condition is in all countries the same, relatively to that of the common labourer, the military—and to compare the condition of the common labourer in each country, with that of the common soldier. Now in England, since 1816, no bounty, or very trifling bounty, is required to obtain recruits for the army; and none but men of the best description as to age, health, and stature, are received.



The inference to be made is, that the condition of our common soldier is so much better than or so equal to the condition of our common labourer, that little or no inducement of bounty is required to make able-bodied men enlist in sufficient numbers. But the condition of our soldier has not been altered for the better since the peace, since 1816. It is the condition of our labouring class that has altered for the worse. In England, as in France, the soldier is fed, paid, lodged and clothed, precisely as he was five-and-twenty years ago. But in France, although the term of service is only for six years, so far are the labouring class from such a condition as to enlist without the inducement of bounty, that from 1800 to 2000 francs, or £30 sterling, is usually offered for a recruit to serve as a substitute for one who is drawn by ballot for the army. Clubs and assurance companies are established all over France for providing substitutes for the members who may happen to be drawn for service. The inference to be made is, that here the condition of the common labourer is too good to be exchanged for that of the common soldier without the inducement of a premium; his labour too valuable to be given for the mere living and pay of the soldier, although the soldier's pay and living are as good, in proportion to the habits of the people and price of provisions as in England.

How ludicrous, as one sits on the deck of a fine steam-vessel going down the Saone, or the Rhone, or the Seine, passing every half hour other steam-vessels, and every five or six miles under iron suspension bridges, and past canals, short factory railroads even, and new-built factories—how laughable, now, to read the lugubrious predictions of Arthur Young half a century ago, of Birbeck quarter of a century ago, of the Edinburgh Review some twenty years ago, about the inevitable consequences of the French law of succession! “A pauper warren!” Look up from the page and laugh. Look around upon the actual prosperity, and well-being, and rising industry of this people, under their system. Look at the activity on their rivers, at the new factory chimneys against the horizon, at the steam-boats, canals, roads, coal works, wherever nature gives any opening to enterprise. France owes her present prosperity, and rising industry, to this very system of subdivision of property, which allows no man to live in idleness, and no capital to be employed without a view to its reproduction, and places that great instrument of industry and wellbeing, property, in the hands of all classes. The same area of arable land, according to

Dupin, feeds now a population greater by eight millions, and certainly in greater abundance and comfort, than under the former system of succession; because now its produce is applied to feeding reproductive labourers, who, either in husbandry on their own little estates, or in manufactures, or trade, are producing, while they are consuming, what brings back either consumable produce, or the value of what they consume in due time. But the produce applied to the feeding of soldiery, of labourers employed by a splendid court in works of mere ostentation and grandeur, in building palaces, or constructing magnificent public works of no utility equivalent to the labour expended, and, to a certain extent, even in the fine arts, and, above all, in supporting a numerous idle aristocracy, gentry, and clergy, with their dependent followers, was a waste of means, a consumpt without any corresponding return of consumable or saleable produce from the labour or industry of the consumers. In this view, the comparison between the old feudal construction of society in France, and the new under the present law of succession, resolves itself into this result,—that one-third more people are supported under the new, in greater abundance and comfort, from the same extent of arable land, in consequence of the law of succession having swept off the non-productive classes, forced them into active industry, and obliged all consumers, generally speaking, to be producers also, while they consume. In this view, the cost of supporting the old court, aristocracy, gentry, clergy, and all the system and arrangements of society in France, under the ancient régime, has been equivalent to the cost of supporting one-third more inhabitants in France, and in greater comfort and wellbeing; and this is the gain France has realized by her revolution, and by the abolition of the law of primogeniture, its most important measure.

Let us do justice to the French character. Their self-command, their upon-honour principle, is very remarkable, and much more generally diffused than among our own population. They are, I believe, a more honest people than the British. The beggar, who is evidently hungry, respects the fruit upon the road-side within his reach, although there is nobody to protect it. Property is much respected in France; and in bringing up children, this fidelity towards the property of others seems much more carefully inculcated by parents in the lowest class, in the *some education of their children*, than with us. This respect for

do, is a moral habit of great value where it is generally  
and enters into the home training of every family. In  
education both of the parent and child in morals, can  
through the medium of external manners. Our low  
middle classes are deficient in this kind of family education,  
there is some danger that the parents in those classes may  
to rely too much with us, for all education, upon the par  
Sunday schools. It is but reading, writing, reckoning,  
catechism, after all, that can be taught a people by the  
perfect system of national school education; and those  
ments would be dearly bought if they interfere with, or su  
family instruction and parental example, and admoni  
the right and wrong, in conduct, morals, and manners. It  
distinction of the French national character, and social ex  
that practical morality is more generally taught  
manners, among and by the people themselves, than  
country in Europe. One or two striking instances of this  
respect for property have occurred to me in travelling in  
I once forgot my umbrella in a diligence going to Bordo  
which I travelled as far as Tours. My umbrella wen  
Bordeaux, and returned to Tours in the corner of the  
without being appropriated by any of the numerous pas  
or work people, who must have passed through it on so  
journey, and have had this stray unowned article before  
I once travelled from Paris to Boulogne with a gentleman

of small proprietors, that produce this regard for its safety even in trifles, this practical morality. It is not the value lost, but the injury to the feeling of ownership, which constitutes the criminality, or rather the injury, in many petty aggressions on property; and respect for the feelings of others enters into the manners and morals of the French.

Society left to itself will, probably, always work itself up to its moral wants. The moral condition of France, from 1794 to 1816, had certainly no aid from the clerical, educational, civil, or military establishments of its government, or from the wars and tumults in which the country was engaged; yet countries blessed, during all that period, with the fullest, most powerful, and best endowed church establishments, as part of their government, may envy the moral condition of the great mass of the French people. The social economist, who looks at France, and at the United States of America, will pause before he admits in its fullest extent the usual clerical assumption, that a powerful church establishment, and an union of church and state, are essential to the morality, piety, or education of a people. He will be apt to conclude, that society left to itself will provide according to its wants, and to its recipient capabilities, for education, morals, and religion—that these must grow naturally out of social circumstances, and cannot be forced by establishments, clerical or educational, into any wholesome existence—and that a people will no more fall into barbarism, or retrograde in civilisation, from the want of establishments suitable to their social condition, than a family will turn cannibals from wanting a butcher's shop or a cook.

It is nearly half a century since the decimal division of money, weights, and measures was adopted by the French Convention, and by every succeeding government it has been adhered to, and enforced by law. The learned in all other countries, as well as in France, are unanimous in recommending its adoption, on account of the greater practical facility in operations and accounts, of the decimal than the duodecimal division of weights, measures, and money; yet, in spite of law and science, the French people continue to use the duodecimal division. They persist in thinking duodecimally, even when by law they must express themselves decimally. Is this obstinate adherence to the least perfect and most difficult mode of reckoning quantity, or value, in the ordinary affairs of life, the effect of mere prejudice, of blind custom, of the perversity, in short, of the public mind? I suspect the cause lies deeper. Prejudice, custom, or perversity, will not make

people forego a clear advantage. Men of science and legislators, in recommending and adopting the decimal division, have considered only the arithmetical operations to be performed with numerals; but not the nature of the subjects to which those operations with numerals are applied. Weights, measures of capacity or of extension, and money, are measures applied to the products of nature, or of human industry, and to their value in exchange with other products through the medium of money. Now the value of the products either of nature, or of art, is the time and labour involved in them. The value of the most valuable of natural products, the diamond, has the same base as the value of a pin,—it is the value of scarcity; that is to say, of the time and labour it would cost to find such another diamond, or to make such another pin. The value of those two elements—time and labour—is what we buy, and sell, and record in our accounts, and to which all measurement of quantity with a reference to value, and all reckoning in the ordinary transactions of life, refer. One of these two elements—time—regulates, in a considerable degree, the value of the other—labour—and is the usual measure of it. It is the time employed by which we measure the work done, and estimate its value in ordinary affairs. But time is divided by nature duodecimally not decimally. The four seasons, the twelve months of a year, the four weeks in a month, the twenty-four hours in a day, the twelve working hours, the hours of light and darkness, the six working days in a week, are partly natural divisions of time connected with changes in our planetary position, and partly conventional, such as the number of working hours in a day, or of working days in a week, but derived from the natural divisions, and all are duodecimally divided. Labour being estimated by time, and time divided duodecimally, the products of time and labour—that is to say, all that men buy, sell, use, or estimate in reckoning—are necessarily and properly measured by weights, measures, or money, also duodecimally divided; so that parts of the one correspond to parts of the other. To measure or pay in decimals what is delivered in duodecimals, is not an easy or natural process; although, apart from all consideration of what numerals are applied to, and in more abstract operations with them, the decimal system is unquestionably the most easy and perfect to reckon by. To pay one hour's work, or two hours' work, of a day divided into twelve working hours, out of money divided duodecimally, is an easy process—or to measure the product of time and work by measures of quantity also duodecimally

divided ; but to measure the same by decimal weights or measures, or pay for the work in decimally divided money, is not a simple operation. It is time, in reality, which is the element bought and sold between man and man, if we resolve the value of productions to its base: and unless time is divided decimally, which natural arrangement renders impracticable, the decimal division cannot be generally adopted in ordinary affairs. It would be a retrograde step to measure all production in which time is the main element of value, by one scale, and to measure time itself by another. It may be arithmetically right, looking only to the abstract operations with the numerals, to adopt the decimal division ; but it would be philosophically wrong, looking at the nature of the things to which the numerals are to be applied. A great proportion of the food of mankind, also, is divided by nature duodecimally. The beasts of the field and birds of the air happen to have generally four, not five limbs ; and the butcher, in spite of decimals, will divide, cut, and weigh his beef and mutton by quarters and halves, not by five-tenths or five-twentieths of the carcass. In many of the most necessary and perpetually recurring applications of weight, measure, time, labour, and money value, to natural objects duodecimally divided by nature, the decimal division is inconvenient, and therefore never will come into general use in France, or any where else.



## CHAPTER III.

**SOCIAL ECONOMY—WHY NOT TREATED AS A DISTINCT SCIENCE.—ARISTOCRACY REPLACED BY FUNCTIONARISM IN FRANCE—IN GERMANY.—INTERFERENCE OF GOVERNMENT WITH FREE AGENCY.—AMOUNT OF FUNCTIONARISM IN A FRENCH DEPARTMENT—INDRE ET LOIRE—AMOUNT IN A SCOTCH COUNTY—SHIRE OF AYE.—EFFECTS OF FUNCTIONARISM ON INDUSTRY—ON NATIONAL CHARACTER—ON MORALS—ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL LIBERTY.—CHANGE IN THE STATE OF PROPERTY IN PRUSSIA.—TWO ANTAGONISTIC PRINCIPLES IN THE SOCIAL ECONOMY OF PRUSSIA.**

SOCIAL economy—the construction of the social body of a country, the proportions in numbers and influence of the elements of which it is composed, the arrangements and institutions for the administration of its laws, police, and public business, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, and the principles on which all this social machinery should be constructed for working beneficially on the physical and moral condition of the people—is a science distinct from the sciences of government, legislation, jurisprudence, or political economy. These are but branches of social economy in its most extended meaning. It embraces all that affects social prosperity, and the wellbeing, moral and physical, of the individuals composing the social body of the country. Although its subjects are well defined, and its objects important, this science is rarely touched upon by philosophers. What we know of the social economy of any foreign country we must gather from travels and statistical works. These give the materials, but not the principles; the facts, but not the conclusions upon their causes or consequences. The political philosopher has never taken up these materials, or facts, and deduced from them the principles on which society ought to be constructed for attaining the highest moral and physical wellbeing of all its members. The cause of this neglect may be that in Germany, the prolific mother of theory and speculation, it might not be very safe to write or to lecture upon this science; for a good social economy would imply social arrangements altogether adverse, both in principle and in operation, to the political power of the state over private free agency, which is the basis of all social institutions in Germany. The mind, too, bred amidst these

slavish institutions of Germany, is itself slavish. The political conceptions of the German mind, as expressed at least in writings or conversation, are, in general, either abject to the last degree, or extravagant to the last degree—the conceptions of slaves, or of slaves run mad; both equally distant from the sober, rational speculations and conclusions of free men, on the subject of their political and civil liberties. In England, no sudden overwhelming revolution in property and government, since the Norman conquest, has forced upon the country a total reconstruction of her social arrangements. The power of her legislature also to alter, amend, or enact laws, according to exigence, or public opinion, and still more the nature of her jurisprudence, by which cases are decided and become land-marks in law, by the common sense of the age influencing courts and juries, and not, as in feudally constructed countries, by the rigid application of the principles of a code belonging to a different age and social condition, have removed the necessity of the English mind occupying itself with speculations upon the principles of the social arrangements of the country so generally, as upon the principles of its national wealth, of population, of pauperism, and of other branches of its political economy. The wants of society, as of the individual, are less felt, or less thought of, when the remedy is ready, and its application is at all times in our own power, and is even going on of itself in amending obvious defects in social arrangements. We are only beginning slowly, and piecemeal, to alter and improve our social arrangements for the administration and execution of law and public business, for police, for relief of destitution, for the health and education of the people; and we advance from exigence to exigence as the occasion for interference arises, and not by a reference to, and a sudden change in, any general principles or established practices.

In France new social arrangements were suddenly forced upon the country by the revolution. The people were enthusiastic for changes in the old system; and the new arrangements were formed suddenly, and induced suddenly over the face of the country, at a moment when military invasion or aggression, and civil disorder and anarchy, were to be apprehended and provided against. The principle of military power, and of the hand of government being applied to everything, entered of necessity, at this crisis, into all the new social arrangements. Although these were sown and reared in the hotbed of the warmest enthusiasm for *liberty, equality, and the rights of man*, and in the wildest

moments of the revolution, they have been found so well adapted to all the purposes of despotic government, that they have been transplanted from France into all the other continental states. It is not the least curious of the anomalies of modern times, that the whole internal social arrangements of La Republique Française for the administration of law, police, and civil and military affairs among her free citoyens, have been adopted by all the monarchical and arbitrary states of Europe, as the most suitable machinery for their governments. The cause is the same.

The abolition of an hereditary aristocracy in France, as an influential power in the social structure, threw each successive government, under whatever power or name, republican, consular, imperial, or monarchical, upon one principle for support—the influence of an extensive government patronage. It is the characteristic of the French mind to systematise, to carry out every principle to the utmost extreme of minuteness and subdivision. The new social arrangements for the administration of law, police, and public business, were carried at once to a minuteness of efficiency and perfection, altogether inconsistent with the civil liberty or public spirit of a people. The extreme spirit of system, of interference in all things, of surveillance over all things, required a vast body of functionarism, a civil army of public officials among the people; and this influence both directly effective, and indirectly by the beneficial employments it affords acting as bribes to the active, and educated in every class, has been the basis of the social support of every government in France since the revolution.

In Germany the same cause has produced the same effect. The decline of aristocracy as an influential element in society, partly by the direct working of the Code Napoleon, and the partition or sale of the estates of the nobility, where the French occupied the country, partly and chiefly by the general advance of the middle class in wealth, intelligence, independence, and influence over public opinion, has thrown all the continental governments upon a similar support. Aristocracy is succeeded by functionarism as a state power, as a binding influence between the people and their governments in the social structure of Europe.

This mechanisation of all social duties in the hands of government is a demoralising influence incompatible with the development of industry, free agency, or public spirit. England reduced at the peace her civil army of tax-gatherers and government

functionaries as well as her military. France kept up her machinery of civil establishments. The arrangements adopted in an early period of the revolution by the Directory have continued augmenting rather than diminishing, under each successive government, and have silently spread over all the continent; as, perhaps, from direct imitation or approval, than from the imitations of all the continental governments during the war and peace, having been the same—men and money; and the same arrangements which were seen to be effective in France for raising men and money were adopted by her neighbours. The conscription, the passport system, the division of the country into departments, circles, cantons, and communes—each with its functionaries for civil, financial, and military affairs,—and the military organisation of all classes of government functionaries, and the system of government interference and surveillance in all matters, are transferred from republican France to monarchical or despotic Germany, and appear to have been equally suitable to both.

It is in France this system should be studied, as in France it is seen. It is a shoot from her tree of liberty, which seems to find something very congenial to its nature in despotic soils.

France is divided into eighty-six departments, containing not more than 38,061 communes or civil parishes, in each of which there is a local government functionary. Taking the population of France in 1838 at 33,540,908 individuals, each group of 176 families, or 881 souls, has one public functionary, exclusive of policemen, tax-gatherers, &c., among them, for administration or execution of governmental business. Besides the inferior local functionaries, who are expectants upon higher places and emoluments, a group of communes forms a canton, a group of cantons an arrondissement, a group of arrondissements a department; and each of these groups has its superintending and revising colleges of functionaries for the administrative, executive, and financial services.

The great social problem of this age is, to what extent should the hand of government interfere in matters which directly or indirectly affect the public? Should superintendence and surveillance be extended over all matters in which the public can in any possibility be affected? or should all such matters be left entirely to private free agency and judgment; government intervention being the exception, not the rule, and exerted only in the rare cases in which private interests acting against the

public good, are unopposed by other private interests. The same question, under another name, is that of centralisation in our social system in Britain, of the administration of law, police, and local business, in which the whole community is interested, such as the charge of roads, of the poor, of education, of criminal prosecution—in the hands of the general government, and of its paid magistrates and functionaries—or leaving them, as heretofore, in the hands and under the management of the people themselves.

In this important question in social economy—upon the final and practical solution of which the future shape of society, and the amount of civil liberty enjoyed by the people of Europe mainly depend, the English nation stands at one end of the line, with their descendants on the American continent, and France and Prussia with all the imitative German states, at the other. We understand, more or less, our own social economy in Great Britain, and the general principle of non-interference of government, unless in rare exceptive cases on which it rests ; but we are generally ignorant of the social economy of the continent, of the amount of government interference and superintendence carried into affairs which are conducted with us by the private interests or public spirit of individuals, and of the effects on the industry, civil liberty, and moral condition of the people, by the limitation of individual free-agency, and the intermixture of government functionarism in all the acts and duties of private life. Every traveller is struck with the numbers and military organisation of the civil functionaries in the pay of government, whom he meets at every step on the continent. It is, perhaps, the first feature in the different social economy of those countries which attracts his notice ; but no traveller has given us any view of the amount, or any speculations on the social effects of this widely-spread functionarism.

I shall endeavour to point out the numbers of government functionaries in a given population in France, in order to obtain an approximation, at least, to the amount of this power in their social economy.

In 1830, the population of France is stated at 31,851,545 souls, which would give an average of 370,367 souls in each department. The chief towns of the eighty-six departments—that is, the towns in which the departmental courts and establishments are seated, contain together 2,273,939 souls, which allow on an average a population of 26,441 souls to each chief town

Now, looking for an average department, and one which could be easily compared with one of our counties, I find the department of the Indre et Loire, containing 290,160 souls, and its chief town Tours, 23,100 souls, as near an average as any; and has the advantage for comparison, that at the same period, 1830, the shire of Ayr was in population as nearly equal to one half of the population of the department of the Indre et Loire as we can expect, viz., the population of the county of Ayr was, according to the population returns, 145,055 souls, and of the county town, 11,626 souls, being also, as nearly as we can expect, one half of the population of Tours, the chief town of the Indre et Loire. I take these two groups of populations, therefore, in preference to others. Now, what number of public functionaries are employed by the French government in the civil affairs of the 290,160 people inhabiting the department of the Indre et Loire?

This department is divided into three arrondissemens—so is the shire of Ayr into three districts, Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham; the three arrondissemens are further divided into 25 cantons, and the 25 cantons into 292 communes, or civil parishes: the shire of Ayr, if I mistake not, reckons 46 parishes. In each of these 292 communes, are a mayor, adjunct, and municipal council.—The mayor presides over the public business; the adjunct acts as public prosecutor before the primary or lower local courts, and as the mayor and municipal council, and perhaps the adjunct, are not, I believe, offices paid by, although confirmed by government, but held by candidates expectant on the higher and paid offices, I do not reckon them, amounting to 584 persons, among the functionaries living in government pay and service; although, in as far as they are candidates for higher civil office, and depend on government for their future means of living, their influence on the social economy of the people is much the same as that of the classes of paid civil functionaries. Each of the 25 cantons has a primary local court, composed of 5 paid functionaries, making in all of paid officials 125. Each of the three arrondissemens is provided with an upper court with 10 paid officials, and that of the chief town with 20 clerks, officers, &c., included; in all 40. Thus for the administration of justice there are 165 persons who are paid functionaries, divided into 25 primary local courts, and 3 superior courts for the civil and



criminal business of a population just about double of that of the shire of Ayr. For the collection of the government taxes in the department of the Indre et Loire, the amount of functionarism is :—

Receivers of taxes	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	68
Inspectors, stamp masters, registrars	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	37
Directors and controllers of land tax	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	10
Measurers of land for land tax	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12
Receivers of indirect taxes	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	23
Receiver-general	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Treasurer	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Persons in offices connected with receipt of taxes—in all, functionaries								162

For the general government of this little imperium in imperio of a department, we have moreover :—

Monsieur le Préfet	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Sous-préfets, one to each arrondissement	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
Council of the Préfet	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
Chiefs of bureaux	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6
Keepers of archives	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Officers of roads, bridges, and mines	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6
Officers of woods and waters	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6
Officers of weights and measures	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
Officers of affairs of the mint	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
Officers of the national lottery	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Officers of the post-office	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	26
								61

Being 15 paid functionaries for general government, and 46 paid functionaries for different branches of public business which government chooses to centralize in its own management.

The grand total of functionarism in a district of about double of the population of the county of Ayr is :—

Paid functionaries connected with the administration of law	...	...	165
Paid functionaries connected with receipt of taxes	...	...	152
Paid functionaries for general government	...	...	15
Paid functionaries for other government business	...	...	46
Paid functionaries in all, for a population of 290,160 souls			378

and this is exclusive of the establishment of the douane or custom-house, which in the frontier provinces has very numerous establishments, and even forms a regular military cordon on duty night and day, and exclusive of the whole executive police or gendarmerie who patrol the roads, and have posts all over the country, and exclusive of the whole establishments for the conscript system, and its necessary accompaniment the passport system, which give employment to an army of clerks and func

tionaries in the bureaux in every town, and exclusive also of the whole educational establishment, of which the patronage is in the hands of government. Monsieur de Tocqueville reckons the total amount of functionarism in France—that is, of civil appointments under government, at 138,000 offices, costing yearly 200 millions of francs. Taking the population of 1830 at 31,851,455 souls, this gives one paid functionary to every 230 persons. But this does not give a just view of the influence and extent of the principle of functionarism in the social economy of France. The functionary is an adult male, with fixed income, and is, therefore, either head of a family or in a social position equivalent to the head of a family, and the figures of the population represent the infants, aged, infirm, and females, as well as the effective adult male members of the community. In a just view of the proportion of functionarism in the social economy of France, one family in every 46 lives by functionarism, and at the public expense, there is one functionary family for every 46 families of the people.

Now let us reckon the amount of functionarism in the Scotch county of Ayr, containing, as nearly as possible, one-half of the population of the French department of the Indre et Loire. A Scotch county is selected in preference to an English, because, in Scotland, the feudal law, and feudal arrangements of society, are similar in principle to those which prevailed on the Continent before the changes in social economy produced by the French revolution, but to the social economy of England, in which the administration of law, the police of the country, the roads, the public business of every kind, are under the management of the people themselves, and not of the general government of the country, nothing analogous exists or ever existed on the Continent,—no social arrangements whatsoever similar in principle. In the English county of Suffolk, for instance, containing 296,317 souls, being 6857 more than the population of the French department of the Indre et Loire, excepting in the post-office department, and those of the excise, customs, and stamps, no public functionaries, or very few—not perhaps in all half-a-dozen—could be pointed out, who live by paid offices, to which they are appointed by the government. The unpaid magistry, the unpaid constables, the unpaid sheriffs, lord-lieutenants, &c., do all the duties which the host of functionaries in France, living upon the public in the proportion of one family in every 46, do in this French department. Person and

property are not less safe, criminal offence not more common in Suffolk, than in this French department of equal population. The moral effects, therefore, of each system on the habits and minds of the people must be compared, before judgment is given for, or against either system : that of interference, centralisation, and surveillance by government as in the French system ; and that of non-interference, and leaving all to be done by the people, as well as for the people, in social business, as in the English.

But to return to the shire of Ayr. For the administration of law in civil and criminal affairs there are of paid functionaries :—

The sheriff depute, the equivalent to the préfet, as an organ of the executive government, and with his resident substitute, the procurator fiscal, and the sheriff clerk with 3 deputies, the equivalent of the 165 functionaries living by the administration of law in the French department ; being 7 persons in judicial functions.

In the collection of taxes in this county, the amount of functionarism appears to be :—

Collector of taxes, surveyor, collector of county rates	...	...	1
Distributor of stamps	...	...	1
Collector and comptroller of customs	...	...	2
Excise officers, collector, clerk, and supervisors	...	...	8
Postmasters living entirely on salary of office, suppose one in each town or village, in which sheriff or justice of peace courts are held			7
			<hr/> 21

The whole functionaries living by offices under government in the collection of taxes do not certainly exceed from 21 to 25 persons, and this number is the equivalent for 152 functionaries in a department of only double the population. Instead of 21 persons, the Scotch county would, on the French system of functionarism, have 76 persons living by public employment in the financial department of its business. To cover all possible omissions in this list of 21 public functionaries in a Scotch county, as from the mixed nature of their means of living, it would be difficult to determine exactly, who live entirely by public employment, and who live principally by the exercise of other trades or professions, but having some office, as postmasters, also, we shall state them at from 30 to 35 individuals ; and this number certainly *does* cover all persons having their livings in a Scotch county *by* public function in the administration of law, finance, and

civil government, which in a French department gives offices and livings to 278 paid functionaries. In the ratio of the population 189 paid functionaries in France live upon the public, by doing the duties which, at the utmost, from 30 to 35 paid functionaries live by doing in Scotland.

The effects upon the social condition of a people of the two distinct principles—that of doing every thing for the people by paid functionaries and government management, in a system of perfect centralisation—and that of doing every thing for the people by the people themselves, and with as little as possible of government agency—have never been satisfactorily examined by our political philosophers. We have tirades enough against the abuse of power in the hands of the unpaid magistracy of England, and examples enough of the abuse ; but we have no impartial judgment given on the advantages and disadvantages of the system, compared to that of a paid body of judicial functionaries. Lord Brougham has frequently insisted on the great social benefit of bringing cheap law and justice home to every man's fireside ; but that great political philosopher has never stated what this cheap law and justice would cost. The financial cost is not the principal or important cost in a system of extensive functionarism, but the moral cost, the deteriorating influence of the system on the industry, habits, and moral condition of the people. We see a tendency in our most enlightened and liberal statesmen—which is only held in check by the financial cost of indulging it—to centralize in the hands of government much of the public business, the local magistracy and police, the prosecution of offences, the care of the poor, the support of high roads, the education of the people, instead of leaving these duties to be, as heretofore, performed by the people for themselves.

A few of the effects of the functionarism, which necessarily overspreads these countries in which governments do what it should be left to the public spirit or the necessity of the people to do for themselves, are sufficiently visible, and may assist in solving the question

All this subsistence in the field of government employment, paralyses exertion in the field of private industry. This is an effect which the most unobserving traveller on the Continent remarks. The young, the aspiring, the clever, and the small capitalists in particular, look for success in life to government employment, to public function, not to their own activity and

industry in productive pursuits. With us, civil or military employment under government is scarcely seen, is nothing in the vast field of employment which professional, commercial, or manufacturing industry throws open to all. Abroad, all other employments are as nothing in extent, advantage, social importance, and influence, compared to employment under government. Functionarism has, in its effects on the industry and wealth of nations, replaced the monastic and overgrown clerical establishments of the middle ages. It was not the vast wealth of the Roman Catholic Church, and of its convents, monasteries, and other establishments, that was detrimental to the national wealth and prosperity of a country. These were but an additional wheel in the social machine. All that was received was again expended; and whether a bishop or a duke, an abbot or an earl received and expended the income derived from the same acres, could make no difference in national wealth. As receivers and expenders the clerical were perhaps better than the aristocratical landowners, because they understood husbandry better, and expended their revenues in peace, in their own fixed localities, by which a middle class beneath them was enabled to grow up. Still less was it, as Voltaire and the political economists of his days imagined, the celibacy of so many idle monks, and nuns, and clergy, and the want of population by their celibacy, that was injurious to the prosperity of catholic countries. The celibacy of the Popish clergy is in no other way injurious to a nation than that a single man can live upon less than a man with a family, and that, consequently, many more individuals can obtain a living in an unproductive profession as the clerical (considered economically) is, from the same amount of church revenue, than if all in the profession were married. Our church extensionists ought, in consistency, to advocate the celibacy of the clerical order amongst us, because the same revenues of the church—either of the church of England, or of the church of Scotland—would thereby support three times the number of effective clergy and in equal comfort; the expense of a family being at least three times greater on an average than that of a single man, and it is church endowments, and not the mere dead stone and lime work of buildings, that are necessary in true and effective church extension. But it was neither the wealth, nor *the numbers*, nor the celibacy of the Popish clergy, that made *them* in the middle ages, and make them at this day in all *catholic lands*, detrimental to national wealth and prosperity. It

was, and is, the amount of easy living, of social importance and influence, which the clerical employment offered, and which naturally turned, exactly as functionarism on the Continent does at present, all the youth of abilities, and with small capitals to defray the expense of education, to a clerical living, instead of to industrial pursuits. We see even in Scotland, in remote parts, that the ease with which, during the last war, clerical students could accomplish the little that country presbyteries required in studies at the university, and could slip into a kirk, turned away from the broad paths of worldly industry many who ought to have been sitting behind the loom, or the desk, and whose talent extended just to finding out and securing a good pulpit livelihood.

Abroad the employment under government, in the present age, attracts to it, as the church of Rome did in the middle ages, all the mind, industry, and capital of the middle classes, on whom the wealth and prosperity of a country are founded. The little capitals stored up in those classes are saved, not to put out their young men as with us, into various industrial pursuits, and with suitable means to carry them on, or to extend the original branch of business in which the family capital was acquired, but, to support their sons while studying and waiting for a living by public function, in some of the numerous departments of government employment. It may be reasonably doubted if the Popish church, in the darkest period of the middle ages, abstracted so many people, and so much capital from the paths and employments of productive industry, as the civil and military establishments of the Continental governments do at the present day in France and Germany. The means also of obtaining a livelihood in monkish or clerical function were less demoralising to the public mind and spirit; for some kind of intellectual superiority, or self-denial or sacrifice, was required, and not merely as in functionarism—barefaced patronage.

National character partakes of the spirit which the main object of pursuit among a people produces in individuals. It is at the hand of government, by favour and patronage, and through subservience to those in higher function, that the youth of the Continent look for bread and future advancement. All independence of mind is crushed, all independent action and public spirit buried under the mass of subsistence, social influence, and honours, to be obtained in the civil and military functions under *government on the Continent*. It is to be observed, that, in the



of peace, the military service in most foreign countries is scarcely different from the civil. Having no distant colonies to garrison, no posts in unwholesome climates to occupy, no perpetual rotation at home from one quarter to another, but being generally stationed for many years in the same towns, the military act upon the industry of the country in the same way, and with the same effects, as the body of civil functionaries. Both together form a mass of subsistence, influence, and distinction, to be attained by other means than productive industry, and which smothers all exertion and spirit of independence in the industrial classes. The sturdy-minded English industrialist toils and slaves at his trade, to become some day an independent man, to be beholden to no one, to be master of his own time and actions, to be a free agent individually, acting and thinking for himself, both in his private, and, if he has any, in his public capacity or business. To this end he brings up his sons, and puts them out in the world with a trade, and with capital, if he has any, to attain this end. The dependence upon others for a living, the subserviency and seeking for favour, inherent in a functionary career, do not come within his sphere of action. A living by productive industry is, generally speaking, far more certain, and more easily obtained in our social system, in which military, clerical, and legal functions under government patronage, and a living in either of those branches of public employment, are rare, and altogether out of reach and out of sight of the middle classes in general, forming no object to the great mass of the industrialist-class to breed up their sons to. This is the great moral basis on which the national wealth, industry, and character of the English people rest; and is the only basis which can uphold real liberty in a country, or a social state, in which civil liberty, as well as political, free agency in private life, as well as free constitutional forms of government, can exist. The Germans and French never can be free people, nor very industrious, very wealthy nations, with their present social economy—with their armies of functionaries in civil employments, extending the desire and the means among the classes who ought to rely upon their own independent industry in the paths of trade and manufacture, of earning a living in public function by other means than their own productive industry. This universal dependence upon public function smothers at the root the growth of independent feeling, action, and industry.

, Political liberty, the forms of a liberal legislative constitution,

the Continent may obtain, - and France has, more than once, obtained such a constitution as opposed a considerable, and often successful, check to the measures of the executive : yet with all this real political liberty, the French people have as yet no real civil liberty ; and, in consequence of the general diffusion of the spirit of functionarism through society, no idea of, or feeling for civil liberty. The private rights of individuals as members of the social union are every hour infringed upon by their social institutions, in a way which individuals, with any just feeling of independence and civil liberty, and with political liberty to give effect and reality to their sentiments, would never submit to. As an instance of the state of the public mind in France, and indeed all over the Continent, on the rights and civil liberty of the individual members of society, it is matter of leave and licence, of passport and police regulation, for the native Frenchman or German to move from place to place, or to exercise in many countries any kind of trade, profession, or means of living, within his own native land. The very elector going from Paris to his own home, to exercise perhaps the highest privilege of political liberty—his elective franchise, in voting for a representative to the chamber of deputies, has so little civil liberty, and so little idea of it, that he must apply for, and travel with a passport asked from, and signed by a government functionary. This is a caricature of liberty. It is liberty in chains, her charter in her hand, her paper cap of liberty on her head, and manacles on her feet.

The police of the country, the security of person and property, are, it is alleged, better provided for by this governmental surveillance over, and interference in all individual movement. The same argument would justify the locking up the population every night in public jails. Good police, and the security of person and property, however valuable in society, are far too dearly paid for by the sacrifice of private free agency involved in this ultra-precautionary social economy. The moral sense of right, and the individual independence of judgment in conduct, are superseded by this conventional duty of obedience to office. Men lose the sentiment of what is due to themselves by others, and to others by themselves ; and lose the sense of moral rectitude, and the habit of applying it to actions. A Frenchman or German would not think himself entitled to act upon his own judgment and sense of right, and refuse obedience to an order of a superior, if it were morally wrong ; nor would the public

feeling, as in England, go along with, and justify the individual who, on his own sense of right and wrong, refused to be an instrument of, or party to, any act not approved of by his moral sense. The spirit of subordination and implicit obedience, which we isolate and confine entirely to military service, enters on the Continent into civil life. The scenes of bloodshed in France, under the revolutionary government, could never have taken place among a people bred up in habits of moral free agency, and of reflecting independence of individual judgment on action. The instruments would have been wanting in the tribunals. The general moral sense would have opposed the enactment or fulfilment of such decrees.

The non-interference of government in our social economy with individual free-agency, and the intense repugnance and opposition to every attempt at such interference with the individual's rights of thinking and acting, have developed a more independent movement of the moral sense among the English people than among the Continental. It is their distinguished national characteristic. The individual Englishman, the most rude and uncivilised in manners, the most depraved in habits, the most ignorant in reading, writing, and religious knowledge; standing but too often lower than the lowest of other nations on all these points; will yet be found a man wonderfully distinct, and far above the educated Continental man of a much higher class, in his moral discrimination of the right or wrong in human action, far more decidedly aware of his civil rights as a member of society, and judging far more acutely of what he terms fair play, or of what is due to himself, and by himself, in all public or private relations or actions. It is the total absence of government interference, by superintendence and functionaries, in the stream of private activity and industry, that has developed, in a remarkable degree, this spirit of self-government, and the influence of the moral sense on action among the English. It is their education. We may call them uneducated, because they cannot read and write so generally as the Scotch, the French, or the Prussian people; but as men and citizens they have received a practical education, from the nature of their social arrangements, of a far higher kind and value than the French, the Prussian, or even the Scotch can lay claim to. They are far more independent moral agents in public and private affairs.

In France and Prussia, the state, by the system of functionaries

ism, stepped into the shoes of the feudal baron on the abolition of the feudal system ; and he who was the vassal, and now calls himself the citizen, is, in fact, as much restrained in his civil liberty, and free-agency as a moral self-acting member of society, by state enactments, superfluous legislation, and the government-spirit of intermeddling by its functionaries in all things, as he was before by his feudal lords. The physical condition of the people of those countries has, beyond all doubt, been improved by the general diffusion of property through the social mass, and has advanced to a higher state of well-being and comfort than with us ; but their civil and moral condition has not kept pace and advanced with it. They have the property, but their governments endeavour to retain the privileges which belong to property, the rights of individual free-agency in the moral and industrial use of it. These are two antagonistic powers in the social economy of the Continent. An unseen power called the State is held now, as it was in the most stringent days of the feudal system, to be the owner of all the materials of human industry, of all occupations, trades, and professions, of human industry itself, of all the deeds and thoughts of each individual, of his body and soul, it may be truly said ; for instead of being free to do what law does not prohibit, he can do nothing lawfully but what law permits. He cannot engage in the simplest act of a free-agent in civil society without leave and licence, and being in some shape or other under the eye and regulation of this unseen proprietor of all earthly. He may, as in France, enjoy a considerable share of political liberty, that is, of a constitutional voice in the enactment of laws, but civil liberty, the uncontrolled freedom of action, and of the use of property, of body, and of mind, subject only to the most obvious and urgent necessity of interference by government to prevent evil to others—is as little enjoyed by him in the constitutional as in the despotic state ; as little in Belgium or France, as in Prussia or Austria. The same principle of intrusion on the civil liberty of the subject pervades the social economy of all these states—interference is the rule, non-interference the exception. Yet of what value is political liberty, or the representative legislature, but to give and secure to every man the full and free enjoyment of his civil liberty ? A free constitution is but a platform for political adventurers to declaim from, if it does not bring civil liberty into the social economy of a country.

The just conclusion is, that mere changes in the forms of government, and in the machinery and forms of legislation, will not suddenly, and as a necessary consequence, change the spirit of the people, and that in genuine liberty, in practical civil liberty, in the individual freedom of action and of mind, and the influences of this freedom on moral, intellectual, and national character, the people of the Continent are but little more advanced now than they were under Frederic the Great, or Louis XIV., or Napoleon. They are still slaves in the spirit and principles of their social economy. What they understand by liberty, and are clamorous for, is political liberty, not civil liberty, the instrument of liberty without its use, the outward forms without the spirit in their social economy.

But this is not always to be so. This is but the transition state of society just casting off the net-work of slavery in which the feudal system had for ages enveloped it. The vassal is now the proprietor, and in France at least more or less the legislator himself. It is his mind that is behind his social position. He is a proprietor without knowing the rights of property. The old feudal spirit still lingers in the regenerated governments and people; but the seed is sown, the leaven is working. Property will gradually take its own place, and assume its own rights in social affairs. It has been widely diffused by the effects of the French revolution through all ranks and classes of the social body of France and Germany. It is not merely property in land, but also personal property, capital, that has been spread among the people, and a spirit of industry, a feeling of individual independence, has naturally accompanied this diffusion of property. But the rights inseparable from industry and property—free agency, the uncontrolled use and exercise of them, are retained by government as a basis for the support of kingly power. The principle of government when land was almost the only influential property in society, and that was in the hands of a small privileged class deeply interested in the support of the source from which they derived their property and privileges, and held them exclusively, is transferred to a social state, in which land is in the hands of all, and no one class has any exclusive interests or rights derived from the crown and connected with land, to maintain. Owing to the natural and unextinguishable influences of property on the human mind, this can only do, either in France or Germany, until the public mind becomes educated and elevated up to it.

social position, and along with the physical enjoyment and possession of property, claims also all that morally and politically belongs to the enjoyment and possession of property, viz., free-agency as individuals, self-government by representative constitutions as citizens. It is evident that one and the same principle as a support of uncontrolled kingly power, cannot be found equally effective in two such totally distinct combinations of society, as that of all land being concentrated in the hands of a small privileged class closely connected by every tie and motive with the crown, and that of the general diffusion of land among a population quite unconnected with it. The very fiction of law of the crown being the source from which the landed proprietor derives his rights, falls to the ground where the right is almost universal, and conveys no conventional privilege attached to such property, and where succession by primogeniture is abolished. The crown attempting to retain restrictions on the use and free enjoyment of property, after it has lost all connection with it, is in a false position.

Two distinct powers in society—the power of property and the kingly power—have thus, by the great convulsion of the French Revolution, been placed in a state of incompatible co-existence. They are two antagonist powers in the social economy of France, Prussia, and Northern Germany, two powers in opposition to, not in unison with each other. The rights of property, the free agency of the possessor in the use and application of it, the moral free agency of the individuals possessing it, their self-government and self-management of all that affects it, are natural prerogatives of the possessors of property which, where a whole nation are the proprietors, cannot be usurped to support, by dint of an unnatural system of functionarism extending over the prerogatives of property and the private rights of proprietors, a royal or imperial autocratic power in the community that has no exclusive rights or privileges now to bestow upon any class of proprietors. Such an usurpation of the rights of property, and of the natural prerogatives of proprietors, by the intrusion of functionarism into all the social relations, affairs, duties, and industrial movement of a people of proprietors, can be no stable or very long endured arrangement of the social economy of a country.

When this usurpation of the rights of property in the social economy of the Continent is removed, either by gradual steps or



by sudden convulsion, on what has kingly power to rest? A monarchical government and a democratical distribution of the landed and other property cannot exist together. They are antagonist elements in social economy.

The French Revolution, considered as the beginning of a radical, inevitable, and beneficial change in the physical, moral, and political condition of the European people, must be regarded by the social economist as a movement only in its commencement. It has left the Continental population in two very distinctly marked divisions. The one consists of the populations in which, with a few modifications and reforms not affecting the grand principle of their social economy, the old feudal arrangements of property, and the aristocratic basis of kingly power raised upon feudality, are retained. Austria is undoubtedly at the head of this division. The other consists of the populations which have adopted a new social economy in which the two corner-stones of feudality, primogeniture and hereditary privilege, are taken away, and kingly power has only the temporary basis of functionarism and military force for its support. France is at the head of this division. The diffusion of property, the abolition of privilege and primogeniture, and the introduction of functionarism as a substitute for aristocracy and a basis for the support of government, are all derived from the French Revolution; and Prussia entered voluntarily into the circle of the new social economy of this division, under the administration of Prince Hardenberg, in 1809.

It was found necessary, if Prussia was to preserve a national existence, to give the mass of the population that interest in the defence of the country which was totally wanting under the feudal distribution of the land into noble estates cultivated by the forced labour of serfs. The following sketch will explain imperfectly the amount of change in the state of landed property in Prussia produced by this measure.

Previous to 1800 landed property was, on the greater part of the Continent, divided into noble or baronial, and peasant, roturier, or not noble holdings. The former class of estates could only be held by nobility, and had many unjust exemptions from public burdens, and many oppressive privileges attached to them. These baronial estates, by far the greatest in extent, had the peasantry who were born on the land *adscripti glebæ*; had a right to their labour every day for the cultivation of the domain; had civil and criminal jurisdiction over them in the

baronial court of the estate; had a baronial judge, a baronial prison on the estate to incarcerate them, and a bailiff to flog them for neglect of work or other baronial offences. These slaves were allowed cottages with land upon the outskirts of the estate, and cultivated their own patches in the hours or days when their labour was not required on the barony lands. They paid tithes and dues out of their crops to the minister, the surgeon, the schoolmaster, and the barony or local judge who resided on the estate, and was appointed by the proprietor as patron both of the church and of the court of the barony, but out of the number of examined jurists, or students of law, who were candidates for these local judgeships.

This is, for the system is not abolished altogether, the great object of the numerous body of law students at the German universities. The local judge is, like the minister, with a fixed and comfortable salary not depending on the will of the patron, and he is a servant of the state revised by, and reporting to, the higher local judicatories, and with promotion opened to him from the local baronial to the higher courts of the country.

If the serf deserted, he was brought back by the military, who patrolled the roads for the purpose of preventing the escape of peasants into the free towns, their only secure asylum, and were imprisoned, fed on bread and water in the black hole, which existed on every baronial estate, and flogged. The condition of these born serfs was very similar to that of the negro slaves on a West India estate during the apprenticeship term, before their final emancipation. This system was in full vigour up to the beginning of the present century, and not merely in remote and unfrequented corners of the Continent, but in the centre of her civilisation; all round Hamburgh and Lubeck for instance, in Holstein, Schleswig, Hanover, Brunswick, and over all Prussia. Besides these baronial estates with the born-serfs attached to them, there were Bauern Hofe, or peasant estates, which held generally of some baron, but were distinct properties, paying as feu duties or quit-rents so many days' labour in the week, with other feudal services and payments to the feudal superior. The acknowledgment of these as distinct legal properties not to be recalled so long as the peasant performed the services and payments established either by usage or by writings, was the first great step in Prussia towards the change in the condition of the peasantry. It was stretched so far as to include the serfs located on the outskirts of the barony, and paying daily

labour for their patches of land, and who originally were intended by the proprietor to be his servants and day labourers for cultivating his mains or home farmed land, but who, by long usage and occupations for generations, had become a kind of hereditary tenants, not to be distinguished from those occupants acknowledged to be proprietors, or what we would call copyholders. Prince Hardenberg's energetic administration made all these occupants the absolute proprietors of their several holdings, for the yearly payment of the quit rents they had been paying to the baronial proprietor, and had these quit rents, whether paid in labour or other services, or in grain, valued by commissioners at fixed moderate rates, and had them commuted and bought up from the dominant property, under inspection of the commissioners, by the surrender to it of a portion of the land of the servient property, if the peasant had no money for the purchase of the redemption. This great and good measure, which was projected and carried into effect by Stein and Hardenberg in a succession of edicts, from that of October 9, 1807, up to June 7, 1821, is the great and redeeming glory of the reign of Frederic William III., and, like all great and good measures, was accomplished with much less difficulty than was anticipated. Feudality had become effete. A strong and vigorous exertion was necessary to give the people something to defend—some material interest in the country. By this measure, Prussia was at once covered with a numerous body of small proprietors, instead of being held by a small privileged class of nobility.

This revolution in the state of property was almost as great as that which had taken place in France, and it is pregnant with the same results and tendencies. It gave comfort, well-being, property, to a population of serfs. It emancipated them from local oppression, raised their moral and physical condition, gave them a political, although as yet unacknowledged, existence, as the most important constituent element of the social body. But here the Prussian Revolution has stopped short of the French. It gave no political liberty or influence under any form, no representative constitution to those to whom it had given clear and distinct property, and consequently the feelings, influences on the human mind, and the requirements which the possession of property brings along with it. The people hold the property, and the crown, by its system of functionaries and military organisation, endeavours to hold all the rights and

prerogatives belonging to, and morally and socially essential to property, all the civil and political liberties of the proprietors of the country.

As a necessary sequence of the emancipation of the country population from feudal services to the noble landowner, the town populations were emancipated from the restrictions and privileges of their feudal lords, viz., the incorporation of trades and burgesses. Every man became entitled to be admitted to the rights of burgess or citizen on paying a certain fixed sum (in Berlin it is thirty thalers) for his burgess ticket, and entitled, whether he has or has not served an apprenticeship, to exercise any calling or trade. This second step completed the change in the social economy of Prussia, and altogether obliterated its former character of feudality as far as regarded the people, although the government still clings to the feudal principle of autocracy, without any representation of the proprietors of the country. If these were small privileged classes of nobility, and incorporated bodies, interwoven with royalty, as under the old feudal arrangements of society, and kept by exclusive privileges and distinctions apart from the main body of a people, and closely united to each other and to the crown by every tie of interest and honour, this order of things might, although opposed to the spirit of the times, and to the gradual but great advance of society in an opposite direction, linger on, as in Austria and other feudally constituted countries, in a feeble existence, waiting the blast that is to overturn it. But in a whole nation of proprietors, it is a false social economy—an order of things too unnatural to be stable.

In France, the body of proprietors possessing the land of the country obtained a portion at least of political liberty, a representation, by a part at least, of their own body in the legislature, and may, without any very violent convulsion, give themselves hereafter the civil liberty they still want, in proportion as the public mind becomes prepared to cast off the trammels on individual liberty and free agency imposed by functionarism and government interference. Prussia has not taken this step, and is now in the false position of holding fast by a power which has no roots in the new social economy she has adopted. The government has cast loose the absolute kingly power from its sheet-anchor, the feudal system, and is now clinging to the twig of functionarism to save *itself* from being hurried along with the *stream of social improvement*.

France and Prussia should be viewed by the social economist consecutively. They have the same two antagonistic principles in their social economy, although in France the ultimate predominance of the power of property over absolute kingly power will not long be doubtful. Functionarism in France, enormous as it is, will be broken down as a state element for the support of kingly power, by the element of popular power demanding a constitution, a Chamber of Deputies. But in Prussia the people have no feeling for legislative power, no demand for a representative chamber, and are abjectly patient under the total want of civil and political liberty. Property, and a prodigious social reform have been thrust upon them by their government in a kind of speculation on improvement, rather than attained by any invincible desire of their own, or by any national struggle for their ameliorated social condition. All has been done for them, not by them; and they enjoy the physical good this change has brought them, like a body of emancipated slaves who receive their own natural rights as gifts from their former masters, and sit down in grateful contentment. The kingly power, both in Prussia and France, seems aware of its false position, and anxious to reconstruct an order of hereditary aristocracy endowed with entailed landed property and privilege, as a social power for the support of monarchy. But in social economy, as in human life, the *nulla pes retrorsum* is the principle of nature. The abolition of primogeniture, and the consequent diffusion of landed property through society, have morally, as well as territorially, done away with the class of privileged feudal aristocracy as an influential social element in both countries. It would be the show, not the reality, of a nobility that could be re-established now in Prussia or in France. The social position and importance of an hereditary aristocracy are, besides, filled up by the new social power—the body of functionaries in the social arrangements which have sprung up from the ashes of the French Revolution.

## CHAPTER IV.

**-NOT CONSTITUTING ONE NATION.—PRUSSIAN POLICY IN THIS CENTURY.—ATTEMPT TO FORM NATIONAL CHARACTER.—WHY NOT SUCCESSFUL.—MILITARY ORGANISATION OF PRUSSIA.—LIABILITY TO MILITARY SERVICE OF PRUSSIANS.—SERVICE IN THE LINE.—IN THE ARMY OF RESERVE.—FIRST LINE.—SECOND.—EFFECTS OF THE SYSTEM ON THE POLITICAL BALANCE OF EUROPE.—ITS ADVANTAGES.—ITS DISADVANTAGES COMPARED TO A STANDING ARMY.—ITS GREAT PRESSURE ON TIME AND INDUSTRY.—ITS INFERIORITY IN MILITARY FORCE.—AMOUNT OF MILITARY FORCE OF PRUSSIA.—DEFECT IN EUROPEAN ARMIES.—NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS.—MEN.—TOO DELIBERATELY BREED IN THE PRUSSIAN ARMY.—LONGEVITY OF OFFICERS.—THE PROSPECT OF A WAR BETWEEN PRUSSIA AND FRANCE.—POLICY OF ENGLAND IN THE EVENT OF A WAR ARISING.**

Prussians are not nationalised by those moral influences which bind men together into distinct communities. They are, like the English, the French, the Spaniards, a people distinct in character, spirit, and modes of living—a nation unamalgamable with others. They have no national literature, or character; no old established customs, traditions, modes of living and thinking, laws, rights, institutions of ancient times peculiar to, and distinctive of, them. Their history as a nation is but of yesterday, and not properly their history, but that of the sovereigns of a part of the present Prussia—of Brandenburg—who began to build up a world about a century ago with a margraveship of about a half million of subjects; have, by good luck and military energy, gathered together a kingdom of shreds and patches of other states, containing about fourteen millions of people. These have no national history of ancient times common to all, or to a part of the Prussians, and connecting the present with the past by a sense of veneration and hereditary attachment. Prussia has, in its name, only a geographical or political meaning, and not the Prussian government, or the provinces it governs, any moral or social meaning. The Prussian nation is a mere creation of words rarely heard, of ideas never made, the men not being morally united by any common sentiment of nationality distinguishing them in character, mind, and interests from the other German populations around them, the



Austrian, Bavarian, Saxon, or Hanoverian. The German populations have never been distinguished by any strong spirit of nationality. They have always been divisible, like a flock of sheep, into any parcels at the pleasure of their shepherds, without vigorous indications of such national distinctiveness, character, and feelings of their own, as might render their division, and amalgamation with other groups, dangerous or impracticable. To remedy this defect in their social structure, to kindle a spirit of nationality, form a national character, and raise a Prussian nation bound together by moral influences, like the French or English, as well as by mere territorial and political arrangements, is the great under-principle which has run through all the domestic policy of the Prussian government in this century. Frederic the Great had no higher policy than to retain the territories he had acquired by the means which acquired them—a strong standing army and a military system superior to that of other powers. His successors adhered to the same policy; but the first shock with the armies of a people animated by national spirit dissolved the dull German delusion, that drill and discipline alone are sufficient in modern warfare to replace the higher moral influences. Germans against Germans, monarch against monarch, in a scramble for territory, and the people in apathy and indifference, and with no interest at issue, the contending potentates made conquests according to the number of their highly-disciplined troops. War was really what it was often compared to, a game at chess, in which the royal gamesters could calculate upon the powers and effect of each piece, and move. The French wars from 1794 to 1814 wrought a mighty change in this royal game, and made every cabinet of the old school feel, that, with national sentiment kindled by moral influences, no people can be subdued, and without it none can be secure. The alteration in Prussia of the law and holding of landed property, and the subversion of the ancient feudal relations between the peasantry and the nobility—a change almost as great in the state of property, and altogether as great in the structure of society, as the revolution produced in France; the new military system by which the people themselves became the only standing army; the new educational system, by which government has in its own hands the training of the mind and opinions of the public through its own functionaries; the new ecclesiastical system, by which the two branches of the Protestant church, the Lutheran and Calvinist, are joined together, and blended into one

it from both, the Prussian church; the German custom-union, or commercial league, centralising in Prussia the element of the commercial and manufacturing industry tied with the supply of the other German populations, and a Prussian dominancy over the industrial pursuits of the Germany, are so many steps towards the one great object of uniting the Prussian population with those moral influences, on which a population is not a nation, and on which national independence, and even existence, depend. To what has this great experiment been successful? this solitary experiment on the old continent—analogous to that which has been successful on the new—to form a national character, to kindle a national spirit, to convert a mass of individuals of different languages, religions, histories, laws, customs, into a

The American cement, the main ingredient in the American cement, is totally wanting in Prussia—freedom, the untrammelled freedom of industry, property, mind, and person, without interference of the government by laws to the enactment of which the people are no party, and by a system of functionarism supersedes free agency in all civil and even many domestic relations of life, and extinguishes the moral influences and national spirit which the government wishes to kindle, leaving the people a passive mass in the hands of their rulers. The Prussian government has taken one step, and is afraid to take the next. The second naturally and unavoidably must follow the first, and lives in a navailing struggle to reconcile things irreconcilable with the first—a supreme interference of the state in all human action and opinion among her subjects, with the activity, industry, prosperity, the national character, public spirit, and patriotism which a people only attain where action and opinion are left uncontrolled.

The present military organisation of the subjects of Prussia is one of the most important features in the social economy of the continent. It has been adopted, with more or less rigour in its application, by almost all the secondary European powers, and its principle and spirit enter into all the civil as well as the military arrangements of those countries, and extend an influence over the whole social condition of the European population, more extensively than any other military system has done since the decay of the feudal. The system of standing armies preceded it, and which still exists with us, entered but *as an element in the social economy of a country.* The

classes who had to furnish recruits to it either by enlistment or impressment, more or less concealed under the forms of a ballot suffered a loss of the members thus abstracted from civil life but that was almost the only effect on the social economy of the mass of the population, excepting the taxation, more or less heavy in different countries, necessary for supporting a standing army totally distinct from the people. It is a singular historic fact, that Prussia has twice within these hundred years furnished the model on which almost all the other European powers have formed their military force, even to the most minute detail. The former military system of Prussia, as it was left in its highest perfection by Frederic the Great to his successors, was one of harsh and brutifying discipline, enforced by the cudgel over trembling squads of serfs trained into mere movable machines. The first shock with the undisciplined troops of the French republic proved that this system was false, that humanity was not to be outraged with impunity in the formation of armies, and that mind and moral influences were superior elements even in modern tactics to the deadening discipline of the corporal's stick. The whole of the European armies formed, even to the shape of their buttons, upon this Prussian model, were by numerous defeats totally disorganised. It is not the least of the benefits resulting from the French revolutionary wars, that a more humane spirit of military discipline, a greater consideration for the mind and rights of the soldier as a human being, and a greater dependence upon the spirit and moral influences than upon a forced mechanical movement, have been introduced as a consequence of these defeats into the military system of every country.

The new military system of Prussia, as established by edicts of 3rd September, 1814, and 21st November, 1815, has been adopted by almost all the secondary European powers. By this system\* every subject between the ages of 20 and 25 years without distinction of fortune, birth, class, or intended profession is bound to serve as a private soldier in the ranks of the standing army for a period of three successive years. From this obligation only the most obvious incapacity from bodily or mental defect or infirmity can excuse any individual, and this incapacity must be examined and admitted by the local board of commissioners for military affairs, whose proceedings are reported

\* Gesetze ueber die Militair Pflichtigkeit. Berlin, 1842.

to, and watched over by, a superior provincial board, and both report upon every claim for exemption to the war department. By the construction of these boards it is impossible that favour, partiality, or local interest can screen any individual from his turn for entering the service for three years—which turn is determined by lot, drawn by those who are between the prescribed years, viz., between 20 and 25 years of age—nor from serving his three years in that particular branch of service or regiment, for which, from stature, constitution, or previous occupation, he may be best adapted. Officers from each branch of service—of the guards, artillery, cavalry, and infantry—attend these boards at their sittings, for this selection. In order not to press too severely on the professions or occupations incompatible with such a long period of military service, certain exemptions on account of the social position of the individual are allowed by favour, and on certificate from the proper authorities, so as to reduce the period of service in a regiment of the line from three years to one year, the individual thus favoured being at the expense of his own clothing and accoutrements. But such exemption is the exception, not the rule; is not matter of right, but of favour; and also of political convenience, when the ranks of the standing army are already sufficiently full. After this service of three years in a regiment of the line or standing army, the individual returns on leave of absence as a supernumerary, liable to rejoin his regiment in case of war; but upon attaining his 26th year, after his three years' service, he is discharged from the lists of the standing army into the army of reserve, and into that division of it which is called *erster Aufgeböths*, or first for service. This is the real army of the country, being composed entirely of soldiers of three years' training, and between the ages of 26 and 32 years. The standing army is the formation-school for the population. One third of its numbers is discharged every autumn into this division of the army of reserve, and replaced in spring out of the population by the local and provincial boards of commissioners. The army of reserve is called out for exercise and field manœuvres for fourteen days every year, which however is sometimes extended to four weeks. The individual after his 32nd year is turned over from this first division to the second division (*zweiten Aufgeböths*) of the army of reserve. In case of war, this division would not take the field, but would do garrison duty, as being composed generally of men with families, and more advanced in life, and also of half-invalids who had been found unfit for severer

duty. After his 49th year, the individual is turned over into the land-sturm, or levy *en masse*, which is only mustered or exercised in its own locality, and would only be called out in case of actual invasion, or domestic tumult. The whole land is thus one vast camp, the whole population one army. Every man, in every station of life, and in every locality, is a drilled soldier, who knows his regiment, his company, his squad, his military place in it, and appears under arms at his rendezvous for duty, with as little delay or confusion, and as complete in all military appointments, as a soldier of any standing army quartered in cantonments. The admirable precision and arrangement with which all the equipments of each portion of the army of reserve are placed in convenient depôts, and head-quarters over the country, for the inhabitants of each locality belonging to that force, prevent any confusion in the working of this vast and admirably arranged military system. Standing armies, composed of men enlisted, or impressed, for an unlimited period of service, or for a period long enough to separate them from the rest of society almost entirely, to detach them as a class from all the ties and habits of civil life, exist now only in Russia, Austria, France, and England. Prussia, and all the secondary powers, have dropped this kind of military force. In France six years, and in Austria eight years, are the terms of service for the conscript drawn by ballot for the army, and lately the period is extended to eight years in France; and, as far as regards the individual's habits and ties, this is almost equivalent to unlimited service. All the other European powers have organised their military force upon the Prussian principle; and this has imperceptibly altered most essentially their relative political importance, and the weight of Prussia in European affairs; and particularly has become an element in the social structure, and in the political balance of power of the European states, of great interest to the political philosopher observant of those silent changes which come over civilised society unremarked, until on some sudden crisis they produce striking effects. This national army of the Prussian system appears to be the cheapest, the most effective, and most valuable military force, a country can keep. Its cheapness, indeed, in proportion to its great numerical strength, and to the fine and efficient appearance under arms, to which good arrangement and discipline have brought this force in Prussia, has led to the almost general adoption of the system on the Continent. The soldiery are only in pay during the period

they are embodied, that is, during the three years' service in the line, when they may be considered as learning their military duty, and, afterwards, only during the few weeks yearly of army of reserve service, when the troops are assembled for field manœuvres, in great masses, in different points of the kingdom. Our military men who gallop about at these grand Prussian reviews declare unanimously their admiration of the appearance, movements, manœuvres, and military excellency of the Prussian army; and its drill and equipments, as well as its organisation, have become a model for other troops, almost as generally as they were at the commencement of the revolutionary war, before the onset of troops far less exquisitely drilled and dressed than the old Prussian army, settled the real value in the field of this parade perfection for half a century.

This kind of military force, however, if duly weighed in all its bearings on the community by the political economist, will be found in reality the most expensive and ruinous, instead of the cheapest, a country can support. It is an enormous pressure, a ruinous tax, in reality, upon the industry of a nation—a reckless waste of the property—of the time and labour which constitute the property—of the labouring and middle classes, and which reduces, and for ever keeps down the people, to a state of poverty. Look at its working among those classes. Take, for instance, a lad of two and twenty, who has just learnt his business as a carpenter, smith, weaver, or other handicraft, and then for three years, the three most valuable years in his life for acquiring steady habits of work, and manual dexterity and skill in his trade, put him into a regiment of the line in a distant part of the country to live the idle life of a soldier for three years, away from the advice or control of his friends, and without seeing or handling the implements of the trade he was bred to. What kind of operative tradesman, or head of a family, is such an education to produce? But after three years' service, he finds his way home, resumes his original trade, marries, and from 25 to 48 years of age, that is, for 23 years, he has to give at the least two weeks yearly—I believe it is more usually four weeks—to his army of reserve duty. Now, if we take the working years of such a man to be 40, that is, from 22 to 62 years of age, we have 14,600 working days in his life, including, however, Sundays, holidays, sickness-days, and drunkenness-days; and out of this *gross capital* of 14,600 days, this man's military *duty of three years' service in the line*, and 14 days for 23 years.



afterwards in the army of reserve, takes away 1417 days, or just about 10 per cent. of his operative life. It is equivalent to a property tax of 10 per cent., taking the lowest data of calculation, upon the labour and industry of the working, producing classes of the nation; and observe, it is not 10 per cent. on the value only of the produce of the time, labour, and industry of the people, that is consumed by those governments, but one-tenth of the productive powers themselves—of the very time and labour of the people. Nor is this all. It is in the good weather half-year, in the drilling and reviewing season only, that many kinds of out-door labour, and many sorts of crafts can be carried on to advantage; and besides the greater severity of winter in Prussia, and generally on the Continent, the extent of country, and the consequent inferiority of ~~cross~~ roads and facilities of transport, impede industry and ~~business~~, during the bad weather half-year, to a degree unknown in our compact, well roaded land. The **working** man's time is worth double to **him** at the very season it is taken from him by his government for drills and parades. The system is incompatible with a progressive condition of a people, with any considerable growth of national wealth, or any extensive development of manufacturing industry. The labouring man cannot raise his condition to the middle class; scarcely can he gather savings for old age. The middle class is formed under this system of taxation on time and labour, not by the rise of individuals from the lower class, as in our social system, but by the breaking down of the class above itself. The German military system, and the German commercial league, are at direct variance with each other. If the former prevail, and continue to devour the only basis of national wealth and prosperity—the time and labour of the people—the latter will linger in a forced existence, and gradually die away. If the latter prevail, and Germany become in reality a thriving, industrious, manufacturing country, this military system, and the whole system of interference of the Continental governments with the people in all their doings, engendered by it, must fall to the ground. Many conceive, theoretically, that it must be the great safeguard of the liberties of a country, its best protection from tyranny, that the whole people have arms in their hands and know how to use them. This may be true, if political liberty alone, that is, the form or constitution of a free government, be all that is understood by liberty, and if the people have got the forms of a free government.

which they have not in Prussia ; but if civil liberty—the right of every individual to the free use of his mental and bodily powers, and to his own free agency as a moral and social being, subject only to such restrictions as he himself has concurred in, and imposes by his own representatives, for the general good—be the end, and political liberty only the means, then this is not true of such a military organisation of a whole people. It is sacrificing their civil liberty—which is the great end and object of free institutions—for their political liberty, if they had any, for the defence of a share in the forms of legislation. It is paying for the saddle, and leaving nothing to buy the horse.

It is **stated** by a statistical writer, Jancigny, as an approximation to the **proportion** of the military to the population of different countries, that in **Russia** 1 in 57 of the population is serving as a soldier ; in Prussia 1 in 80 ; in Austria 1 in 118 ; in France 1 in 122 ; and in England 1 in 320. But in this statistical approximation, the writer forgets the most **important** element in it, as far as regards the industry, morals, and habits of a **people**, viz., that in England this 1 represents a whole military generation. As long as this 1 lasts, the 320 do not furnish another 1 to fill his place as a soldier, and when they do, it is 1 who can be spared, whose social condition allows him to enlist. In Russia it appears to be the same—the 1 represents a whole military generation. In Austria and France, the 1 represents 8 years, and 6 years respectively, during which periods the 1 is not replaced out of the body of the community ; and as, after 6 or 8 years of military service, many soldiers have lost all civil ties and means of earning a living, and re-engage as substitutes for those drawn to replace them, the system is nearly equivalent in practice to the English and Russian. But in Prussia the 1 represents only 3 years. He is then thrown back, with his half military, half civil habits, into the mass of the community, and another 1 is taken out of the 80, without regard to his social position or relation to others, to be demoralised by the same process. By demoralised, it is not here meant that the soldier is necessarily a less moral man than the civilian, but that his habits of industry and steady application to work, and his knack or skill in his trade, are necessarily deranged ; and in this sense his military service demoralises him for civil utility. His mind and habits, as well as his manual dexterity and aptitude, are injured. The operative, taken away from his factory, where his *individual intelligence and dexterity* may often be most import-

ant to its prosperity, to be drilled and lead a military life for three years, and afterwards yearly for several weeks, returns with his habits, mind, and hand, *out*, as workmen express it, when they resume their tools after long disuse. He is no competitor against a workman in the uninterrupted exercise of his handicraft all his life.

A public trained in the habits of military life are, also, bad consumers, as well as bad producers. The whole community necessarily brings from the ranks the rough tastes and habits easily satisfied with rude production, and very little of it, which are inseparable from the condition of the common soldier whatever class he may have been originally drawn from. As consumers, they do not bring into the home market the almost fastidious and finical taste for, and estimate of fine workmanship, superior material, and perfect finish, which is a principal element in the superiority of one manufacturing country over another.

Notwithstanding the testimony of all military officers to the fine appearance and efficiency of the Prussian troops, it is reasonable to believe that men who know that they are only tied to their military service in the line for three years, and are hankering after their civil occupations, and counting the day until they can return to their homes, are, as soldiers, not equal to men who have no connection with civil life, no ties, care, hopes, property, or domicile, beyond their military position. This seems to be a point in human nature, on which others as well as military men are able to form an opinion; and as immediately previous to 1794, the testimony of all the military officers of Europe ran quite as high in favour of the efficiency of the Prussian army, as then constituted, such testimony to its superiority as now constituted cannot be received as altogether infallible. Regiments of the line almost totally renewed in the course of three years, with one-third of their strength always raw recruits, and their oldest soldiers, generally speaking, of less than three years' standing, can scarcely be equal to old regiments of seasoned soldiers, although they may be pattern regiments for drill, dress, and good arrangement; and regiments of reserve although consisting of soldiers of three years' standing, if only embodied for a few days or weeks in summer, are after all only a good militia. England, Russia, France, and Austria, have adopted a far cheaper military system for society, one better for the civil liberty of the people, and probably one better to

for having effective troops, by taking a proportion of the people by voluntary enlistment, or by forced conscriptions, and keeping the same individuals always, or as long as they are fit for service, embodied as an army, relieving the rest, the great body of the community, altogether from the heavy annual tax on their time and industry, which presses on the people in Prussia and the other German States. These scape-goats for the rest of the community form, probably, more effective soldiers individually; and collectively are, without doubt, a more effective military power in the hands of a government. The whole population of a monarchy, organised, drilled, disciplined, regimented, ready and effective at a call to fight for king and country, sounds remarkably well in a school boy's oration, or a newspaper paragraph. But look closely into the thing. A modern army is a political machine, composed of artillery, cavalry, and infantry, in the hands of a state, and movable at its pleasure; and unless this machine be not only perfect in all its parts, but movable and disposable for offensive, aggressive operation, as well as for mere defence of its native land, it is of no real political weight, in Europe. Does the Prussian system fulfil these conditions of an effective, political, military power? Is it perfect in all its parts, or only as perfect as the nature of its formation allows it to be? Artillery and cavalry, the most essential parts of this machine, can scarcely be formed at all in less than three years, we are told by our most experienced officers who have written on tactics; and in these services the man is part and parcel of his horse, or of his gun. He has not, like the infantry soldier, a value independent of other things; but out of connection and practice with the identical gun, horse, and squad he is trained to work with, he is but part of a tool, the stock of a firelock, the handle only of a hammer. It is evident there can be no perfection in these two important branches of military power in such militia troops.

Is such a military machine as that of Prussia movable and disposable? Is it a military force which could be shipped to attack or to garrison distant colonies—and without colonies Germany can scarcely become what German politicians fondly dream of, a great commercial power—or to carry on such a war as France has now on her hands in Africa, or as Russia wages in the Caucasus, or even to carry on a few campaigns in Germany itself, or in the Netherlands? If Hanover were to occupy the *Duchy of Brunswick*, or France to invade the *Baden* or *Hessian*

provinces on the Rhine, or to get up a war in the East, is the Prussian national army, constituted as it is, a military force which could be freely used in a succession of campaigns, like any other political military force, on such ordinary political occasions nowise affecting directly the safety of Prussia? Or is this military machine defensive only, and, from its composition, of no weight or value as an available offensive power? Prussia was called upon by sound policy, and the ties of kindred, to prevent the dismemberment of the kingdom of the Netherlands, and to extinguish the Belgian Revolution; and a few disposable regiments sent to Brussels to support the King of Holland—on the same principle that Austria sends a few regiments on every alarm into the Papal or Neapolitan states—would have turned the scale. At the siege of Antwerp, Prussia was obviously called upon in honour to take a part, when a French force was actually in the field against her allies the Dutch. A good cause was not wanting, nor evidently was the will wanting on the part of the Prussian royal family and cabinet: but the means, the machinery of an aggressive military power movable at the pleasure of the state, for any purpose, for any length of time, and to any quarter, were wanting. A Prussian army could be assembled for annual exercise and manœuvre on the frontier, for purposes of demonstration, and even of occupation of adjoining parishes in Luxembourg; but however brilliant, expert, and well disciplined such an army might be, and however ready and eager to engage in actual warfare its officers or its men might be, it is obviously so constituted, that it cannot be freely used in the field by its government as a political machine. The property, the industry, the intelligence, the influence of the country, are in its ranks—all that is valuable in a nation is in its ranks, and not merely a class given up to military service, as scape-goats for the rest of the community, and composed generally of the least valuable and most isolated members in it, whose loss is simply the loss of soldiers. Here, the loss would be the loss of the owners or heirs of the property of the country—the loss of fathers, husbands, sons—of men on whom the interests and industry of the country hinges—of the most useful and influential classes in it, not of the unconnected, idle, and outcast only, of whom an ordinary standing army is composed. The loss by a victory would be greater to Prussia in a political and economical view, than the loss by three defeats of ordinary troops. The affairs of society would be more deranged; more

eful life would be destroyed. An army composed of such materials cannot be risked, unless on the rare occasions, as during the last war, when national existence and safety are visibly at stake. The loss even of time and labour to all the productive classes, the destruction of all manufacturing industry and enterprise, by calling out the army of reserve, composed as it is, for actual service for a campaign or two, would be such a sacrifice of all social interests, as only the most imminent danger could justify.

If all wars were, like the last, for national existence, no system could be superior to the present military arrangement of the Prussian population; and all the secondary European powers have run headlong into it, on account of its obvious excellence for the defence of a country, and its apparent economy; and for the same reasons, all politicians and political economists are loud in its praise. If all the European countries had adopted the same military system at the conclusion of the last war, this might have been wise. The only question would have been, whether the economy is not in appearance only—whether the taking up of the time and labour of the whole productive classes of a nation, for military service, be not in reality a retrograde step in civilisation and political economy, and one more expensive and ruinous to the people than the taxes upon the value of the products of their time and labour, necessary to pay a particular class to perform that military service for all. But the other powers have each retained a disposable military force of a different nature, constituted on a different principle, and available as a political machine for any purpose in or out of the country, without regard or reference to the machine itself, or its connection with the industry and property of the nation, and therefore as a machine of superior weight and availability in European affairs. The new national armies have no aggressive capability, and consequently no power of intimidation in them. They are like the enormous pieces of ordnance found in old fortifications, to be fired off only in one direction, and only in defence. A French diplomatist would probably laugh in the face of a Prussian diplomatist, who could talk seriously of an armed alliance of Prussia and the other German powers who have adopted her military arrangements, for any political purpose whatsoever beyond the simple defence of their own territories, each for itself from within. The power of acting offensively without *their own territories* is gone. This great difference in



the constitutions of their armies since the peace, has produced the most important alteration in the relative weight and importance of the European powers. It has altogether changed, in an unseen way, the balance of power in Europe. For offensive war, and as a political power, Prussia has dropped the sword; while Russia, Austria, France, and England, have retained it, as something of weight ready to be thrown upon great questions arising, into the political scale. It is a mistake to talk of the five great dominant European powers; for as a belligerent capable of giving effect by offensive operation beyond her own territories to her political determinations, Prussia is in reality as much out of the question as Denmark, or any of the secondary powers in the European system. It is a signal instance of the hidden compensations which neutralise and counter-balance all excess of evil in human affairs, that this great military monarchy, the last which made and retained conquests and acquisitions of territory, without reference to moral principle, or appeal to the feeling of the people themselves, or to the sense of right among mankind—for such were the conquests of Frederic the Great, the acquisitions of Silesia and of the Polish and Pomeranian provinces now concealed under the name of East Prussia—is the first which was shaken to the ground in the late war, by the insufficiency of her own military power for her own defence—a mechanical military power without national feeling; and now, by the perfection of the mechanism of her military power for home-defence she is paralysed, and disarmed as a great political power.

Of all the European powers, Prussia supports the greatest military establishment, in proportion to her extent, population, and finances. The infantry of the line is reckoned 132,013 men. The cavalry of the line and of the guards, 25,200 men. The artillery of the line and of the guards, 22,365 men. Pioneers, miners, and other bodies of the engineer corps, 13,500 men. The infantry of the landwehr, exercised yearly, 124,737 men. The cavalry of the landwehr, exercised for four weeks yearly, 19,656 mounted men. The artillery of the landwehr, 17,292 men. The amount, including 8,118 officers, is 362,881 fighting men. Two-thirds of the landwehr, first for service, is sufficient to complete the landwehr regiments to their war establishment, so that one-third (above 80,000 men) of this division of the force remains disposable, and the whole of the division of the landwehr second for service, which is as strong

as the first division. The whole available exercised force of Prussia is reckoned by military writers at 532,000 men. The artillery is said—of course no exact information on such a point can be obtained or sought by the traveller—to consist, in pieces complete and useful, of 648 six-pounders and howitzers, of 216 twelve-pounders, and of 216 light field-pieces for horse-artillery, besides an unknown amount of heavy guns in the fortresses and in 336 garrison towns. The funds required in time of profound peace and non-movement of troops, to keep up this enormous military force, appears to be 22,798,000 thalers, out of a total revenue of 51,287,000 thalers. The revenue being pushed to the utmost point beyond which the productiveness of additional taxation would be null, being managed and collected also with great economy—the direct taxes costing but 4 per cent., and the indirect taxes 15 per cent. on the gross amount, as expense of collection—it does not appear how, in the event of a war, funds could be found to move this huge military machine. The time, labour, industry, and money, which should have been accumulating during peace in the hands of the people, and forming a capital diffused over the country capable of bearing the expenses of a war, are expended every year in military shows, drills, and manœuvres, which, even admitting that they make perfect soldiers of the whole population, leave nothing to move them with in the event of real war—nothing to raise taxes from. In the whole Prussian population the number of males fit for productive labour, that is, between their seventeenth and forty-fifth year, inclusive, appears to be about three millions. It is 3,042,946, including the infirm, sick, blind, lame, deformed, and all fit, or unfit for military duty and productive labour. Above one-sixth of this gross number of productive labourers is taken by the state every year, for longer or shorter periods, from productive labour, to be employed in the unproductive labour of handling their firelocks, marching, and manœuvring. A people whose time and labour are thus taken away from industrial occupation, can never become rich or powerful as a nation, nor well off as individuals. The Duke of Wellington was right in an observation which has often been cavilled at—that notwithstanding our heavy taxation, the English labouring people are the least heavily taxed of any labouring people in Europe. The time and labour of the common man, with us, are not taken from him by his government. The unwieldiness and disproportion of the Prussian military force to the industrial

force which should raise the means to move it appears from the following comparison:—Prussia\*, with a population of 14 millions, has an army of 532,000 men. Austria, with a population of 32 millions, has an army of 750,000 men: but if Austria adopted the Prussian military system, her army would amount to 1,216,000 men. France, estimated in 1841 to have a population of 35 millions, has an army of 840,000 men; but on the Prussian military system, her army would amount to 1,330,000 men. Great Britain, with a population of 26 millions, would, in proportion to Prussia, have an army of 987,000 men as her present establishment—a greater number than in the heat of the last war, reckoning volunteers, yeomanry, and all, were ever withdrawn from preparing the sinews of war by the exercise of private industry, to make shows and sham-fights, or even to repel a threatened invasion.

It is a defect in the present construction of the Continental armies—of that of France as much as any—that the private soldier who has raised himself to the station of a non-commissioned officer has no prospect whatever of attaining the rank of an officer. The class of non-commissioned officers is, in fact, expressly excluded from any higher military promotion by the distinction kept up, in most services, between nobility, from whom alone officers can be appointed, and the non-noble citizen, or burgerliche class. In France and Prussia this distinction is kept up by appointing officers only from the cadets, or military schools, and requiring scientific examination for a commission. The sons of functionaries, civil or military, who are educated carefully, and at some expense to the state as well as to their parents, are thus exclusively entitled to become officers; and as functionarism breeds up to its own supply, there is, especially in the healthy services of those powers who have no colonies or unwholesome climes to wear out human life in, always a surplus of those who have a right by education, promise, and long expectation, to vacancies as they occur in the regiments in which they are doing duty as expectants or cadets. The meritorious private soldier or non-commissioned officer is thus entirely excluded from any chance of promotion. Now this is a defect upon which a civilian is entitled to form an opinion as well as a military man, because it is a defect in the

\* *Betrachtungen eines Militaers ueber einem bevorstehenden Krieg zwischen Deutschland und Frankreich.* Leipsic, 1841.

application of principles of social economy common to all institutions in society as well as to an army. To exclude merit or capability from the highest point to be attained, can never be a good arrangement in any social institution. Education is the plea upon which this exclusion of the whole class of non-commissioned officers from promotion in the Prussian service is justified. Education is certainly not to be undervalued, especially for the officer; but if we consider what the duties of a commissioned officer are, as ensign, lieutenant, or captain, and that in an army of a hundred thousand men, not two hundred are required to apply science or high education to their military duties, it appears obviously to be only a cover for the monopoly of the rank of commissioned officers by a particular class, to require that every subaltern should be educated to take the command of the movement of armies, and should pass through scientific examinations which would probably puzzle a Wellington. A sergeant-major with his sergeants, manœuvres his company, troop, or regiment, without the aid of the officers. He does only the duties which they superintend, and in reality learn practically to do from him. To shut the door totally upon this class is evidently a faulty arrangement of the military system of a country. The efficiency of the French armies, so long as this door was thrown wide open—that is, during the whole of the republican period, and until the Emperor Napoleon shut it upon them, and upon his own success—proves that no military force is well constituted under the exclusion of the common soldier from the hope of attaining the higher military situations. The moral principle is too powerful for the aristocratic, in modern times even in military arrangement. The French and Prussian governments, without acknowledging the exclusion in favour of a noblesse, introduce it practically, by requiring the education which their noblesse or functionary class can alone afford to give. I will not hear of a single instance in Prussia of a man, not entered as a cadet, and entitled by his examination in science to a commission, who had risen from the ranks, since the peace, to the station of an officer. The government indeed has expressly declared, that the ultimate reward of long service and merit in this class is to be the appointment to such civil offices in the departments under government, as the non-commissioned officer or private soldier may be qualified to fill. In France, it is this defect in her military system which, in time of peace, seems inseparable from her civil arrangements from her functionary

system, that keeps alive the discontented republican spirit in the great body of the youth who supply the ranks, yet are excluded from promotion in the army. The Bourbon family never can obtain military popularity, as this exclusion is naturally ascribed to their system of government. The "*petit caporal*," applied to Napoleon, is not merely a term of endearment in the recollections of the French soldiery—it has a political meaning. In England, this defect in the old military arrangements has been perceived by the liberal ministry; and the non-commissioned class has been raised to a higher respectability than in any service in Europe. The chances are small, no doubt, in the British army, of the private soldier or non-commissioned officer attaining the rank of officer; yet more such promotions of men, originally from the ranks, take place in one year in the British service, than have taken place since the peace in all the Continental services put together. The non-commissioned class in an army are the equivalent to the middle classes in civil society. When the want of education, the vice, the brutality of our lower orders, are so much talked of by our higher orders, it is somewhat singular to find in the lowest order of all among us—that of the enlisted soldiery—no want of men of education and conduct to form a class which, in moral and intellectual condition, stands above the middle class of civil society, and not at all below the higher orders who vilified that from which it is formed. Is it not in a great degree a mere *façon de parler* among our gentry, when they speak of an ignorance, and moral, and intellectual degradation, of our working classes, with whom they in reality never mix or converse on such a footing as to know what they are? The superior status, as men of conduct and intelligence, of this middle class in military life, its higher respectability, and greater efficiency in the British service, strikes the traveller abroad, who happens to observe the different style of doing those ordinary duties in which the men are left entirely with a corporal or sergeant—as in relieving sentries—in the British and in foreign regiments. In the latter, it is obvious that, when the eye of the officer is off, the restraint of discipline is not upon the men. The unmilitary observer abroad can apply no other test of the state of discipline to what he sees of soldiery, than the precise or lax style of the men when in charge of non-commissioned officers only. If this be an admissible test, the discipline of the British service is more genuine and better than that of the Prussian.

Two distinct elements may enter into the construction of a military force in modern times. The rough peasant, or working-man-element, may compose not only the main body of the soldiery and non-commissioned officers, but may be mixed pretty high up even in the class of commissioned officers ; or the gentleman-element, that of the educated, refined, delicately bred and brought up classes, may, by the formation of the military force out of the social body, be found preponderating, if not in numbers, at least in example and influence, in the ranks of an army. Which of the two, as military machines, would a Wellington prefer to work with in a campaign ? It is possible that a certain delicacy of mind and body, a certain impatience of fatigue and discomfort, a certain over refinement for the work of the common soldier, may creep in and pervade too generally the mass of an army, assimilating the rougher material, of which soldiery, to be effective, must be composed, too much to itself. The soldier, like the horse, may be too finely bred, too delicately reared for his work, too soft, too refined, too much used to comforts. The composition of the Prussian army, drawn indiscriminately from all classes, from the middle and comfortable as well as the roughly living classes, has this defect evidently in it. The common labouring man himself on the Continent is, from the nature of the climate and his indoor employments for half the year, much less exposed to, and less hardened against, wet, cold, fatigue, and privation, than our common people. Those above the mere labouring class, the peasantry, the artisans, the middle class, and higher classes, all of whom are in the ranks, are so comfortably brought up, so wont to their regular meals, their cup of coffee, their pipe, their warm clothing, warm rooms, and are so cold-catching and sensible of weather, wet, fatigue, and discomfort, that even our highest classes of nobility and gentry are much more hardy, and, as every traveller remarks, far more robust in constitution and capability of enduring great fatigue and privation, than the very servants they hire on the Continent to attend them. A military force composed of such material may be very brilliant for a single field-day, a battle, or a short campaign even, and very effective for home defence, but is not of the stuff for long rough fatigue and persevering endurance of all discomfort and privation, which in all ordinary military conjunctures are the military qualities that ensure success. Something of this want of the rougher material, and of this excess of the finer material, appears, even to the unmilitary



eye, about the Prussian soldiery. They are light, well made, even elegant figures—youths evidently formed upon the standard of a higher class of society than the common men in other services. They have not only the use of their limbs, but the kind of grace of movement which such exercises as dancing, fencing, and gymnastics give. They attitudinise well on sentry, dress individually well, and with a certain degree of dandyism, pantalooned, padded, and laced in, and which beseems the soldier. But still the unmilitary English eye of the common traveller misses the giant frame, strength, and vigour, of the front rank men of our good regiments of the line. The guards even, and cuirassiers, compared to the British, appear—can it be prejudice, or is it reality?—of ordinary infantry and ordinary dragoon make and size. Put them in the uniforms of riflemen, or of hussars, and they would pass for such on ordinary unmilitary people; but put one of our horseguards, or cuirassiers, on the horse, and in the accoutrements of a light cavalry man, or one of our grenadiers, not of the guards alone but of any of our good regiments, into a light infantry company, and there is not a grocer in Marylebone parish who would not find out at once that this kind of man was misplaced. Now this kind of man—the strong, sinewy, bony, muscular, grenadier frame of man, such as composes the front ranks at least of all our good regiments of the line—is a very scarce kind of man in Germany, probably from the natural growth and make of the people, and also from their softer and more delicate, more sedentary, more indoor life in boyhood when the frame is forming. If you see a stout man he is generally fleshy, with more weight than strength. A tendency to grow corpulent, and with what generally accompanies that tendency of the frame, a shortness of the arm bones as compared to men of the same size of lean, spare constitutions, is very common in Germany. This tendency to a lusty roundabout rather than a muscular growth, strikes the eye in the Prussian soldiery, and is no doubt derived from the easy, regular, good living, to which the classes from whom the ranks are filled have been accustomed from infancy. If a doubt may be permitted to a traveller, not certainly qualified to judge of such military matters, it would be—Is this so good a material to form an army of, this admixture of a class more delicately bred than the common labouring man, and giving its own habits, wants, and tastes, to the whole mass? Is this gentleman-element so well adapted to stand privation, fatigue, discomfort, and all that assails the com-

mon soldier, as the rougher material, the common working-man-ement, out of which our army is composed ?

Another obvious defect in the military establishment of Prussia is the want of any cure for longevity. The common men live indeed too short a time in the service—only for three years ; but the officers live by far too long. Captains of companies of forty-five years of age, and lieutenants advancing to that time of life, are too common. Africa in the French service, the East and West Indies, the expense of home quarters, and the good half-pay in our service, are remedies counteracting in some degree this malady, the most pernicious to the efficiency and vigour of a military force that can get the ascendancy in it. It was the main cause of the destruction of the Prussian army in the first campaigns of the revolutionary war against the French ; and our own army never did any good in the last war until the elderly gentlemen were got rid of, and captains of companies were generally under five-and-twenty, and field officers under five-and-thirty. With officers of the age when, in the course of nature, activity, endurance of fatigue, elasticity of body and mind, are failing, order, discipline, and appearance may be kept up admirably in a body of men, but the spirit and dash is wanting. Prussia has no unwholesome districts, or severe military duties wearing out human life, or disgusting the officer with the service, and but few advantages for the military man to retire upon when getting too old for the duties of the inferior officer. The promotion is consequently slow, and men grow old in situations which require the spirit and activity of youth. It is not in the habits, also, of the upper class to keep themselves young by hard exercise or fatigue. The French officer is perpetually in movement, like a hyena in his den. It may be only a den of a coffee-room, or billiard-room ; but there he is all day, in perpetual activity of mind and body. The English officer has his daily feat of pedestrianism, harder than any forced march ; his hunting, his shooting, and is always in wind and working condition for any exertion. The German officers seem naturally of more sedentary habits. You seldom see them taking heavy downright fatigue for mere pleasure or emulation, as our young officers do. The very school-boys walk, and don't run in Germany.

In the event of a rupture with France upon the French claim of having the Rhine for their boundary, the chances would run very much against Prussia, notwithstanding the excellence of her *military arrangements* for defence : it is a national question in

France, one which has become almost personal in the spirit of every Frenchman. it is a mere political distant object to the great majority of the Prussian population. They have shown themselves capable of great exertion on great occasions, but this would not be one of those great occasions which call forth national spirit for the defence of national existence, or material interests. German steam is not easily got up. The jealousy of the governments extinguishes every where in Germany the expression of public opinion, and consequently the diffusion of national spirit on subjects not immediately pressing upon the people. No political discussions in newspapers or in conversation, no agitation or party feelings upon their own affairs keep alive the flame. In public places where people meet and talk, the literature or science of the day, the theatre, opera, or ballet, and perhaps the reviews of the military, and the journeys of their princes to or from their residences, are discussed, but never the national objects, interests, or politics. You never hear among the lowest class of Germans the vulgar prejudices of the vulgar Englishman, Frenchman, or American, about the superiority of his country, which make him insufferable as an individual, but respectable as an atom of a nation inspired with the same intense public spirit. The Prussians are educated, trained, and governed out of this spirit. The German newspaper writers, since the agitation of France under the administration of Thiers about the Rhine boundary, begin to talk of a German national spirit to be kindled in every breast by the German commercial league, but have only got so far, as yet, as to be quarrelling about whether this universal Teutonic flame is to be lighted upon a Prussian hearthstone, or is to have a fire-place for itself; whether all Germany is to be Prussia, or Prussia a part of all Germany united into one bundle, and set fire to as soon as the French march to the Rhine. The partition of Poland is but beginning now to present Prussia with the fruits of iniquity. The two or three millions of Polish subjects of Prussia, so far from being amalgamated with the Prussian subjects, live in a state of passive resistance to the Prussian government. They cultivate their own nationality, will not mix with the Prussians, and will not even accept of civil office, or educate their children in the German language, customs, and laws, so as to fill the civil functions in their own country. They hold themselves as subjugated provinces, and are evidently in a state which will paralyse the Prussian military power the moment the French throw up a signal rocket from the banks of

the Rhine. All that time had done since the partition of Poland towards amalgamating the people with Prussia, has been lost by the Prussian government delivering up to Russia the Poles who had sought refuge, during the last commotions in Poland, among their relations and friends on what they considered Prussian territory. At present the Polish peasants who desert their homes

Russian Poland to escape the military conscription, are seized the villages of Prussian Poland, and sent back. This, say the Russian Poles, justly enough, is not the state of a country amalgamated and incorporated with another independent country and protecting government, but the state of a subjugated country held only by conquest, and entitled to throw off the yoke. So general has this spirit of passive resistance to Prussian rule become in this part of the Prussian dominions, that his present majesty has been obliged, since his accession, to remind his Polish subjects by a proclamation, that they have been incorporated with his kingdom in the settlement of Europe in 1815, by the great European powers. The Poles quietly reply, that three of the five are themselves the robbers, partaking in the spoil to which they gave themselves these legitimate rights ; and refer to the undeniable non-protection of their provinces as Prussian territory, for the proof that they are not Prussian.

It is here, and on the Rhine, that the flame of war will first break out on the Continent of Europe. What will be the policy of England ? The day is past when an English ministry, however conservative, could venture to propose to the country to join a despotic state in subjugating Poland, or in repressing the extension of constitutional representative government over an enlightened, manufacturing, and commercial population on the Rhine. The grandisement of France by such an accession of territory and people is a bugbear which, in the present age, would not mislead the common sense of England, because it would be an accession of the elements of peace, industry, manufactures, and power in the public affairs of France, lodged in the hands of an enlightened, industrious, peaceful population—not an accession of warlike spirit and means ; and is at any rate an aggrandisement in no way affecting English interests or honour. England can only be a winner, if every population from the White Sea to the Straits of Gibraltar were to give themselves free institutions, civil and political liberty, influence of the public over public affairs, and the power of *restraining* their rulers from wars or oppression.

## CHAPTER V.

NOTES ON THE PRUSSIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.—ITS EFFECTS ON THE MORAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

THE educational system of Prussia is admirable—admirable as a machinery by which schools, schoolmasters, superintendence of them, checks, rewards both for the taught and the teachers, and in a word education—that word being taken in the meaning of the means of conveying certain very useful acquirements to every class of society, and to every capacity of individuals—are diffused over the country, and by law brought into operation upon every human being in it. The machinery for national education is undoubtedly very perfect. The military organisation of the whole population, and the habitual interference of government in all the doings and concerns of every individual—his very outgoing and incoming being, from the nature of his military service, matter of leave, licence, superintendence, and passport—make it as easy to establish an admirable system and regulation in every object government undertakes throughout the kingdom as in a barrack-yard. But great statesmen and politicians, especially of the military and nobility who see only one class or one side of society, are very apt to mistake the perfection of the means for the perfection of the end. The mistake is common with our own parliamentary philosophers. An admirable machinery is constructed, which with its various and well-considered regulations and checks, improved on perhaps by the experience and ingenuity of successive generations, is in reality a masterpiece of human wisdom and contrivance—such for example was our own excise system with its salt laws, and such is the same excise system now, in all that comes under its superintendence: and in the regular working and wise adaptation of all the parts of this beautiful and perfect machinery, we forget that the object itself may not be worth all this wisdom, *may be attained in a more easy, natural, and effective way, or may be even not worth attaining.* The wisdom and perfection *of the machinery* of the laws, and arrangements for attaining

the end, are confounded with the value and wisdom of the end itself. The educational system of Prussia is no doubt admirable as a machinery; but the same end is to be attained in a more natural and effective way—by raising the moral condition of the parents to free agency in their duties; or if not—if education, that is, reading, writing, and arithmetic, cannot be brought within the acquirements of the common man's children, but upon the Prussian semi-coercive principle of the state, through its functionaries, intruding upon the parental duties of each individual, stepping in between the father and his family, and enforcing by state regulations, fines and even imprisonment,\* what should be left to the moral sense of duty and natural affection of every parent who is not in a state of pupillage from mental imbecility—then is such education not worth the demoralizing price paid for it—the interference with men as free moral agents, the substitution of government enactments and superintendence in the most sacred domestic affairs for self-guidance by conscience, good principle, and common sense—the reduction, in sort of the population of a country to the social condition of a soldiery off duty roaming about their parade ground, under the eye and at the call of their superiors, without free agency or a sense of moral responsibility. Moral effects in society can only be produced by moral influences. We may drill boys into reading and writing machines; but this is not education. The most mechanical operations of reading, writing, and reckoning, the unquestionably most valuable acquirements—who can deny or doubt it?—but they are not education; they are the means only, not the end—the tools, not the work, in the education of

\* I asked an intelligent Prussian what could be done if a parent refused to send his child to school? He told me he had lately been at the police-office when a man was brought in for not sending his girl to school. She could not read, although advancing to the age to be confirmed. The man said his girl was earning her bread at a manufactory which he named, and he could not maintain her at school. He was asked why he did not send her to the evening schools established for such cases, and held after working hours, or to the Sunday schools. He said his wife had a large family of young infants, and his girl had to keep them when she came from her work, while her mother was washing for them, and doing other needful family work, which she could not do with a child in her arms. The man was told that he would be committed to prison if he and his wife did not send their girl to school.

In such a case would the school-learning be worth that learning which the girl was receiving *at home* in household work, or in taking care of children?



man. We are too ready in Britain to consider them as tools which will work of themselves—that if the labouring man is taught to read his Bible, he becomes necessarily a moral, religious man—that to read is to think. This confounding of the means with the end is practically a great error. We see no such effects from the acquisition of much higher branches of school education, and by those far above the social position of the labouring man. Reading and writing are acquirements very widely diffused in Paris, in Italy, in Austria, in Prussia, in Sweden; but the people are not moral, nor religious, nor enlightened, nor free, because they possess the means: they are not of educated mind in any true sense. If the ultimate object of all education and knowledge be to raise man to the feeling of his own moral worth, to a sense of his responsibility to his Creator and to his conscience for every act, to the dignity of a reflecting, self-guiding, virtuous, religious member of society, then the Prussian educational system is a failure. It is only a training from childhood in the conventional discipline and submission of mind, which the state exerts from its subjects. It is not a training or education which has raised, but which has lowered the human character. This system of interference and intrusion into the inmost domestic relations of the people, this educational drill of every family by state means and machinery, superseding parental tuition. It is a fact not to be denied that the Prussian population is at this day, when the fruits of this educational system may be appreciated in the generation of the adults, in a remarkably demoralised condition in those branches of moral conduct which cannot be taught in schools, and are not taught by the parents, because parental tuition is broken in upon by governmental interference in Prussia, its efficacy and weight annulled, and the natural dependence of the child upon the words and wisdom of its parent—the delicate threads by which the infant's mind, and its body, draws nutriment from its parent—is ruptured. They know little of human nature who know not that more of moral education may be conveyed in a glance of a mother's eye than in a whole course of reading and writing, under education by sergeants or clergymen in primary schools and gymnasia. Of all the virtues, that which the domestic family education of both the sexes most obviously influences—that which manifests more clearly than any other the moral condition of a society—the home state of moral and religious principles, the efficiency of those principles in it, and the amount of that moral restraint

on passions and impulses, which it is the object of education to attain—is undoubtedly female chastity. Will any traveller, will any Prussian say, that this index-virtue of the moral condition of a people is not lower in Prussia than almost any part of Europe? It is no uncommon event in the family of a respectable tradesman in Berlin to find upon his breakfast table a little baby, of which, whoever may be the mother, he has no doubt at all about the maternal grandfather. Such accidents are so common in the class in which they are most common with us—the middle class, removed from ignorance and indigence—that they are regarded but as accidents, as youthful indiscretions, not as disgraces affecting, as with us, the respectability and happiness of all the kith and kin for a generation. It is the educational drill of all the children of the community to this system, in schools in which the parent has no control or direction of what is taught, or by whom or how, is a very suitable introduction to the education that follows it—the barrack life of all

Prussian youth, during three years of the most precious period of human life for forming the moral habits and character of the man as a future member of society. The unsettled military life for three years of every Prussian on his entrance to the world as a man, the idleness, want of forethought, and volatility, inseparable from his condition during this period, his half military, half civilian state, neither one nor the other, during all the rest of his life, his condition of pupillage under military or civil functionaries, in every act or movement during his existence, from his primary school service (*schulpflicht*) to his being enrolled in old age as a *landsturm* man, are in reality the steps of his education. Are these the steps to any of the true objects of education? to the attainment of any feeling of individual moral worth and dignity? This edu-

<sup>1</sup> In 1837 the number of females in the Prussian population between the beginning of their 16th year and the end of their 45th year—that is, their child-bearing age—was 2,983,146; the number of illegitimate children born in the same year was 39,501, so that 1 in every 75 of the whole of the females of an age to bear children, had been the mother of an illegitimate child.

Prince Pukler Muskau states in one of his late publications (*Südöstlicher Deutschland*, 3 Theil. 1841), that the character of the Prussians for honesty is far lower than that of any other of the German populations; but he adduces no statistical data for this opinion. As a Prussian, he would scarcely come to such a conclusion, if it were not generally believed in Germany.

cational system is in reality, from the cradle to the grave, nothing but a deception, a delusion put upon the noblest principle of human nature—the desire for intellectual development—a deception practised for the paltry political end of rearing the individual to be part and parcel of an artificial and despotic system of government, of training him to be either its instrument or its slave, according to his social station.

The British government has accomplished a much wiser and more effective educational measure—the only measure, perhaps, which, without giving umbrage to some political or clerical body or other, could have been adopted for the general education of the people—by the reduction of the postage on letters. It has brought the use and advantage of education home to the common man, for it no longer costs him a day's wages to communicate with his family. This great moral improvement in the condition of the lower class extends the influences of advice, admonition, and family affection among them. The postage was, in reality, a tax upon these moral influences. The people will educate themselves in a single generation, for the sake of the advantages this great measure has bestowed on education. A state-machinery of schools and schoolmasters, spread over the country on the Prussian system, would probably have cost more than the sacrifice of revenue by the reduction of postage, and, owing to the clashing of religious parties, would never have been so effective in extending education. The means in fact of education—a neighbour to teach reading and writing, were not wanting—were to be found in every parish, and the want of schools was a far smaller obstacle to the diffusion of education than the want of any desire of the people themselves for education. The labouring class saw no advantage or benefit from it. This obstacle is overcome without interference with the religious opinions of any class or sect ; and it will be found that already the business of the schoolmaster in society is providing for itself, like that of the miller or the blacksmith, without any aid from church or state. The supply will follow the demand in education as in every other human want ; and the demand will be effective in producing supply, just in proportion to the value and use of the article in ordinary life. This measure will be the great historical distinction of the reign of Victoria I. Every mother in the kingdom who has children earning their bread at distance, lays her head upon her pillow at night with a feeling of gratitude for this blessing. It is the great and enviable dis-

upon passions and impulses, which it is the object of education and knowledge to attain—is undoubtedly female chastity. Will any traveller, will any Prussian say, that this index-virtue of the moral condition of a people is not lower in Prussia than in almost any part of Europe? \* It is no uncommon event in the family of a respectable tradesman in Berlin to find upon his breakfast table a little baby, of which, whoever may be the father, he has no doubt at all about the maternal grandfather. Such accidents are so common in the class in which they are least common with us—the middle class, removed from ignorance or indigence—that they are regarded but as accidents, as youthful indiscretions, not as disgraces affecting, as with us, the respectability and happiness of all the kith and kin for a generation. This educational drill of all the children of the community to one system, in schools in which the parent has no control or election of what is taught, or by whom or how, is a very suitable prelude to the education that follows it—the barrack life of all the Prussian youth, during three years of the most precious period of human life for forming the moral habits and character of the man as a future member of society. The unsettled military life for three years of every Prussian on his entrance into the world as a man, the idleness, want of forethought, and frivolity inseparable from his condition during this period, his half military, half civilian state, neither one nor the other, during all the rest of his life, his condition of pupillage under his military or civil functionaries, in every act or movement during his existence, from his primary school service (*schulpflichtigkeit*) to his being enrolled in old age as a *landsturm* man, are in reality the steps of his education. Are these the steps to any of the true objects of education? to the attainment of any high feeling of individual moral worth and dignity? This edu-

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favour,\* not by moral worth, merit, and exertion, gaining the public estimation. Morally, they are slaves of enslaved minds. Compulsory education, compulsory religion, compulsory military service, and the finger of government interfering in all action and opinion, and leaving nothing to free will and uncontrolled individual judgment, produce youths well educated, as it is called, because they can read, write, and sing, well dressed, well drilled, and able-bodied ; and whose *selbstgefuhl*, whose moral sense has not been educated, raised, and cultivated, even to the extent of making them feel debased or degraded at running, cap in hand, begging at the side of carriages on the highway.

This want of self-respect in the German character, produced by the educational and social system, and the undue importance in the German mind of rank, office, and conventional distinction, and the undue weight of these in the social economy of Germany, are strongly marked by the profusion† of orders, stars, crosses, ribbons, and empty titles, with which the people, both of civil and military station, adorn and gratify themselves. Every third man you meet in the streets has a label in his button-hole, telling all the world, "I am a knight, look at me." No very young man among the Continental military can have ever heard a bullet whistle in the field : so that even by this class no very profound respect for the ribbon at the button-hole can be claimed, and none at all by the ordinary civil classes who trick themselves out with it *en militaire*. The feeling of personal worth—the pride, it may be—seems unknown to them, which leads the British nobleman, gentleman of high station, or military officer, who may have been honoured with a British or foreign order, to wear it only on particular parade occasions. He feels that he is something without the external testimonial of it : the German takes the emblem for the thing itself. The English gentleman would think it quite as inconsistent with his personal dignity to

\* In 1834, for every 100 church or school situations to be filled up in the Prussian dominions, there were 262 candidates qualified by studies at the universities ; for every 100 juridical situations, 256 candidates ; for every 100 medical 196 candidates.

† The difference of national character between the English and Continental people on this point is illustrated by the circumstance, that in 1834 the members of a single Continental order—the French order of the legion of honour—amounted to 49,620 persons, and in the same year the five British orders numbered only 906 members, and of these the greater number were persons of that social distinction from birth, rank, or office, that the decoration of an order was but an adjunct of little importance.

walk about on ordinary occasions, in the ordinary circles of society, with his stars, crosses, and ribbons plastered on his breast, as with the gazette of the actions in which he had won his distinctions, plastered on his back. The German, again, ties his bit of red ribbon even to the button-hole of his dressing-gown; the merchant goes to his counting-house, the apothecary to the barber's shop to be shaved, the professor to his lecture room, in crosses and ribbons, as if they were going to the levee of the sovereign. The upper classes of society in all countries are said to be very much alike, and to show few of the peculiar distinctive differences which mark the national character in the middle and lower classes of each country. This is a mistake. The English gentleman, from the highest rank to the very lowest that assumes the appellation, is distinguished from the Continental gentleman by this peculiar trait of character—his dependence on himself for his social position, his self-esteem, call it pride, or call it a high-minded feeling of his own worth. There he stands, valuing himself upon something within himself, and not upon any outward testimonials of it conferred by others. This feeling goes very deep into society in England.

It is often objected to us by foreigners, that we pay the same, or even greater respect and deference to wealth, than they pay to the external honours conferred on merit by the sovereign; that wealth with us, as a social distinction, takes the place even of moral merits, and "what is a man worth," means how many pounds sterling he has, without any reference to his merits, real or conventional, to his birth, education, morals, manners, or other distinctions; that if he is poor, he is nothing in our society, if rich, he is every thing. This too is a mistake, a wrong conclusion from right premises. Wealth has all that pre-eminence in social distinction with us, which the foreign traveller observes; and even more than he observes, censures, and is wittily over. But what is wealth? It is a proof, a token undeniable, of great industry, great energy, great talent in his sphere, great social activity and utility in the possessor, or in his predecessor who acquired it. It is the indubitable proof, generally speaking, of great and successful exertion of prudence, skill, mental power applied to material interests, and of extensive social action; and what ought to be honoured and esteemed, and held in the highest estimation in an enlightened society, if not the visible proof of these social virtues in the owner or his predecessors? The deference paid to mere wealth honestly acquired,



its pre-eminence as a social distinction, stands upon far more philosophical grounds than the social distinction of mere ancestry, or of mere function, or of mere title, or of the empty honours conferred by a sovereign. Wealth is an independent social power, and is the equivalent in the material world to genius and talent in the intellectual. The Rothschilds, the Barings, and these great millionaires, are in the world of pounds, shillings, and pence, what the Shakspeares, Goethes, Schillers, are in the world of ideas ; and their social action and influence, their wielding of a vast social power in the working of which the fortunes, the comfort, the bread of millions are involved, require a grasp of mind, and are entitled to a social distinction, beyond the comprehension of the mustachioed German baron, who, issuing from some petty metropolis, finds to his utter astonishment that mere wealth commands greater respect in this working world of realities than his sixteen ancestors, his lieutenant's commission, his chamberlain's key embroidered on his coat flap, and his half-a-dozen orders at his button-holes. The common sense of all countries gives this social distinction to wealth, above any other distinction that is not purely moral or intellectual. The principle is as clearly felt in Russia as in America ; and where public opinion is in free action, as in England, it supersedes the principle of mere conventional distinctions so far, that the latter without the former—nobility, titles, functions, orders, without wealth—are of no social weight. This common, almost instinctive judgment of all men, under all varieties of government, according this pre-eminence of social distinction to mere wealth, proves that this judgment is right, that it is founded on some natural, just, and useful social principle, that cannot be philosophised away ; that wealth, mere wealth, is a more natural and just ground of social distinction than any conventional ground from mere birth, mere court favour, mere title, or mere rank. It arises from the people, and is conferred by the people ; and all other conventional distinctions arise from, and are conferred by the will of the court or sovereign. The encroachment of the former upon the latter is a barometer showing the real progress of a community towards a just estimation of social worth and action, and towards a higher moral condition. Where every third man is lounging about, as in Prussia, and generally on the Continent, with his orders of merit of some kind or other—and many whose general merits would apparently be nothing *the worse* of the addition of a little industry to earn a new coat

to stick their honours upon—the people, be their forms of government what they may, are but in a low social and industrial condition—are ages behind us in their social economy, and in their true social education as free agents and members of the community.

## CHAPTER VI.

NOTES ON THE PRUSSIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM CONTINUED.—ITS EFFECT  
ON THE SOCIAL AND MORAL CONDITION AND CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE

THE voice of history in praise or reproach of kings is not heard amidst the whispers of courtiers, or the hurra of armies. Her note comes to the ear of posterity from the cottage and the foot-path of the common man. The upper and educated classes in Prussia live upon the industry of the people entirely, by their appointments under the government, either as military officers, civil functionaries, clerical or educational officials ; or if they derive their living direct from the people, and not from the hand of government, still they derive the privilege to exercise this means of living, be it in the law, in medicine, in trade, or any branch of industry, from the constituted authorities. These classes are loud enough in their adulation of the government of the late monarch, and of the social economy of Prussia,—of its military system, its educational system, its functionary system, and of all that emanates from the higher powers. No wonder. They are strangers to individual free agency in society, and they hold their appointments and means of living, and look for their bread, or that of their children, from the hand of government. Their voice alone is heard in the literary world, on Prussian education, religion, social economy and affairs ; and their voice is one shout of praise. But the future historian of this age, judging from purer sources, from facts and principles, will regard the Prussian social economy established by the late monarch as an attempt, now that the power of the sword and of brute force in civilised communities is gone, to raise up an equally despotic, irresponsible power of government, by enslaving the habits, mind, and moral agency of the people, through an educational, military, and religious training, and a system of perpetual surveillance of functionaries over every individual from his cradle to his grave. The attempt will probably fail, because it involves inconsistencies. It is a struggle of contradictions. A rigid censorship of the press, and a general education of the people ; a religious population, and an interference of government with,

d a subversion by its edicts of, the religious observances, ms, and prayers of a church for which their forefathers had ed their blood in the battle field ; a moral people, and an armed meddling of the hand of government in the free action of m as a moral agent, in the sanctity of family duty and management, and during the most precious period of human for forming the moral habits and character—a barrack-room education for all classes ; a wealthy and happy people, and a nous yearly demand upon that time and labour out of which ne national wealth and wellbeing can grow, for the sake of an e and unfounded display at reviews, and parades, of a military ength not efficient, in reality, from the nature of its materials, military purposes ; these are incompatibilities which even ussian discipline cannot make to march together. The reign the late monarch will be regarded as an attempt to hold fast autocratic irresponsible power ; but to shift the ground ich supported it from sheer military force, to a power founded, ewhat like the Chinese, the Mahometan, or the Russian, on the education, habits, and religion of the people,—all of ich were to be Prussian, under the guidance of government, l subservient to its support. He will be judged of by poster y as a well-meaning but weak man, tenacious of what he med power (as all weak men are), and which (as is often the e) was in reality not power ; who forfeited his word to his ple to give them a constitution, and who had a people as ect as he was autocratic. He came out of severe trial and iversity untaught by it, forgetful of the struggle made for him his subjects upon his promise of giving them a representative stitution ; and he has bequeathed to his successors a social nomy of his own construction, full of inconsistencies and false nciples. There are men even in England, and they abound on e Continent, who deem it a social, almost a moral duty, to see hing wrong in the doings of kings, to laud every act and ry character clothed in royal authority. Our middle classes not partake in this indiscriminating love for the purple. The tance of social position, like the distance of time, enables them, l they constitute the great body of our intelligent thinking blic, to form an historical judgment of the men and events of ir own times. They judge now, as posterity will judge here- er. They will judge that the late Prussian monarch,—the ded, the almost worshipped by our aristocracy and clergy, as best, the wisest, the most conservative, the most anti-

revolutionary monarch of our age,—has overturned the Protestant religion, and shaken Christianity itself, by his ultra-conservative zeal to establish the basis of his autocracy on the religion of the people. What would those lords, and squires, and clergy say, if a king and irresponsible cabinet among us were to put down the churches of England and Scotland, and to impose on the people by royal edict a selection of Mrs. Barbauld's prayers and hymns, instead of the time-honoured liturgy of the former church, and the spirit-awakening effusions of the latter? This is precisely what has been done in Prussia. Mrs. Barbauld's nursery prayers and hymns are, as devotional compositions, quite as near to the excellence of the admirable old liturgy, or to the Psalms of David, as the compositions of Dr. Eylert and Dr. Neander, although aided, it is said, by the royal pen itself in some of the prayers, and of the doggeral ditties of the *Gesang-buch*. The *Kurie Eleaion*, and other operatic quaverings in the new service, are, it is said, borrowed from the Greek church, the late king having, when on a visit to Russia, been much pleased with those parts of the Greek service.

The one point for political philosophy is, that this act was the act of the pattern king of the Continental governments, whose reign is held up by all the conservative interests on the Continent as a signal and undeniable proof that irresponsible autocratic power vested in the monarch, and all legislation emanating from the royal authority alone, without any constitutional representation of the people in the legislature, are compatible with the utmost good government, the utmost physical, moral, and religious wellbeing of society.

The other great point is, that this is the people whose educational system, spirit, and institutions are held up as a model by the liberal, the pious, the benevolent of other countries, who are anxious for the diffusion of education; but who mistake the means for the end, the almost mechanical arts of reading and writing for the moral elevation of character which education should produce.

The page of history does not supply another example so striking as this of the deteriorating influence of arbitrary, irresponsible power, both on the ruler and the ruled. It cannot be doubted that the late monarch was an amiable, well-meaning man, beloved by all who approached him. The more the historian gives on this side, the more he must take on the other.

The mere possession in modern society of this irresponsible, unchecked, autocratic power in legislation, brings this good and popular sovereign into the unenviable historical fame of having overturned religion in Germany, and of having established a social, moral, and religious vassalage over his people. History will have her day of judgment, and will judge public men by their public acts. She will hear the cry of the victims, said to have been 2966 individuals, suffering for their religious or political opinions, and pardoned on the death of this good and amiable sovereign by an act of amnesty of his successor. History will ask, what were the crimes of these persons (whatever their numbers may have really been, a secret probably only known to government)? What rebellions, what treasons, what tumults occurred in this reign? Or were they the victims of their free expressions of opinions,—torn from their families and homes, imprisoned, condemned, banished, because they presumed to remind their sovereign of the natural and constitutional rights of the people, and of the royal promise to restore those natural rights to a representation in the legislature; a promise given in the hour of need, and broken in the hour of prosperity? Or was it their crime that they conscientiously opposed an arbitrary and unnecessary change in the Protestant religion, as handed down to them by their forefathers? History will have her day of judgment; nor will her judgment of the sovereign be biased by the private virtues or amiable qualities of the man; nor by the adulation of a people trained to crouch before their master, and lick the hand that smites. The abject submission of mind to all authority, the suspension of judgment on public acts, and the adulation of all royal personages, are natural effects on the ruled, of the unmixed, irresponsible, autocratic power in the ruler. The popularity of the ruler in such a condition of society is based on his private personal character, not on his public acts; and the fine terms of beloved, adored, patriotic, beneficent, applied to the monarch, are words of form by which the judgment of history will not be swayed.

But, in stating the evil of this reign, the good should not be overlooked. It broke the oppressive feudal vassalage of the peasantry under the nobles, and has raised their condition physically and morally. If a heavy military burden be laid upon the people,—if they have, in effect, only changed masters, and their time, labour, and free action in industry be now as much absorbed by the state, and its functionaries, as formerly by their



local feudal lords, still the yoke is easy, which all bear the weight of equally. Let it not be forgotten, too, that the freedom of mind in intellectual, political, and even religious action, and the freedom of person and property in industrial action, are not felt as essential wants in a state of society in which the people have no intellectual or industrial activity. A few of the upper and cultivated classes only are in a social condition to feel restrictions, such, for instance, as those on the press, which all men, in our social condition, would fly from or rise against, as insupportable oppression. The good of the late king's reign,—the emancipation of the peasantry,—the promise, at least, of a representative constitution,—the removal of many old restrictions on trade,—and the introducing of many useful establishments, belong undoubtedly to the monarch himself—to the good-hearted, benevolent, well-meaning king. The evil of his reign,—the perpetual drain on the time and labour of the people for military service,—the attempt to make education, religion, and all social movement subservient to the support of a government system,—the centralisation in the hands of functionaries of all affairs of society,—and the interference of government with matters which are beyond the legitimate objects of government in any free enlightened state of society, may be ascribed to the influence of men around the throne, disinterested, perhaps, and sincere, but not enlightened, or advancing with the age; bred in function, and seeing the interests of the people through a false medium. With enlightened men, as Stein and Hardenberg, for his ministers, the late king was an enlightened ruler; with bigots about him, he was a bigot; with functionaries, a functionarist. There is no inconsistency between the first part of his reign and the last; he was evidently a good, well-meaning, weak man, led this way and that by each successive band of functionaries he employed. The whole shows impressively the working of irresponsible power on the minds of the ruler and the ruled.

The intermeddling with the Luthern and Calvinistic churches, and the unhappy attempt—unhappy for the Protestant religion in every country—to set up a third intermediate church, may be traced to the love of concentrated power over all things inherent in the functionarism which guides the Prussian state, combined with the system adopted in all the governments of the Continent,—of governing on *juste milieu* principle, of avoiding any decided mode of action, and of always taking some third course between two. Ancillon, who had been private tutor to the late king,

died prime minister in 1835, published a work in 1828 *Vermittelung der Extreme—Mediation between Extremes*. A number of essays on moral, political, and literary subjects, lay down the extreme opinions upon each side—as for instance on the classical and romantic schools of literature; and from the absurdity of each extreme, the truth of the old saying, “*in medio tutissimus ibis*.” There is a saying, however, older, and much more generally true—“there are but two ways of doing a thing, the right and the wrong.” It is the error of reasoning, of weak minds that seeks a middle way. In religion, in morals, in politics, as in mathematics, a *medium* is a nonentity. Morally, and intellectually there is no middle point between true and false, right and wrong; and consequently, no attainment between hit and miss. There is no ground in religion, none in morals, and none in sound

When governments attempt to extend their power beyond the legitimate object for which government is established, they would embrace the intellectual, moral, and religious concerns, as well as the material interests of their subjects, and are obliged to adopt a middle course, between the extreme they would usurp, and the innate principle in the human mind of resistance to power over intellectual action. This middle course, founded on no principle but the evasion of applying principle to action, has been the line of policy of Continental Europe during this half century. We have seen the principle fail at home, and signally fail in the hands of able men, and in a particular cause—in the whole management and results of the 1832 Parliamentary Reform Bill in the hands of the Whig ministry. Common sense of the people would accept of no trimming between right and wrong in a great measure. If the measure in principle were right, they ought to have been followed without sacrifice to any secondary or partial interests. The concession to Tory party power,—the attempt to find a middle way between right and wrong, to settle the constitution upon a plank, neither land nor water,—the attempt at a *juste milieu* in short, between reform and no reform, disgusted the people and ruined the liberal ministry, and for a moment has injured the cause itself.

In Russia we see similar results from governing on *juste milieu* in an opposite direction of policy; and attempting to extend government in matters beyond the legitimate limits of government—religion of the people. That government exists in society

for the people, not the people for the government, is admitted in our social economy, but not in the social economy of the Continent. It is practically the reverse in Prussia ; yet here, the *juste milieu* principle applied to uniting the two Protestant churches into one for governmental support, has failed when applied to the human mind ; it has upset the Protestant religion in Germany,—has opened the door to popery, and to infidelity, as the only two asylums from arbitrary interference with independent religious opinion, and has at last run up those who still adhere to the Protestant faith to a state of excitement and fanaticism—to the extravagant doctrines and feelings of the age of the first reformers.

It is said the present sovereign sees this false position, and intends to try back, and to abolish this mongrel Prussian church. But this is only conjecture, for in this highly educated land the people are only made acquainted with the intentions of their own government through foreign newspapers. In consequence of some paragraph in the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung—a Bavarian newspaper, in which the intentions of the Prussian government are sometimes made known—a change in the present church is supposed to be in contemplation ; and pamphlets on both sides, by Prussian subjects, are printed abroad, at Hamburg or Leipsic, and smuggled in for the information of the country.\*

This is the state of instruction upon their own religious affairs, and this the means of information and discussion on their own most important interests, among a people boasting of being the most generally and highly educated in Europe,—whose educational institutions, indeed, we are told by our divines, philosophers, and politicians, are a model for all other civilised countries, and the most efficient ever devised for the intellectual development, and the religious and moral advancement of society.

Owing to the censorship of the press, and the consequent want of interest in, as well as of information upon, the affairs of the country, the people in Prussia seldom talk home news or politics, and are as ignorant as in Turkey of what is doing by their own government. Foreign newspapers—those of Leipsic, Hamburg, Frankfort, or Augsburg—give them the first intelligence on *their own affairs*. The persecution of the poor villagers in Si-

\* For instance, Die in Preussen beabsichtigte Aufhebung der Kirchen Union, &c., von einem alt Preussen. Printed at Hamburg, 1841.

ia who adhered to the Lutheran church, was, of course, not a matter to be hinted at in the Prussian newspapers ; and the circumstances would perhaps never have been known beyond the immediate neighbourhood of the sufferers, if the Prussian government could have imposed silence on others, as well as on its own subjects. As the latest, if not the last, of religious persecutions in Europe in civilised times, some minuteness in the detail of the circumstances of it may be satisfactory, will, at least, show how, in highly educated countries, persecution is carried on.

The amalgamation of the Lutheran and Calvinistic churches, and the introduction of a new liturgy and church service, or *agenda*, met with a passive resistance every where. In vain royal edicts assured the people that no change in their religious belief, and no restraint on the freedom of conscience, were involved in the new service. The ministers in Silesia considered the attempt itself to assimilate the Lutheran and Calvinistic churches dangerous to the pure Lutheran doctrine, and openly declared that no earthly power had a right to interfere with freedom of religion and conscience. The parish of Hermannsdorf, under its minister the pastor Berger, and the parish of Hoenigern, consisting of ten villages, under its pastor Kellner, refused obedience to the order of the consistory to introduce the new service, and continued to use the old liturgy and service, and to receive the sacrament according to the old Lutheran formulary—it is the body and blood of Christ. The people flocked from far and near to these genuine old Lutheran preachers. The consistory of Breslau ordered pastor Berger to administer the sacrament alternately according to the new and the old service. He refused any such compromise of conscience, any such *juste milieu* in his religious persuasion and duty, and was consequently suspended. In the great parish of Hoenigern, pastor Kellner adopted measures for a more powerful opposition. Before the arrival of the commissioners of the consistory, he surrendered the church keys, and church property, into the hands of 40 elders chosen from the congregation, who received the commission with their minister at their head, singing psalms, and who gave a decided No to the question if they would receive the new liturgy and agenda. The commissioners were not admitted into the church ; and when they pronounced a sentence of suspension against Kellner, he protested against their authority as not representing

the true Lutheran church by law established in the land. Kellner and his elders were arrested and imprisoned at Breslau; but when the minister appointed as his successor came to perform the church service according to the new agenda, he found the church doors nailed, and a crowd of people obstructing the entrance. On the 20th December, 1834, a body of 400 infantry, 50 hussars, and 50 cuirassiers, marched from Breslau to this recusant parish of Hoenigern. The civil and clerical authorities again tried in vain to induce the people to accept the new service. Their elders and pastor had been twelve weeks in prison, but they continued obstinate; and, at last, on Christmas eve, the military took possession of the church, forced open the door by a petard, and dispersed the people by a charge of cavalry, in which some twenty persons were wounded. The interim minister was thus intruded into the church, and the new service was performed on Christmas day, but it was to a congregation of soldiers only; for not one parishioner was to be seen in the church. It was necessary to resort to other measures to obtain a real congregation for the new service and the stormed parish church. The military were stationed in the villages of the parish, and each recusant householder was punished by having ten or twelve soldiers quartered on him. The soldiers themselves were to exhort their landlords to go to the church, that they might be relieved from the ruinous quartering of men upon them, and those who would not conform were exposed to gross ill-usage. These are the peasants, who, ruined by this persecution, sought a refuge in America.

The diffusion of education may be great in Prussia; but its influences have certainly not yet reached the governing class in the community: for these are scenes, persecutions, and principles of royal power, more like the history of the religious persecutions in Scotland and England under the Stuart family, two hundred years ago, than events not four years old, among the most educated people in Europe, and in which their government itself took the initiative and the gratuitous perpetration.

If such be the state of intelligence of the educating governing class in Prussia upon the simple point of religious toleration, one looks with curiosity to the state of intelligence upon religion, of this governed, educated people.

Among all the aberrations from true religion, and often from

common sense, of the countless sects our uneducated people are divided into (including even Johanna Southcote's followers, the Mormonites, Socialists, and the thousand others which appear and disappear amidst our freedom of all religious opinions), no aberration from the laws of morality, decency, or admitted social virtue, has ever been able to exist. All will be good and religious in their way; and it is only in their way and ideas of being religious, not in their way and ideas of being good, that they differ. Left to act and think for themselves, the people may take different speculative doctrines in religion; but in the practical doctrines which have a reference to real life, the public mind with us is well educated, and takes invariably the one moral doctrine applicable to social affairs. In Prussia, the people, not accustomed to act or think for themselves, are like children escaping from school, and rush into speculations in religion, politics, and morals, altogether absurd to the estimation of the more highly educated public mind of this country, accustomed to apply principle to action as free agents in all social movement. In this way one must account for the singular fact, that the only positively immoral religious sect of the present times, in the Christian world, arose, and has spread itself in the most educated part of the most educated country in Europe—in and about Königsberg, the capital of a province of Old Prussia. The Muckers are a sect who combine lewdness with religion. The name, Mucker, is said to be derived from a local, or sporting term, indicating the rutting season of hares. The conventicles of this sect are frequented by men and women in a state of nudity; and to excite the animal passion, but to restrain its indulgence, is said to constitute their religious exercise. Many of the highest nobility of the province, and two of the established clergy of the city, besides citizens, artificers, and ladies, old and young, belong to this sect; and two young ladies are stated to have died from the consequences of excessive libidinous excitement. It is no secret association of profligacy shunning the light. It is a sect, according to the declarations of Von Tappelskirch, and of several persons of consideration in Königsberg who had been followers of it themselves, existing very extensively under the leadership of the established ministers of the gospel, Ebel and Diestel, of a Count Von Kanitz, of a lady Von S——, and of other noble persons, and of several of the citizen class; and it appears that a great part of the nobility of the province belong to it. The



notice of the government was first attracted to its existence by a complaint to the consistory, of a Count Von Fink, who had been a zealous member of the sect, that the minister Ebel, one of the pastors of the city, and who is one of its leaders, had attempted to seduce his wife, under the pretext of procreating a Messiah. The consistory appointed two commissioners to examine, and report to government upon this business. The system and theory of this dreadful combination of vice with religion are of course very properly suppressed. All that can be gathered from the *Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung* of 1836, and the historical writings of that year, is that this horrible sect was spread so widely that the official people were themselves slow in the investigation of the matter, and that the countess who had disclosed the practices of the sect was in danger from their fury, and had to be protected by the police—that a very strict hierarchy existed in the sect, that it was divided in three classes, and that the apprenticeship in the first class must be accomplished, before the reception into the second class ; and that the strictest trials were required for being admitted into the third class, of which the members were called by a name of honour—that the doctrine and practice of the Muckers were a mixture of mysticism and gnosticism, of fanaticism and lust ; and that the heroes and heroines who had sustained the trials of their continence, or power over the flesh, were rewarded with the *seraphim kiss* with which the most abominable excesses were connected. The government wisely suppressed the examinations and proceedings, although copies of some of the first official reports and depositions had got into circulation among the curious, and the case was transferred from the local courts of the province to Berlin for further consideration in 1837, but nothing since has been made known to the public on the subject. The sect itself appears by Dr. Bretschneider's account of it, to have been so generally diffused, that he says, "It cannot be believed that the public functionaries were in ignorance of its existence, but that they were afraid to do their duty from the influence of the many principal people who were involved in it."\* In his honest indignation he proposes, as the only means of extirpating it, that all religious meetings, all conventicles, missionary societies, religious tract societies, and in short all pious doings of the public

\* See Dr. Karl Venturini's *Neue Historische Schriften*, Brunswick, 1839; also *Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung*, Jahr, 1836, No. 50 ; also *Pragmatische Geschichte unserer Zeit*, das Jahr, 1835, Leipsic, 1837 ; for what is known to the public respecting the Muckers.

among themselves, should be put down by the state. This remedy is a little too Prussian, dreadful as the enormity is in a civilised country of such a sect having existed in this age. It is only in the history of Otaherte, that its parallel can be found.

A great deal of delusion on the subject of national education has arisen from confounding the means with the end—the admirable means for diffusing reading, writing, and such acquirements, first adopted on the great scale by the Prussian government, with the end and object of education—the raising the religious, moral, and social character of men as intellectual free agents. It is only by free institutions in society that the moral, religious, and intellectual endowments of the human mind are exercised and educated. The mere operations of reading and writing, nay, the acquisition of knowledge itself, are but the means, not the end, and, if carried even to the utmost perfection, do not necessarily exercise and educate the moral powers of the human mind—the judgment, the self-restraint, the self-government, the application of principle to action, and of action to principle in our social relations. We see every day in individuals that the mental powers and the moral and religious principle are in a very low, uncultivated state, although education, in its ordinary sense, has done its utmost, and reading, writing, languages, accomplishments, and knowledge have been extensively acquired. There is, in reality, a social education of the human mind, more important than its scholastic education, and not at all necessarily connected with it. This, the only true national or general education of a people, can only be given where man is a free agent living under social institutions in which he acts for himself, politically and morally, and applies by himself, and not by the order and under guidance of the state or its functionaries, the principles of justice, law, morality, religion, which should guide his conduct as a member of society. This exercise, or education of the human mind, is wanting in the social economy of Prussia, in which men are in a state of pupilage as members of society, and not of free agency. No amount of scholastic education, of reading, writing, or information can make up for this want of moral self-education by the free exercise of the individual's judgment in all the social relations of life. It is thus that the existence of this sect of the Muckers among the most highly educated, that is, scholastically educated people in Europe, must be accounted for. Their school acquirements have had no influence on their moral state—or rather have had a per-

icious influence on it, as being part of a social system in which the human mind is dormant, is trained to act without thinking, and under orders, instead of exerting its own judgment and exercising free agency and reflection in its own moral, religious, and social affairs. In true moral social education the Prussian people, from the nature of their government and social economy, necessarily stand lower than the lowest of our own unlettered population.

In the importance attached to the Prussian arrangements, or means for diffusing scholastic education, there is also much delusion. Reading, writing, arithmetic, and all other scholastic acquirements follow evidently the same law as all other human wants—the demand will produce the supply. Create a demand for such acquirements, for knowledge, for educated labour of any kind, and people will educate themselves up to that demand. The reduction of the postage in Britain has created this demand with us, has given to such acquirements a value almost entirely wanting before in the position of the labouring man; and this measure is bringing out the schoolmaster, without the machinery of national arrangements for education. The social value or importance of the Prussian arrangements for diffusing national scholastic education has been evidently overrated; for now that the whole system has been in the fullest operation in society upon a whole generation, we see morals and religion in a more unsatisfactory state in this very country than in almost any other in the north of Europe; we see nowhere a people in a more abject political and civil condition, or with less free agency in their social economy. A national education, which gives a nation neither religion, nor morality, nor civil liberty, nor political liberty, is an education not worth having.

Truly much humbug has been played off by literary men—unwittingly, no doubt, for they themselves were sincere dupes—upon the pious and benevolent feelings of the European public, with regard to the excellence of the Prussian educational system. They have only looked at the obvious, almost mechanical means, of diffusing instruction, viz., schools for teaching the people to read and write, and have, in their estimate and recommendation of the means, altogether overlooked the all-important circumstance that, if these means are not in free action, they will not produce the end—the moral and religious improvement of the people—and that the almost mechanical arts of reading and writing may be acquired with as little moral, religious, or

men intellectual improvement of the human mind, as the manual or platoon exercise. In their admiration of the wheels and machinery, these literary men have forgotten to look under the table, and see what kind of web all this was producing. Who could suppose while reading pamphlets, reviews, and literary articles out of Lumber on national education, and on the beautiful system, means and arrangements adopted by Prussia for educating the people, and while lost in admiration in the educational labyrinth of country schools and town schools—common schools and high schools—real schools and classical schools—gymnasias—progymnasias—normal schools—seminariums—universities—who could suppose that with all this education, no use of education is allowed—that while reading and writing are enforced upon all, thinking and the communication of thoughts are prevented by an arbitrary censorship of the press, sometimes strict, sometimes lax? Who could suppose that the only visible use to the people of Prussia of all this national education is, in reality, to write out official, civil, or military reports from inferiors to superiors—that it enters in no other way into their social affairs? Who could suppose that at the very period Victor Cousin, the Edinburgh Reviewers, and so many other eminent literary men of all countries, were extolling the national education and general acquirement of reading in Prussia, and finding around them a holy and truly virtuous enthusiasm among the moral and religious—for the diffusion of knowledge in all countries—that the exercise of worship any where but in a church was prohibited, and made criminal in Prussia by an edictal law dated the 9th March, 1834; and that many persons were suffering imprisonment, civil disabilities, or other punishments, for this Prussian crime of worshipping God in their own houses, and were only liberated and pardoned by the amnesty of August, 1840? Who could suppose that while the praises of the educational system of the Prussian government were resounding in our courts and our pulpits, this educating government was driving by religious persecution from her educated land upwards of 600 Christians, who went from Silesia to the wilds of America simply to enjoy the privileges of religious freedom, and of communicating at the altar according to the forms and doctrines of Luther or Calvin, rather than of his late Majesty? Who could suppose that while literary men were extolling the high educational state of Prussia, her moral state stood so low that such sects as the Muckers could not only exist in the most educated

of her provinces, but could flourish openly, and number among its members, clergy, nobility, and educated and influential people? These writers had evidently been deceiving themselves and the public; had looked no further than the means of education; and had hastily concluded that these means must necessarily be producing the end. If to read, write, cipher, and sing, be education, they are quite right—the Prussian subject is an educated man. If to reason, judge, and act as an independent free agent, in the religious, moral, and social relations of man to his Creator, and to his fellow-men, be that exercise of the mental powers which alone deserves the name of education, then is the Prussian subject a mere drum boy in education, in the cultivation and use of all that regards the moral and intellectual endowments of man, compared to one of the unlettered population of a free country. The dormant state of the public mind on all affairs of public interest, the acquiescence in a total want of political influence or existence, the intellectual dependence upon the government or its functionary in all the affairs of the community, the abject submission to the want of freedom or free agency in thoughts, words, or acts, the religious thralldom of the people to forms which they despise, the want of influence of religious and social principle in society, justify the conclusion that the moral, religious and social condition of the people was never looked at or estimated by those writers who were so enthusiastic in their praises of the national education of Prussia. The French writers took up the song from the band of Prussian pensioned literati of Berlin, and the English from the French writers; and so the song has gone round Europe without any one taking the trouble to inquire what this educational system was producing; whether it had elevated, as it should have done if genuine, the moral, religious, and social position and character of the Prussian people as members of civilised society, having religious, moral, civil, and political rights and duties to enjoy and to perform.

It is to us in England, with our free institutions and individual free agency in all things, an inconsistency scarcely conceivable, that a government should give the means, nay, enforce the acquirement of the means, yet punish and suppress the use and exercise of the means it gives—should enforce education, yet deny the use and exercise of education in the duties of men, as social, moral, religious, thinking, self-acting beings. But this is the consistency of arbitrary, uncontrolled rule, and of the

*milieu* principle of government by which it seeks to  
maintain its power. This is the government of functionarism  
and despotism united, endeavouring to perpetuate itself by  
controlling the education of the people, and the means of living of a  
large body of civil functionaries placed over them, into a  
machine for its own support.



## CHAPTER VII.

DISJOINTED STATE OF PRUSSIA AS ONE NATIONAL BODY.—DIFFERENT LAWS AND ADMINISTRATIONS.—FUNCTIONARISM.—ARISTOCRACY AND FUNCTIONARISM COMPARED.

THE military system of the Prussian government not only impoverishes and demoralises the people without creating that kind of military force, which, from its offensive capability, gives a state real political weight in European affairs; but it counteracts its own object, and actually weakens the moral element of the defence of the country, in proportion to the perfection to which it carries the physical element—the military organisation. As under this system each individual is necessarily confined very much to his own military locality, the free circulation of the mass of the population through the country is impeded, and family ties, ties of acquaintanceship, of petty business, of trades, of common interests and objects, and a common spirit, can scarcely spread over adjacent provinces, much less over such a widely outstretched land. This military system with its pendant, the civil system, is the only thing common to all. The people of distant provinces have no common interests or objects amalgamating them into one whole—no liberties, laws, constitutional rights, common to all, to rally upon.

“What is it to me if the French are on the Rhine,” would be the reasonable feeling of every man north of the Oder, when called out for actual service in the field—“if they come to us we will defend ourselves, but what have we to do with these countries!” The different provinces of the Prussian kingdom are, in fact, not amalgamated by mutual trade and communications, not united by their material interests. They are connected together only in a common bureau at Berlin, but are distinct existences in all that binds men together. The people can scarcely be called one nation. They are centralised but not nationalised.

But is loyalty, is the devoted attachment of the subject to the adored and beneficent monarch, to go for nothing in this cold-hearted estimate of the connection between a country and its government, and of the impulses which lead a gallant peo-

fly to arms, and defend with their lives and fortunes the rights of their beloved sovereign? Let him who asks turn up a volume of old newspapers, and he will there find his answer. He will there find the same effusions of enthusiastic loyalty and devotedness from the same towns, provinces, and people—to King Jerom of Westphalia, that are now addressed to his Majesty Frederick William IV. of Prussia—to King Louis of Holland, that are now addressed to King William of Orange. Change names; and dates, and the one would do for the other. It is within the verge of possibility that the same pen and the same scribe copied, and the same burgomasters or other official personages presented the same, the identical addresses to both monarchs, containing the same assurances of the inviolable attachment, the devoted zeal to the royal house, and the beloved sovereign, of the most loyal and faithful of subjects. The age of loyalty expired amidst the laughter of the world, when the Bonaparte brood of kings and princes exchanged their straw thrones in Ajaccio, for thrones, and were treated in their Barbarias with all the honour, adulation, and devoted loyalty, that a “lives and fortunes men” of the day in Holland and Germany could muster. There was a moment in this half century, when loyalty and aristocracy might have restored themselves to their ancient social position, by an act of great moral justice to society, reducing to their original nothingness the swarms of counts, princes, dukes, marshals, who have been elevated to social distinction by no social, intellectual, or moral worth or merit, but merely by chance, favouritism, or dexterity in unprincipled military achievement; and by restoring to the countries, cities, communities, and individuals, the riches expressed from them by these personages in the shape of contributions, dons, taxes, and which, in reality, were unmilitary booty and illegal rapine. The allied powers overlooked or disdained, in the pride of victory, the opportunity of uniting the monarchical and aristocratical principles which they wished to re-establish, with the principle of moral justice. They themselves, by thus contaminating the conventional reverence for the monarchical and aristocratic elements of society which they wished to revive, reduced the ties between the European people and their governments to that of their material interests. The constitutional states have endeavoured to strengthen *this tie* by giving the people a voice in the management of their own affairs, a representation in the legislature. Prussia endeavours to manage the material interests of

the people without the people, without a constitution ; loyalty and aristocratical influence in the social body are nearly effete as principles of national movement, her government is connected with her people only by two ties—that of the military army with its officers, and that of the civil army and its functionaries. Compared with Britain or America, the kingdom of Prussia is in a very disjointed state, owing to this entire reliance upon the civil and military power, without any connection between the government and the people in the management of their material interests. The material interests of the people are even among themselves, those of the different provinces of Prussia are not amalgamated. There are no common interests, common laws, common religion, common voice in the legislation of a common country, uniting all. In that most important part of all the elements of social union in a country—the law and its administration—differences and confusion prevail. The different shreds torn from other countries, of which the kingdom is composed, retain, in some degree, each its own laws, forms of government, religion, and rights, inalienable even by despotic power unless with the will and concurrence of the people themselves. The power which alone could, with safety to the government, touch and change these, the power of the people in legislative assembly, will not be conceded by the autocratic government, so that the country remains in a chaotic state, governed as if it were not united. In the country west of the Rhine, and also in the provinces east of that river, of which Cologne, Dusseldorf, Aachen, Lenney, Solingen, Coblenz, are the chief towns, the French law and its administration, the *Code Napoléon*, *Code de Commerce*, *Code de Procédure Civile*, *Code Criminel*, the *Jury*, *Paix*, *Tribunaux de première Instance*, &c., are all retained, and are so firmly rooted in the affections of the people, that the government could venture to alter them unless by a constitutional act of a representative assembly of the people themselves. At this point these provinces have given manifestations of their sentiments not to be mistaken, when the government has proposed assimilations in the laws or tribunals to those of Prussia. This population living under French law, is the very kernel of the Prussian kingdom—a concentrated population of from five to four millions, the most wealthy, commercial, and manufacturing, and the most enlightened upon their rights and wants perhaps in Germany. In the Province of Posen, again, at the other extremity of the kingdom the French administration

*justices de paix*, and by open courts of justice, and open examinations of witnesses, prevails over the general Prussian administration.

In the provinces which were mediatised, and even in the provinces which had long been under the Prussian sceptre, baronial courts were a species of private property which could not be taken away from the estate of the prince or baron. Government always had the needful check over the patron, in his appointing none as judges but from legally qualified persons bred at the universities—as in the appointment of a clergyman by a patron—and also over the judge, in superintending, revising, or reversing his judicial proceedings, but such courts have the inhabitants of certain districts throned to them, in cases civil or criminal, in the first instance; and forms, expenses, conveniences to suitors, and confidence in justice, are, necessarily, very different in a multiplicity of different local courts established at different periods, and originally with different usages. Deducting the population of the provinces standing altogether under the Code Napoléon, of the remaining 10,000,000 of people under the Prussian sceptre, 3,700,000, or about one-third of the whole population of Prussia, are under private jurisdiction, and 7,900,000 only under the royal governmental courts. Of the royal governmental courts, not including the higher courts of appeal, there are 7,018, and of private courts, 6,134, of which 128 are of the patrimony of princes, standesherrn or high nobility, and of provincial nobility, and 6,006 are common baronial courts of patrimony. The judges in these patrimonial local courts appear to be paid either by fees or by dues from all the peasantry within the circle of the jurisdiction, or by land mortgaged in old times, for the support of the judge, but appear to be so ill paid, that, like curates of old in Kent, one judge officiates in eight, or even twelve, of these local courts. The total number of judges in the 6,134 private courts is but 523. The greatest number of inhabitants subject to these local patrimonial courts, is in Silesia, where, out of 2,500,000 people, 1,500,000 are under barony courts. The smallest number is in Westphalia, where, in a population of 1,500,000 people, only about 80,000 are under these patrimonial jurisdictions, the system having been abolished almost entirely, when Westphalia was erected into a distinct kingdom for Jerome Buonaparte. Of royal or regular governmental courts, the number in Prussia appears to be 7,018, and of judges paid by government 2,325, of whom 1,593 are judges in the inferior local courts. The total

number of all functionaries living by the administration of law, and appointed by government, appears to be 11,401 persons. It is the first law of functionarism to take care of itself. To reduce to uniformity the administration of law, and the law courts, among a people, appears one of the most needful steps towards an amalgamation of the whole into one nation, and, if strong measures were a-going, one of the most important to which a strong measure could be applied, especially as these patrimonial courts are founded on no principle of advantage or convenience to the people, or of just right of the baronial proprietor. But it would have been a curtailment of the living to be gained in function, a reform not to be expected from a government of functionaries. Until this, however, be done, the people of Prussia can scarcely be called one nation. The state wants unity.

In the provinces, also, clipped out of ancient Poland, which are not inconsiderable, the province of Posen alone, containing nearly one million and a half of inhabitants, a strong anti-Prussian spirit, and not a passive spirit, prevails among all ranks. Since the accession of the present king, the nobility there have refused to accept the constitution of a provincial assembly of the *Standesherrn*, or nobles of a certain class, to deliberate upon such provincial affairs as the king may order to be laid before them, which is the kind of representative Constitution proposed to be substituted in Prussia for that constitutional representation of the people in the legislature promised by the late king—and avowedly upon the principle that they do not choose to be amalgamated with Prussia, and placed upon the same footing as the other provinces of the Prussian dominions. They will stand by their Polish nationality. It is this spirit, and not fanaticism alone, that was at work in this part of the kingdom, in supporting the bishop of Posen and the Catholic clergy in resisting the church measures of government. Independently of the influence of the clergy, the Polish nationality is increasing to such alarming intensity in this quarter, that obscure state paragraphs have been inserted in the foreign newspapers admitted into Prussia—those of Augsburg, Frankfort, or Leipsic—to prepare the public mind in Prussia for some strong measure to put it down—some attempt, similar to the Russian, to abolish by law the Polish language, customs, and national distinctions. It is a curious trait in the working of a censorship of the press, and of public opinion on public affairs, that an autocratic irresponsible government must condescend to cheat its own establishments, and avail itself of the

press of a foreign town to sound the public opinion of its own subjects upon its own intentions. Can such a state of things be permanent? Is such a principle of government as this autocrat principle, suitable to the advanced condition of the subjects of Prussia? Are the relations between the governing and the governed what they ought to be? The Prussian government wants to nationalise its subjects, and yet puts down the means of obtaining its own object. It wants to rouse a national spirit, yet would have the public mind passive, calm, and unagitated by political discussions of the press, or of public meetings, or by free communications on public affairs. It wants to sail with a fair gale of wind, yet to keep the sea smooth and unruffled by the agitation which unavoidably attends the gale.

The traveller inimical to hereditary aristocracy as a privileged state power in a community—not from prejudice or party feeling, but on principle, as an institution adverse to a liberal social economy—will find much to shake his opinions when he sits down here on the Continent to consider deliberately the power which has succeeded to aristocracy in France, Prussia, and generally in the modern social economy of Europe. Aristocracy, it is evident, has worked itself out, and is effete in every country, even in those, as Sweden, Denmark, Spain, in which it had not been formally abolished or undermined by law. Where it still stands, with all its ancient supports, it is evidently going to decay, and has lost its roots in modern society. But the power which has sprung up in its place—the power of functionarism—is by no means satisfactory. It is aristocracy without the advantages of aristocracy. The highest functionary is not an independent man. He has been bred in a school of implicit, almost military, submission of his own opinion to authority. He has attained power through the path of subjection of his own principles and judgment to those of others above him. He has no independence of mind. Such public men in the higher offices of government, as our hereditary aristocracy and gentry on all sides of politics promise—men not to be swayed from what they hold to be right, and who renounce office rather than consistency and independent judgment—are not to be heard of in the functionarism of the Continent. The nobleman, generally speaking, is an educated man from his social position, and not educated merely for functionary duties, with the contracted views of office. He is also, generally speaking, independent in position and circumstances, and the public opinion and judgment of his



political conduct is an influence more powerful with him than with the office-bred functionary. He is working for a reward, and under a check from public opinion which neither the supreme power of the state, nor its subordinate powers above him, or beside him, can give, or take away, or compensate for, if it be lost by the course of his political conduct in public affairs. The functionary is not only independent of public opinion, but is bred up in a social system which has no reference to it, in which it is set at nought, and in which it can give him no support or reward for the sacrifice of office to principle, or of his own individual material interests to his political interests. As a state power, or social body, functionarism compared to aristocracy is much more detached from the cause of the people. It is also, as a state power, much more dangerous to the monarch. It is a mistake to consider functionarism, as it now exists on the Continent, a machine in the hands of despotic, autocratic sovereigns. It is a machine which governs the government. The history of France, from the hour that the military support of Buonaparte was broken at Moscow, shows that the crown itself is altogether in the gift of this new state power. The history of Belgium, of Spain, of Russia, tells the same fact. It is considered by many, that here, in Prussia, it is functionarism, not royalty, that rules. The body of functionaries are like the body of clergy in the middle ages. The men are of one mind, bred in one school, with one spirit. The monarch has but a small number to choose from of men around the throne qualified to conduct or advise public measures. These are all men bred in the same way—men of the same ideas, mind, and spirit. It is but a change of persons and faces about him, not of principles or system, that the monarch attains by a change of ministers. He is in a position very similar to that of his predecessors in the middle ages, when churchmen held all state affairs in their hands. Since the decay of hereditary aristocracy, a power remarkably similar to that exercised by the priesthood in the middle ages—a body similarly constituted to the clerical, and in the same relative position to the sovereign and the people—is establishing a thralldom over both. The sovereign and the people have no free political action, or mutual working upon each other, through this wall of functionarism that divides them. In the hereditary aristocracy, the monarch had a selection of men bred in all varieties of social position—not as the functionary or the priest, in only one contracted sphere of action or thinking—and of all varieties of

mental power, and, although connected by their material interests as a body with the welfare of the people, united to the personality of the crown by their individual honours, privileges, and social distinctions. The functionaries are only united to each other, and, like the clergy, are a body distinct both from the sovereign and the people, in interests and social relations. The habit of interfering, regulating, commanding in the concerns of the people, gives both to them and the people, a feeling of opposed interests and objects, not a feeling of mutual confidence. The functionary in Germany, even in the lowest station, is always treated, and his wife also, with the full ceremonial of his title of office, which shows that his relation to the people is not one of mutual confidence. The evil effect on the industry, and independence of mind, of a people, by such a mass of government employment with social influence and easy living, being offered to the higher, middle, and small capitalist classes, has been already stated; and also that this is the main obstacle to the development of national industry and wealth, and to that progress in trade and manufacture which the German people are at present dreaming of. Free social institutions also, the only foundation of national prosperity, moral free agency, civil and political liberty, never can grow up under the pressure of this state power drawn from the upper and middle classes, influenced by one spirit, and interested as a body in maintaining the importance, means of living, and patronage, derived from a multitude of functions established for restraining, or entirely superseding, free social institutions, free agency, and civil or political liberty. Functionarism is more adverse than aristocracy to civil liberty. Will the great social movement of the German people now in progress for their material interests and industrial prosperity, be able to shake off this incubus, to break up the system of interference, superintendence, and military arrangement on the part of government in all social action, upon which functionarism is founded, and by which it lives? Will the Continental sovereigns, acting in the spirit of the German commercial league, and in reality for their own independence and power, abandon the military system of interference in all things, and of governing by functionaries instead of by the people? Will they fall back now, as some day they will be obliged to do, for support against the power of functionarism, upon the power of the people in a *representative constitution*? Or will they attempt to stick up *again the dead branches of hereditary aristocracy around the*

throne? The future state of society on the Continent turns on the solution which time and circumstances may give to these questions. The spirit raised by the German commercial league is hastening on their solution rapidly. One is already solved—the restoration of an hereditary privileged aristocracy in Prussia.

The Prussian government has, of late years, been aware of the false position in which it stands—admitting no principle but the purely monarchical autocratic principle exercised by its functionaries; and yet encouraging the growth of a state of society, wealth, industry, and national spirit, directly opposed to that principle, and which can only exist where the people partake of their own government and legislation. The policy of late has evidently been to retrace its steps. The dissolution of the Prussian church, and the return to the old forms and spirit of the two branches of Protestantism, especially to the pietism of the old Lutheran church, is talked of as the wish and tendency of the court; and it is even whispered that the abolition of the *leibeigenschaft*, or feudal servitude of the peasantry, and of the privileges and exclusive rights of corporate bodies in towns, is talked of in high places as having been a hasty measure. And undoubtedly so it was, if the monarchical autocratic principle was to be retained. At the coronation of his present majesty in August last, in Königsburg, an attempt was made to begin the restoration of an hereditary class of nobles. It was proposed to elevate some of the wealthiest of the present nobility to the rank of princes, and to make the new dignity hereditary in the eldest sons, instead of descending, as the present titles do, to all the children; and the new nobles were to be bound to entail a certain proportion of their estates upon the successors to their titles. The proposal, however, met with no acceptance. With almost all, the estates were so burdened that it could not be done without injury to their creditors. Others considered it would be an injustice to their younger children. Some declined the proffered honours point blank. The diet or provincial assembly of the standesherrn of Königsburg, for deliberating on the provincial affairs laid before them—which is the substitute given for a constitutional government—although assembled for the coronation, and to whose members this offer was made, rejected it, and even adopted a petition for a representative constitution of the people, as promised to them by the late king under date of the 25th May, 1815, to which they referred. The city of

Breslau, the third in importance in the kingdom, standing next to Berlin and Königsburg, adopted a similar petition and reference. Cologne also made a similar move. These are strong indications of the rising spirit of the times—of the split between things as they are and the sentiments of the influential classes of the country. A retrograde movement is evidently impossible ; and it is equally impossible to stand still, with the whole material interests of the people, and their opinions and feelings for political existence in the legislation excited by the spirit of the German commercial league, and pushing on the government in a path which the government is pledged to take, in which its steps are watched by the people, and which necessarily and unavoidably leads to free institutions, a representative constitution, and the abolition of the present sole monarchical, autocratic principle.

## CHAPTER VIII.

BERLIN—LEIPSIC—BOOK TRADE—ITS EFFECTS ON THE LITERATURE—ON THE CHARACTER—ON THE SOCIAL CHARACTER OF THE GERMANS—THE GERMAN THEATRE—ITS INFLUENCE—THE EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCES IN SOCIETY—THE SCOTCH AND THE GERMANS COMPARED

BERLIN has the air of the metropolis of a kingdom of yesterday. No Gothic churches, narrow streets, fantastic gable ends, no historical stone and lime, no remnants of the picturesque ages, recall the olden time. Voltaire in satin breeches and powdered peruke, Frederic the Great in jackboots and pigtail, and the French classical age of Louis XIV., are the men and times Berlin calls up to the imagination of the traveller. A fine city, however, Berlin is—very like the age she represents—very fine and very nasty. Berlin is a city of palaces, that is, of huge barrack-like edifices with pillars, statues, and all the regular frippery of the tawdry school of classical French architecture—all in stucco, and frequently out at elbows, discovering the naked brick under the tattered yellow faded covering of plaster. The fixtures which strike the eye in the streets of Berlin are vast fronts of buildings, clumsy ornaments, clumsy statues, clumsy inscriptions, a profusion of gilding, guard-houses, sentry-boxes; the moveables are sentries presenting arms every minute, officers with feathers and orders passing unceasingly, hackney droskies rattling about, and numbers of well-dressed people. The streets are spacious and straight, with broad margins on each side for foot passengers; and a band of plain flag-stones on these margins make them much more walkable than the streets of most Continental towns. But these margins are divided from the spacious carriage-way in the middle by open kennels, telling the nose unutterable things. These open kennels are boarded over only at the gateways of the palaces to let the carriages cross them, and must be particularly convenient for the inhabitants, for they are not at all particularly agreeable. Use reconciles people to nuisances which might be easily removed. A sluggish but considerable river, the Spree, stagnates through the town, and the money laid out in stucco work, and outside decoration of the houses, would go far towards

vering over their drains, raising the water by engines, and sending it in a purifying stream through every street and sewer. If onyx and marble could smell, Blucher and Bulow, Schwerin and Görtz, and duck-winged angels, and two-headed eagles innumerable, would be found on their pedestals, holding their noses instead of grasping their swords. It is a curious illustration of the difference between the civilisation of the fine arts and that of the useful arts, in their influences on social well-being, that this city, as populous as Glasgow or Manchester, has an Italian opera, two or three theatres, a vast picture gallery, and statue gallery, museums of all kinds, a musical academy, schools of all descriptions, an university with 142 professors, the most distinguished men of science who can be collected in Germany, and undoubtedly the capital, the central point of taste in the fine arts, and of mind and intelligence in literature, for a vast proportion of the enlightened and refined of the European population, yet has not advanced so far in the enjoyments and comforts of life, in the civilisation of the useful arts, as to have water conducted in pipes into their city, and into their houses. Three hundred thousand people have taste enough to be in die-away ecstasies at the singing of Madame Pasta, or the dancing of Tagliani, and have not taste enough to appreciate, or feel the want of, supply of water in their kitchens, sculleries, drains, sewers, water-closets. The civilisation of an English village is, after all, the real civilisation than that of Paris or Berlin.

Leipsic, remarkably in contrast with Berlin, is a city of the middle class—balconies projecting into the streets, old forms and fashions about the people and their dwellings—nothing of the Parisian air, nothing of the Frenchified German air about them. Everything is downright German, and plain unsophisticated German bourgeois style. It is the capital of the middle class of Germany—of the class which has nothing to do with nobility, or with military, or civil service as a way of living, which has not its great money merchants, bankers, contractors of loans, millionaires, like Frankfort; but has its very substantial, and some very wealthy, quiet-living bourgeois. The stranger who could get into the domestic society of this town—which even native Germans cannot easily do—would see, it is true, more of old Germany, more of the houses, habits, and modes of living of two centuries ago, than in any other place. A very respectable people these Leipsickers are, and precisely because they are content to be nothing more. Their book trade is of such importance, that the booksellers, of whom there are reckoned at the



fairs about 560, and many of them settled in Leipzig, have a large Exchange of their own to transact their business in. It is not, however, the printing and publishing in Leipzig itself, that is the basis of these book fairs, but the barter of publications between booksellers meeting there from different points. The bookseller, perhaps, from Kiel on the Baltic, meets and exchanges publications with the bookseller, perhaps, from Zurich, gives so many copies of his publication—a dull sermon possibly—for so many of the other's—an entertaining novel. Each gets an assortment of goods by this traffic, such as he knows will suit his customers, out of a publication of which he could not, perhaps, sell a score of copies within his own circle ; but a score sold in every book-selling circle in Germany gets rid of an edition. Suppose the work out and out stupid and unsaleable, still it has its value ; it is exchangeable, should it be only at the value of wrapping-paper, for works less unsaleable, and puts the publisher in possession of a saleable stock and of a variety of works. His profit also not depending altogether upon the merit of the one work he publishes, but upon the assortment for sale he can make out of it by barter, he can afford to publish works of a much lower class as to merit, or saleable properties, than English publishers. The risk is divided, and also the loss, and not merely divided among all the booksellers who take a part of an edition in exchange for part of their own publications ; but in effect is divided among the publications. The standard work, or the new publication of an author of celebrity, pays the risk or loss of the publisher of the bad, unsaleable work, as by it he is put in possession of the former, of the more saleable goods. The loss, also, compared to that of an English publisher, is trifling, because, although the German press can deliver magnificent books, yet the general taste of the public for neat, fine, well-finished productions in printing, as in all the useful arts, is not by any means so fully developed as with us, and is satisfied with very inferior paper made of much cheaper materials. The publisher also is saved the very important expense of stitching, boarding, or binding all he publishes, by his own capital, the private buyer generally taking his books in sheets. The bound or made up books in booksellers' shops are but few, and generally only those of periodical or light literature. The advantage to literature of this system into which the book trade has settled, is that hundreds of works see the light, which with us would never get to the printing-house at all. The disadvantage is that it encourages a prolixity of style, both in

thinking and expression, two or three ideas are spun out into a volume, and literature is actually overwhelmed and buried under its own fertility and fruits. No human powers could wade through the flood of publication poured out every half year upon every conceivable subject. Selection even, in such an overwhelming mass is out of the question, unless the catalogue-selection of judging from the reputation of the author, that the book may be worth reading. In our small book-world, periodical criticism—our quarterlies and literary newspapers—keeps the ordinary reader up to the current stream of literary production ; but who could get through the pile of periodicals published in Germany, and find time to eat, drink, and sleep ? It is as at their table d'hôte—the guest tastes this thing, and tastes that, and rises without having made so wholesome and substantial a meal as he would have done from one or two dishes. This superabundance, and the excess of employment to the mind about other people's ideas, influences the general literature of Germany. Men, whose talents entitle them to be original in literary production, are but imitative. Their great original authors, Goëthe, Schiller, or Richter, or our great authors, Shakspeare, Scott, Byron, give the tunes which the crowd of German writers are whistling through the streets. This imitative turn, and the excess of literary production, influence even the material interests and character of the German people. In politics, in social economy, in religion, and perhaps even in morals, and the regulation of conduct, principles and opinions seem to have no time to take root, and to influence the actual doings of men—conviction is but loosely connected with action. The latter by no means follows the former, even when not drawn aside by prejudice, passion, or self-interest. All is speculation, not reality. Every German seems to have two worlds for himself—a world of idea, and a world of reality ; and the former appears to have as little connection with the latter, as the evening of the monarch on the stage with the morning of the actor in his lodgings. This division of life into two distinct existences, this living in a world of reveries, this wide separation between ideas and realities, between thoughts and actions, common perhaps to all men of intellectual cultivation, is so widely diffused in Germany, that it sensibly influences its social economy. All evaporates in speculation. Books, and theories, and principles, are published and read, and there the matter rests. A new set of books, theories, and principles, is published, and overwhelms the first, but all this never goes

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beyond the world of idea in which half their existence is passed. Improvement, reform, movement of any kind in social business or real life, either for the better or the worse, stand still, because real life is but half their existence. Leave them the other half, their ideal world, to expatiate in—and that cannot be circumscribed by any kind of government—and they quietly put up with restrictions and burdens in real life, which in our social economy would not be endured. Energy of mind and vigour of action in the real affairs of ordinary life are diluted and weakened by this life of dreamy speculation. We sometimes see individuals among ourselves, novel-reading, romantic youths, forming a little world for themselves from the shelves of the circulating library, and dreaming away life in it. The literature, scholarship, and wide diffusion of the culture of the imaginative faculty in Germany are, in this view, actually detrimental to the social development of the German people, to their industry, material interests, and activity in ordinary affairs of a mechanical kind, and to their energy and interest in claiming and exercising civil liberty or free-agency in real life.

This double existence of the Germans accounts for some peculiarities in German literature. German authors, both the philosophic and the poetic, address themselves to a public far more intellectual and more highly cultivated than our reading public. They address themselves, in fact, in their philosophical works, like the ancient Greek philosophers, to schools or bodies of disciples who must have attained a peculiar and considerable cultivation of mind to understand them. The philosophy of Kant occupied Schiller, we are told in his biography, for three years of intense and exclusive study. In our literature, the most obscure and abstruse of metaphysical or philosophical writers take the public mind in a far lower state, simply cognisant of the meaning of language, and possessed of the ordinary reasoning powers. Locke, Dugald Stewart, Reid, Smith, Hume, require nothing more. Shakspeare, Scott, Byron, require nothing more. German literature, even of the imaginative class, requires a highly cultivated imaginative faculty from the readers. Goëthe's *Faust*, his *Wilhelm Meister*, many of Schiller's tragedies, all of Jean Paul Richter's productions, require readers trained, like the readers of Kant or Fichte, in a certain school, and to a certain considerable intellectual culture. Their philosophers and poets do not, like ours, address themselves to the meanest capacity. The social influence of German literature is, conse-

mentally, confined within a narrower circle. It has no influence on the mind of the lower, or even of the middle classes in active life, who have not the opportunity or leisure to screw their faculties up to the pitch note of their great writers. The reading public must devote much time to acquire the knowledge, taste of feeling, and of imagination, necessary to follow the writing public. The social economist finds accordingly in Germany the most extraordinary dulness, inertness of mind, and ignorance, below a certain level, with the most extraordinary intellectual development, learning, and genius at or above it—the most extraordinary intellectual contrast between the professional reading classes, and the lower or even middle non-reading classes engaged in the ordinary affairs of life.

Another peculiarity in German literature arising from the social economy of the country, is, that the class of literary composition, to which the works of Shakspeare, Cervantes, Scott, Le Sage, Fielding, Goldsmith, belong as pictures of natural action and character, is poorly filled up. Situation and plot, not delineations of characters and incidents "true to nature," are the points on which the highest efforts of dramatic and poetic genius in German literature are the most happy. It is in the ideal world that the German mind is developed. The action of man upon man, the development of character and individual peculiarity by free social movement, are so restricted and tied down to uniformity by the social economy of Germany, that the author in this class of composition finds no type of reality around him for the imagination to work upon. It would be difficult to point out any character, speech, or passage from the German drama that has become popular literature—understood, felt, brought home to himself by the common man in Germany, in the same way that characters, expressions, verses, sentiments from Shakspeare, Burns, De Foe, Scott, are familiar to all of the slightest education in the same classes in Scotland or England. German literature is perhaps of a far higher cast, but it is not so widely diffused through the mass of the social body as our literature, although the class of people addicting themselves to it as a means of living, are more numerous than the literary class in Britain: and German literature is certainly less influential than ours on the public mind and social economy.

The theatre in Germany, and in all countries which have no civil liberty, no freedom of action independent of government,

and no free discussion of public affairs, occupies an important position in its social economy, is reckoned a great educational and social influence, a power not to be entrusted out of the hands of the state. The fictitious incidents of the drama supersede the real incidents and interests of life. In reading of the organisation of the Prussian government, the simple English reader stares at finding among the ministers of state for home affairs, for military affairs, for ecclesiastical affairs, a minister of state for theatrical affairs. He can understand that from considerations of police, the theatre may be, as with us, under a censorship, and its superintendence attached to some office about the court; but that theatres are of such importance as to be held a subject for distinct administration, and one on which considerable sums of the public revenues are regularly expended, appears extraordinary to one coming from our social state, in which dramatic representation is of no social influence whatsoever—in which it is held to be of no moral or educational value—in which theatrical performers of high talent cannot get bread in cities as populous and wealthy as Berlin. The social economist hastens to visit the German theatres, to satisfy himself that there is no mistake about this supposed social influence of the stage—to see the working of this court-machine for education on the public mind,—to see the number and quality of the usual kind of audiences, as much as to see the play.

Germany is reckoned to have 65 theatres, employing about 2,147 actors and actresses, about 1,229 singers, male and female, about 448 dancers, and about 1,273 fiddlers and other musicians. About 5,000 people in all are on the theatrical establishments of Germany as the *personale*, without including tradesmen or others not on the boards. The *Hof-theater*, or court theatre, is a necessary appendage to every little residence or capital; and it is understood that the deficit in the expense of a well-appointed theatre in a small population is made up by the state. In Berlin, even with a great and pleasure-seeking population, it is said the theatres cost the country about £15,000 a year, besides the receipts. At Berlin there are three theatres in constant work, Sunday evenings not excepted, and an Italian and a French troop are also in activity part of the year. The houses are of moderate size, elegant, and in scenery, dresses, and especially in the orchestral department, very perfect. The prices of admission are extremely low. In Berlin, for instance, you pay 15 *groshen* at the German theatre, or 20 at the Italian opera, viz. 1s. 6d.

: 2s. for a seat in the parquet, or front division of the pit of our theatres, with the advantage that each sitting is numbered, and the seat folded back, and your ticket bears the number of your seat, so that be the house ever so full, you get to it without queezing or crowding:—great inducements these to go to the play. The time and patience of the public also, as well as their money, are respected by these state players. Owing, no doubt, to their superior discipline, a long five-act tragedy—such, for instance, as Schiller's *Marie Stewart* or *Cabale und Liebe*,—which with us would keep the audience gaping till half-past eleven, or perhaps till midnight, is performed between six and half-past nine. The play-bill tells when the performance ends, as well as when it begins, and even when three pieces are given, half-past nine is the latest hour. These are unquestionably great inducements to a good theatrical attendance of the public. But governments cannot force the intellectual movement of a people. They may establish schools, theatres, and churches, as educational means, but the using these means must be the impulse of the people themselves. You look in vain for the public in a German theatre. The public is more scarce in it than in our own. You see the travelling strangers, and the young people of the middle class, such as clerks, tradesmen, or students, when any celebrated actor or play appears; and on opera nights, the upper classes: but the people, the real people, the German equivalent, if there be any, to John Bull, you never see. If this lower class ever come to the theatres at all, they sit as quiet as mice in the little hole allotted them. A German theatre is a true picture of the social state of Germany—princes and functionaries occupying the front boxes—the educated and middle classes looking up to them from the pit below, in breathless awe and admiration, and the people out of sight and hearing of these two masses of the audience. As a social influence acting on the public mind, the German stage is of as little real importance as our own. It has to rear for itself the kind of public to whom it is of any importance. A theatrical corps and expenditure no doubt does raise a public for itself in the towns, and to them the theatre becomes important, perhaps a great deal too important, and too influential in educating the mind of that class to a sort of dreamy, imaginative, inactive life, to an undue value for appearance, show, and dress, and to an inaptness to encounter the rough realities of their social position. The social influence



of the drama is in this class—and this is the only class it effectually works upon—a positive evil, not a good.

What are the social institutions which educate a people, which form their moral, intellectual, and national character? In this land of schools and theatres, here where every individual is drilled into reading, writing, and the catechism; and the church, the playhouse, and the press, are all under the special management of the governments as influential means for the improvement of the people, in what state is the mind of the people in Germany, morally and intellectually?

To come to any satisfactory conclusion on these questions, we must define what is meant by the people. The Continental man generally means by the people the lower ranks of the middle class—the artisans, journeymen, servants, and tradesmen about towns, living more or less by educated labour, and having some degree of taste, leisure, and refinement. We mean by the people the labouring mass of a nation, living principally by agricultural work, and in every country constituting the mass of the population. We must compare this lower class in Germany with the same class amongst ourselves, and endeavour to find out the difference, and the causes of the difference in the physical and intellectual condition in each country of this lowest class of all in the community.

It is a peculiar feature in the social condition of our lowest labouring class in Scotland, that none perhaps in Europe of the same class have so few physical, and so many intellectual wants and gratifications. Luxury or even comfort in diet, or lodging, is unknown. Oatmeal, milk, potatoes, kail, herrings, and rarely salt meat, are the chief food; a wretched, dark, damp, mud-floored hovel, the usual kind of dwelling; dirt, disorder, sluttishness, and not too much good temper at the fireside, the ordinary habits of living; yet with these wants and discomforts in their physical condition, which is far below that of the same class abroad, we never miss a book, perhaps a periodical, a sitting in the kirk, a good suit of clothes for Sunday wear, and an argument every day amounting to controversy, almost to quarrel, with some equally argumentacious neighbour upon subjects far above the reach of mind of the common man in other countries, and often carried on with an acuteness, intelligence, and play of mental power, especially in the discussion of abstract philosophical or religious subjects, which the educated classes in other countries

scarcely attain, and which are strangely in contrast with the wants in their physical condition. The labouring man's subscriptions in Scotland to his book-club, his newspaper turn, his Bible society, his missionary society, his kirk and minister if he be a seceder, and his neighbourly aid of the distressed, are expenditure upon intellectual and moral gratifications of a higher cast than music-scraping, singing, dancing, playgoing, novel-reading, or other diversions of a much higher class of people in Germany. The Scotch labouring man gives yearly considerable contributions to spread civilisation and Christianity among people much better off, far more daintily fed, lodged, and clothed, in more physical comfort, and much farther removed from the wants and hardships of an uncivilized condition, than he is himself. This may be foolish, but it is noble and ennobling in the character of the lowest class of a people. The half-yearly shilling given in all sincerity of purpose by the cottar-tenant of a turf-built hovel on a barren Scotch muirland, to aid the missions for converting the South Sea Islanders or the Hindoos, is the noblest-paid money, as far as regards the giver, in the Queen's dominions. There is also in the mind of the common man of Scotland an imaginative thread interwoven somehow, and often very queerly, with his hard, dry, precise way of thinking and acting in ordinary affairs, which makes the whole labouring class in Scotland of higher intellectuality than the same class in other countries. We often hear, what country but Scotland ever produced a Burns among her peasantry? But the real question of the social economist is, what country but Scotland ever produced a peasantry for whom a Burns could write? Burns had a public of his own in his own station in life, who could feel and appreciate his poetry, long before he was known to the upper class of Scotch people, and in fact he was never known or appreciated by the upper class. In other countries it is the poetry of the higher educated class that works down to the people; as the poetry of Ariosto or Tasso, among the Italians; of the Niebelung, of the Saga, of the lays of the Troubadours, among the German, Scandinavian, and French people; or as ballads of Burger, Goëthe, and Schiller are said to be now working downwards in Germany, and becoming folkslieder,—the songs and poetry of the people. But where have been poets belonging to the labouring class called into song by their own class? *This is more extraordinary than the genius of the individual himself, this genius of the class for whom he composed.*

Is there any spark of this intellectual spirit among the common labouring people in the finer soils and climates of Europe? or does the little exertion of mind with which all physical wants may be supplied, and many physical enjoyments obtained in abundance, tend to form a heavy, material, unintellectual character, among the labouring class in Germany, which is confirmed by the state of pupillage and non-exertion of mind in which they are educated and kept by their governments; while the mind of the Scotch labouring man is stirred up and in perpetual exercise by the self-dependence, exertion, privation, forethought, moral restraint, and consideration required in his social position in which neither climate nor poor-rate, neither natural nor artificial facilities of living without thinking, allow him to sink into apathy or mental indolence?

But there are other educational influences, of far more important action in forming the intellectual character of a people, than schools or theatres, which the German people want, and the British possess. The social economist, who reflects upon our crowded open courts of law in the ordinary course of their business at Westminster Hall, or at the Court of Session, at the assizes or circuits, or sheriff-courts, in short, wherever any kind of judicial business is going on, and upon the eagerness and attention with which the common people follow out the proceedings even in cases of no public interest, will consider the bar, with its public oral pleadings, examinations of witnesses, and reasonings on events, a most important instrument in our national education. Whoever attends to the ordinary run of conversation among our middle and lower classes will think it no exaggeration to say, that the bar is more influential than the pulpit, in forming the public mind, and in educating and exercising the mental powers of the people. It is a perpetual exercise in applying principle to actions, and actions to principle. This unceasing course of moral and intellectual education, enjoyed by our very lowest class in every locality, is wanting in Germany in general, owing to the different mode of judicial procedure in closed courts, by written pleadings, or private hearings of argument, and private examinations of facts and witnesses. Law and justice are, perhaps, as well administered in the one way as in the other; but the effects on the public mind, on the moral training of the character, and on the intellectuality and judgment of the common people, are very different. All schools for the people, all systems of national education, sink into insigni-

ance, compared to the working of this vast open school for the public mind. We see its influence in the public press. Law cases are found to be the most interesting as well as the most instructive reading for the people, and our newspapers fill their columns with them. This taste has arisen also in France, since France has enjoyed open courts of law; and it is one of the most striking proofs of the social progress of the French people, that their theatres are deserted, and their courts of law crowded, and that their popular newspapers now report all interesting civil or criminal law cases.

Another great educational influence wanting in Germany, is the moving moral diorama of human affairs and interests presented to the public mind by our newspaper press. This literature of the common people is unknown in Germany. Foreign newspapers do not furnish food for the mind of the common man. The newspaper public abroad is of a higher, more intellectual, more educated cast, than ours; but therefore more circumscribed—a public of professional men, functionaries, scholars, men of acquirements far above those of the mass of the people. It is to them, not to the people, that the press, both the literary and the periodical, and the pulpit also, in Germany, address themselves, by far too exclusively; and the mass of the people, the labourers and peasantry, are lost sight of. If we come down to German literature to what is intelligible to this lowest class, we find a great vacuity not filled up by those daily or weekly accounts of the real affairs and local business passing around them, which our country newspapers furnish to the mind of the common man, and which exercise and educate his intellectual and moral powers.

The strictness—pharisaical strictness it may be—with which the repose of Sunday is observed in England, and particularly

Scotland—the complete abstinence not merely from work, but from amusement, is unquestionably a powerful educational influence in our social economy. Its religious value is not here considered. It may possibly produce as much hypocrisy as piety. But viewing it simply in its influence on the intellectual culture of a people, and comparing its effects with the intellectual culture produced by the round of amusement to which Sunday is devoted on the Continent, the social economist will not hesitate to say that our strict observance, where it is the voluntary action of the public mind, and not an observance enforced by kirk sessions and town bailies, is of a higher educational tendency.

and both indicates and produces a more intellectual character. The common man is thrown by it upon his own mental resources, reflections, and ideas, be they religious or not. He is not a mere recipient of fatigue for six days, and of amusement for one, without thought or mental exertion in the one state more than in the other—which is the Continental man's existence; but for one day he is in repose, and, without taking religion at all into consideration, is in a state of leisure, in which he is thrown back upon reflection, judgment, memory of what he knows or has heard, and upon considering and reasoning upon his own affairs, whether spiritual or temporal. It is a valuable pause from manual labour, which, if filled up by mere amusement, is lost as to intellectual culture.

The want of religious dissent, and consequently of religious discussion among the people, is also the want of a powerful means of educating, and sharpening by controversy, the intellectual faculties of the lower orders of Germany.

The want also of public or common business, small or great, to discuss, or influence by their opinions or votes, and in which they can act freely, and according to their own will and judgment, without superintendence and control, tells fearfully against the development of the human intellect in this lowest class in Germany. It is the same cause, only in less intensity of force—viz., the want of exercise and excitement of the mental powers—which reduces to idiocy or imbecility the inmate of the silent penitentiary. Here, in Germany, the government, and the whole social economy of the country, remove systematically all exercise of mental powers from the people, and reduce the common working German peasantry, the lowest but greatest class in the community, to a lower state of intellectuality than we are acquainted with in Great Britain; where, even in the most remote and solitary situations, there is, owing to the nature of our social economy and institutions, a perpetual stream of exciting and educating influences and circumstances acting on the mind of the common man. Here, this lowest class of the population are, intellectually, but big children who know their letters. They are in a state of extreme inertness of mind. Take one of our uneducated people who can neither write nor read, converse with him, try his good sense, his judgment, his powers of comprehending, deciding, and acting within his sphere, and we find that the education of realities in our free social state, through which this ignorant man's mind has passed in the various exciting circum-

stances, which, in our social condition, daily exercise the faculties of every man in every station, has actually brought him to a higher intellectual and moral state,—has made him a more thinking, energetic, right-acting character, than the passive human beings of the same class in Germany, who have had the education of the schools, but without the practical exercise of the mental powers afterwards in their social relations.

The blessings of school education let no man undervalue but in our zeal for the education of the people let us not take the show for the substance, and imagine their education to consist in reading and writing, and not in the exercise and enjoyment of their own mental powers as free agents, acting in their own civil, political, moral, and religious duties as men and members of society. National schools, and theatres, and all that can be taught or represented by governments on the German system, are but poor substitutes for that education through the real business of life which can only be given to a people by free social institutions. The most educated countries in the present age give little encouragement to the philanthropist who expects, from a general diffusion of school education, a higher moral character, and an efficient check upon crime, among a people. The most generally educated nation in Europe is unquestionably the Swedish. It is stated by Colonel Forsell, the Director of the Statistical Board of Sweden, in his valuable work, "*Statistik öfver Sverige*," that not so many as one in a thousand of the total population of Sweden, who are not incapable of instruction from mental or bodily infirmity, is unable to read and write, and the few who cannot are aged persons of a past generation, in which school-education was not so generally diffused and enforced. Religious instruction also is universal; because no person can be married, or perform any act as major in years, before taking the sacrament, after the rite of confirmation, and, on both occasions, going through preparatory instruction, and a suitable examination by the clergyman, who in this duty is strictly watched over by his superiors. Sweden being geographically and politically isolated, and detached from other countries—being almost entirely agricultural, with little commerce or manufacture, and with no great assemblages of its population in cities or large towns—and being provided also with a government which is a model of well-intended interference with all the interests of the people, ought to present to the world a picture of the happy results of an universal national education.



and religious instruction, of a more perfect system of school and church education, than any country in Europe has been able to establish. It is not without dismay, therefore, that on turning to the criminal statistics of this generally educated people, we find that the amount of criminal offences, in proportion to the numbers of the population, exceed greatly those of England, Scotland, or Ireland, which are certainly not educated countries—that the numbers of illegitimate children, and of divorces from the marriage tie—both undeniable tests of the moral condition of a people—are vastly greater. This statistical fact was so unexpected, so contrary to the generally received opinion, that school education must of itself diminish the tendency to crime in a country, that it was supposed the number of commitments in a year for mere conventional police transgressions, involving no moral delinquency, had been numbered as crimes in the statement made by the author of these Notes in his tour in Sweden; and the minister of Sweden at the Court of St. James, the Count Biornstierna, published a pamphlet to refute his calumnies. But statistical facts are stubborn things. On examining the official lists of crimes tried before the courts in the course of a year, and published by authority of government, it was proved that the murders, rapes, robberies, and acts which are criminal in all countries, exceeded very far, in proportion to the population, the number of the same crimes in our unschooled dense population. The just inference is—not that school education is useless as a restraint upon crime—but that a people kept, as in Sweden, in a state of pupillage under educational, clerical, and civil functionaries, and privileged classes, without free action in their own social and moral duties, derive no benefit from the school acquirements of reading, writing, and repeating the catechism—that these, as stated above, are but poor substitutes for that education through the real business of life, which can only be given to a people by free social institutions.

## CHAPTER IX.

ON THE RHINE.—SWITZERLAND.—SWISS CHARACTER.—CHURCH OF GENEVA  
—SWISS SCENERY.

Rhine is, no doubt, an historical river; but the political economist reads history in its stream differently from the scholar or the antiquarian. This river has been flowing these two thousand years through the centre of European civilisation—yet with little industry or traffic upon its waters! not one river in ten miles of river! Is not this the effect of faulty political economy, of bad government, of restricted freedom among twenty or thirty millions of people dwelling in communication with this great water-way? Is it not a bitter historical lesson on the feudal institutions which have so long reigned on this side of this river? In America, rivers not half a century ago, to any human knowledge, are teeming with floating craft, carrying industry for industry between rising cities, and communities of free self-governing men. This ancient river now flows stately and silently through vast populations of civilised and well governed countries, and like one of its own dignified barons, caring little for industry, commerce, and civilisation, sweeping in lonely grandeur between robber castles of former times, modern fortifications, decaying towns, military and custom-house sentinels and functionaries, and beneath vine-dotted hills, and through which the labouring man toils, and climbs, and lives, as he did a thousand years ago, without improvement, or advance in his importance, in his social condition. Is this the Rhine, the great Rhine,—the Rhine that boasts of commerce, literature, science, law, government, religion, having all sprung up in modern times upon its banks—this river, with half a dozen steamers carrying idle lady and gentlemen passengers up and down to view the scenery, and a solitary barge here and there floating along its sides? Truly the American rivers, under the democratical American governments and social system, have gone far ahead, in half a century, of this European river under the democratical European governments and social system, although the European has had the start of the American streams by

fifteen hundred or two thousand years. When Prince Mitternich sits in his window-seat in his castle of Johannisberg, reading in some book of travels about the Ohio, or Mississippi, or Hudson, all teeming with the activity and civilizing industry of free, unrestricted men, what may be his thoughts when he lifts his eyes from the book, and looks down upon the Rhine? It is here that the American traveller may be allowed to prose, at long and at large, upon his favourite topic—the superiority of American institutions and government. He may begin his glorifications at Cologne, and end them at Basle, without interruption.

The two small populations at the two extremities of the Rhine, the Swiss and the Dutch, far apart from, and unconnected with each other, and in all physical circumstances of country, soil, climate, means of subsistence, and objects of industry, as distinct and different as two groups of human beings well can be, are yet morally and nationally very like to each other. The same spirit in their social economy, and a similar struggle to attain and preserve independence and free political arrangements in their countries, have produced a striking similarity of character in the two populations. The Swiss are the Dutchmen of the mountains. They are the same cold, unimaginative, money-seeking, yet vigorous, determined, energetic people, as the Dutch of the mouths of the Rhine. In private household life the same order and cleanliness, attention to small things, plodding, persevering industry, and addiction to gain, predominate in the character of both, and as citizens, the same reverence for law, and common sense, the same zeal for public good, the same intense love of country, and, hidden under a phlegmatic exterior, the same capability of great energy, and sacrifices for it. The Swiss, being less wealthy, but far more generally above want and pauperism than the Dutch, retain, perhaps, more of the virtues connected with patriotism; and their two-and-twenty distinct governments, all more or less liberal in form, and the necessity of watchfulness and energy in their united general government, keep alive in every man a spirit of devotedness to his country, which the traveller looks for in vain among the peasantry of the monarchical states which allow no free action, or participation in public interests, to their subjects. The Swiss cantons bicker and quarrel among themselves as the American United States do; but, like the dogs in a snow-traineau, they get on together not the less rapidly for their barking and

ing—and a common object in view silences all differences. Some political observers conceive that this republican bundle of two-and-twenty distinct states, different in laws, religion, and language, and placed between three monarchies, jealous of the prosperity, and especially of the example of such free institutions, is but a very precarious lease of existence in its present independent federal constitution. This is a mistaken view. The best and surest defence of a country consists in its power of aggression. Switzerland has eminently this aggressive power—it could throw a ball of fire from the Alps into the plains of Italy, which would kindle a flame that Austria or Sardinia could not quench; and with the south of France in no cordial objection to the reigning family, has a powerful moral aggressive force on that side also. Her population, too, is one of military habits, united in sentiment for the independence of the country, accustomed to the use of arms, and the country strong in its ruggedness for its local defence by the inhabitants. Switzerland is in reality a heavier power in the European balance than some of the little kingdoms, such as Wurtemberg, Hanover, Denmark, Sweden, which class themselves among the secondary powers, and look upon the Swiss confederated states as of very inferior importance to their own.

The Swiss appear to be a people very destitute of imagination, and its influences—remarkably blind to the glorious scenery in which they live. Rousseau, the only imaginative writer Switzerland has ever produced, observes, "that the people and their country do not seem made for each other." There is much truth in the observation. Men of all nations, excepting of the Swiss nation itself, and of almost every station in life, are met with in Switzerland wandering from scene to scene, pilgrims paying homage at every lake and mountain, to the magnificence of the scenery. The Swiss himself is apparently without any feeling of this kind. If it be possible to build out a fine view, or to put down a house exactly where one with any eye or feeling for the beauty of situation or scenery, would not place it, there the traveller may reckon upon finding the mansion and offices of the wealthy class of the Swiss, who could afford to indulge a taste, if they had it, for the fine scenery of their land. The Swiss speculators in hotels and lodging houses for strangers, who are a numerous and respectable class, are altogether puzzled at the unaccountable preferences the strangers give to cottages on the lake side, to single houses, or inns in the little villages,

instead of their superb châteaux in the middle of a market town, or built out from every prospect by magnificent office houses. The Swiss, in truth, are altogether utilitarian. Material interests are at the top, bottom, and middle of their minds. They have not a spark of fancy in their moral composition, no delusion of themselves, or others. Yet, without imagination, they have great energy, great patriotism, and a strong sense of public duty; and, with their military habits, these are more to be depended upon for the stubborn defence of their country and its institutions, than a temporary volatile enthusiasm. This peculiar spirit and character may be ascribed to the peculiar occupation of a great portion of the Swiss people. They have for ages been the hirelings of Europe, either in public or private service, as soldiers, or as domestic servants. Pay has for ages been the only influence in general and constant operation on the Swiss mind in every class of society, and has weakened the efficiency of any higher influences and feelings in affairs, than self-interest. *Point d'argent, point de Suisse*, has extended from their military to all their social relations. A great proportion of the young men of Switzerland have small farms, or houses, with portions of land, and rights to grazings in the Alp of their native parishes, to succeed to upon the death of their parents; but, until that event in their social position, they are supernumeraries at home, their labour not being necessary for cultivating the paternal acres, and their subsistence more, perhaps, than the land can afford. They have no colonies to migrate to, no labour to turn to, except labour of skill, which all cannot learn, or live by, and no considerable manufacturing employment, except in two or three cantons, to absorb their numbers, and they enlist, therefore, readily for a few years in Swiss regiments in foreign service. France, after the restoration of the Bourbons, had, if I mistake not, about 17,000 men of Swiss regiments; and the disgust of the French nation at the preference shown to these mercenaries was a main cause of the expulsion of Charles X. Naples has at present four regiments of these mercenaries, Rome as many; and it is reckoned that from 8,000 to 10,000 Swiss are in foreign service at present, embodied generally in Swiss regiments distinct from the native troops of the country. They are the condottieri of the middle ages, serving for their pay, and without any other principle, or attachment, real, or assumed, or any pretext of higher motive for their service. In other services, the rudest soldier, the most arrant scamp, the vagabond, the deserter from

gives the flattering unction to his soul, that  
 necessity, wildness of youth, love of distinc-  
 honour, something, in short, connected with  
 led him into the military service. But  
 principle, real or imaginary, but pay. They  
 terms of four or six years, and receive a  
 on for each year they engage for. This  
 them in full upon enlistment, but a portion  
 credit in their *livret*, or book, which every  
 services, and is paid to them at the expiry  
 enable them to return home from the  
 those serving in Italy are sent free of  
 choose to re-engage for a new term of  
 a higher pay than the native troops.  
 ment in the Neapolitan service told  
 that of a captain in a Neapolitan  
 four gran and bread, and the *élite*,  
 enlisted, five gran per day, and their  
 t costs but three gran. They are  
 ra, are always in good quarters,  
 ra, and, both at Naples and Rome,  
 inted troops. Scotland formerly  
 ottieri to Holland, Sweden, and  
 try and manufacture at home,  
 the demand of England for  
 extinguished this kind of mili-  
 al so devoid of all connection  
 ry, as the Swiss enlistments  
 peasant enlisted under his  
 l, who from attachment to  
 religion, or from national  
 to the British, even with  
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cantons. No government can set principle at defiance with impunity. These men return to their little spots of land, devoid of religious habits, or feelings, or attachment to any religious faith. This service keeps up through the whole population of Switzerland, principles and conduct adverse to religious character. The men who thus enlist to pass their youth in the most vicious and bigoted cities in Europe—Naples and Rome—are not the refuse of their country, but the sons of respectable peasants, who are to return to their little heritages and marry, and settle as fathers of families. If the Swiss character be mercenary, and devoid of feeling for higher influences or motives than pay, the taint comes from this source. Yet it is surprising, and suggestive of very important reflections, how an enlightened self-interest, keenly appreciating its own private advantage in the public good, keeps a people honest, sober, industrious, highly patriotic, and in the active and regular discharge of all private and public duties as men and citizens, without the higher influences of religion. But so it is. The Swiss people present to the political philosopher the unexpected and most remarkable social phenomenon of a people eminently moral in conduct, yet eminently irreligious; at the head of the moral state in Europe, not merely for absence of numerous or great crimes, or of disregard of right, but for ready obedience to law, for honesty, fidelity to their engagements, for fair dealing, sobriety, industry, orderly conduct, for good government, useful public institutions, general well-being, and comfort—yet at the bottom of the scale for religious feelings, observances, or knowledge, especially in the Protestant cantons, in which prosperity, well-being, and morality seem to be, as compared to the Catholic cantons, in an inverse ratio to the influence of religion on the people. How is this discordance between their religious and their moral and material state to be reconciled? It is so obvious, that every traveller in Switzerland is struck with the great contrast in the well-being and material condition of the Protestant and Catholic populations, and equally so with the difference in the influence of religion over each. This influence is at its minimum in Protestant, and at its maximum nearly in Catholic Switzerland; and the prosperity and social well-being of the people are exactly the reverse. How is this? Is it that the Swiss people, at home and abroad, see the utility of moral conduct, the utility of temperance, fidelity, self-restraint, honesty, obedience to law, patriotism, and defence of their country, and of their independent

political establishments, see the advantages, the pay, in short, of moral conduct and patriotism, in every shape and way, and are therefore eminently moral and patriotic, yet not from religious principles or influences, but altogether from an enlightened self-interest? It is a very remarkable social state, similar, perhaps, to that of the ancient Romans, in which morality and social virtue were also sustained without the aid of religious influences.

I happened to be at Geneva one Sunday morning as the bells were tolling to church. The very sounds which once called the powerful minds of a Calvin, a Knox, a Zwingli, to religious exercise and meditation, were now summoning the descendants of their contemporaries to the same house of prayer. There are few Scotchmen whose hearts would not respond to such a call. I hastened to the ancient cathedral, the church of Saint Peter, to see the pulpit from which Calvin had preached, to sit possibly in the very seat from which John Knox had listened, to hear the pure doctrines of Christianity from the preachers who now stand where once the great champions of the Reformation stood; to mark, too, the order and observances of the Calvinistic service here in its native church; to revive, too, in my mind, Scotland and the picturesque Sabbath days of Scotland in a foreign land. But where is the stream of citizens' families in the streets, so remarkable a feature in every Scotch town when the bells are tolling to church, family after family, all so decent and respectable in their Sunday clothes, the fathers and mothers leading the younger children, and all walking silently churchwards? and where the quiet, the repose, the stillness, of the Sabbath morning, so remarkable in every Scotch town and house? Geneva, the seat and centre of Calvinism, the fountain-head from which the pure and living waters of our Scottish Zion flow, the earthly source, the pattern, the Rome of our Presbyterian doctrine and practice, has fallen lower from her own original doctrine and practice than ever Rome fell. Rome has still superstition: Geneva has not even that semblance of religion. In the head church of the original seat of Calvinism, in a city of five-and-twenty thousand souls, at the only service on the Sabbath day—there being no evening service—I sat down in a congregation of about two hundred females, and three-and-twenty males, mostly elderly men of a former generation, with scarcely a youth, or boy, or working man among them. A meagre liturgy, or printed form of prayer, a sermon, which, as far as religion was concerned, might

have figured the evening before at a meeting of some geological society, as an "ingenious essay" on the Mosaic chronology, a couple of psalm tunes on the organ, and a waltz to go out with, were the church service. In the afternoon the only service in towns or in the country is reading a chapter of the Bible to the children, and hearing them gabble over the Catechism in a way which shows they have not a glimpse of the meaning. A pleasure tour in the steam-boats, which are regularly advertised for a Sunday promenade round the lake, a picnic dinner in the country, and overflowing congregations in the evening at the theatre, the equestrian circus, the concert saloons, ball rooms, and coffee houses, are all that distinguish Sunday from Monday in that city in which, three centuries before, Calvin moved the senate and the people to commit to the flames his own early friend, Servetus, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood, and one of the first philosophers of that age, for presuming to differ in opinion and strength of argument from his own religious dogma. This is action and re-action in religious spirit, with a vengeance. In the village churches along the Protestant side of the Lake of Geneva—spots upon this earth specially intended, the traveller would say, to elevate the mind of man to his Creator by the glories of the surrounding scenery—the rattling of the billiard balls, the rumbling of the skittle trough, the shout, the laugh, the distant shots of the rifle-gun clubs, are heard above the psalm, the sermon, and the barren forms of state-prescribed prayer, during the one brief service on Sundays, delivered to very scanty congregations, in fact, to a few females and a dozen or two old men, in very populous parishes supplied with able and zealous ministers.

What may be the causes of this remarkable difference in the working of Calvinism in Switzerland and Scotland? The churches of Geneva and Scotland set out together on their Christian pilgrimage, in the days of Calvin and Knox, with the same profession of faith, the same doctrines, and the same forms in congregational worship. We, the vulgar of the kirk of Scotland, have at least always been taught to consider the church of Geneva as the mother-church of our Presbyterian faith and established church usages—the model by which both our doctrines and practices were framed and adjusted into their present shape. How widely the two have wandered from each other! The member of the Scotch kirk comes out of the church of Geneva inquiring if it be a Calvinistic or Lutheran service he has been attending—

the **l**iturgy, or printed prescribed form of prayer, is there, the **o**rgan is there, and the sermon is a neat little moral essay that **m**ight do for either, or for any congregation. Scotland is at this **d**ay **t**he most religious Protestant country in Europe; and in no **c**oun**t**ry in Europe, Protestant or Catholic, is the church attendance **w**orse, the regard for the ordinary observances of religious worship less, **t**he religious indifference—not entitled to be called infidelity, not **s**o respectable as infidelity, because not arising from any reason-**i**ng **o**r thinking, wrong or right, about religion—greater than in **P**ro**t**estant Switzerland, in the district of our Calvinistic mother-**c**hurch in and about Geneva. Whence is this remarkable difference? The starting point of the human mind was the same in both **c**oun**t**ries, at the same period, and under the same leaders—Calvin and **K**nox; and the present divergence of the human mind in its religious direction in Switzerland and Scotland is as striking as was the original coincidence.

The only obvious cause of this divergence is, that the state and church in Switzerland have from the first engrafted on Calvinism a bastard Lutheranism. It is characteristic of Calvinism, as received in Scotland, that it is the only branch of Christianity which flourishes independently of all church establishments, state assistance, or government arrangements, and requires no union of church and state. Spiritual, and unconnected with forms, it is injured by government interference and regulation. In Scotland itself religion is more flourishing in the Secession than in the Established Church, simply because the former is a voluntary, the latter a state church. The doctrine and church observances and education of the ministers are the same in both. The state has—and Calvin himself, in conjunction with the state, to prevent probably the excitement of the public mind by the extemporaneous prayers of fanatic preachers adapting their effusions to the passing feelings of their congregations, or to keep them exclusively Calvinists, and out of the hearing, as far as possible, of other impressions—prescribed a set form of printed prayer, a liturgy, in settling the church discipline and usages of the church of Geneva. The Scotch Calvinistic church, about sixty years after the Reformation, repudiated such interference, even from the church power, with individual freedom of thought and expression in prayer, as being contrary to the genuine spirit of Calvinism. The Scotch were more Calvinistic than Calvin himself. Time has proved that the Scotch kirk was right. In Switzerland, in attempting to guard the people by prescribed forms, against the diseases

of fanaticism and erroneous doctrine, the state and Calvinistic church have inoculated the people with the worse disease of indifference. It is the same experiment, for the same object and with the same results, which Prussia is trying in our times with the Protestant religion in Germany—to make it a subservient machine to state or church policy, to hold the minds of men enslaved to a civil or clerical system of government by religious ties.

The Lutheran and Church of England clergy, it may be said, are also confined to prescribed printed forms of prayer—true; but in the old Lutheran and Anglican churches these forms of ceremonial prayer—selected, translated and improved from the more ancient popish service—are, as in the Roman Catholic church, the sum and substance of the religious service. The sermon is only an adjunct of secondary importance in the service of the day. But in the Calvinistic church, as we conceive of it in Scotland, the substance of the service is in the sermon; and the best sermon loses half its effect, the best preacher half his power, if applicable, appropriate prayer, composed under the same impressions and feelings as the discourse, be superseded by set forms issued by the state, and which in Switzerland, not having the venerated antiquity, the admirable eloquence, and the application to every condition and every mind, of the fine ancient liturgy of the English church, nor being interwoven with the very existence of the church, as in the old Lutheranism, are listened to rather as proclamations to heaven of the church and state, than as prayers. The influence of the preacher is impaired. He stands in the pulpit in a false position as a free Calvinistic minister, with this dead weight of a leaden, meagre liturgy round his neck. He is not in the position of the Church of England or old Lutheran clergyman, who in the delivery of his prescribed liturgy is performing the most important part of his pastoral duty, and one consistent, not discordant, with the principle and spirit of his partly ceremonial church, in which the pastor's individual labour as a preacher is but secondary and subsidiary. This false position in their own pulpits necessarily lowers the moral and religious tone and energy of the clerical character in the Swiss clergy. Their liturgy, too, is in itself a meagre, unimpressive composition. They attempt to remedy their false position in the pulpit, by introducing occasional prayer in the middle, and as part of the sermon itself. This smuggled prayer is, in itself, of very impressive effect in pulpit oratory. It is rarely

ed by our Scotch preachers; but here it is so common, that the assistants, who sit with their hats on during the sermon, are on the watch when the preacher is sliding, from addressing them, to prayer, to take off their hats until he returns to the thread of his discourse. This practice shows, I conceive, that the ministers feel themselves in a false and inconsistent position, in being only allowed to exercise half their duty—that of addressing their congregations—not the more important half—that of addressing their Creator in prayer—according to their own feelings, impressions, and powers. This position also gives the pastor too much the character with the people of a functionary of the state and church, who has his routine duty to do, and is paid for doing it like other functionaries. The routine duty of reading their short eugene liturgy is too brief to be a regular impressive church service, and yet it prevents any other mode of prayer.

The usual form of church duty in the Calvinistic parishes is this: the minister first reads a short prayer, the people standing, then gives out two verses of a psalm, which are well performed, there being an organ generally even in country churches, and all the psalm-books having the notes of the music printed with the psalms—and the common people understand music enough to sing the notes. The text is read while the people are still standing, and they then sit down, and old men and peasants generally put on their hats while the minister delivers his sermon. The sermons are always read from papers; but some of the young clergy use the papers very little, and seem to have them merely as notes to refresh the memory. The printed forms of prayer are then read. They have at least the merit of being very short. None of the congregation have them in their hands. They are not used like the English prayer-book, by the congregation as well as by the minister, but only by the minister. A couple of verses of a psalm concludes the service, which, with a brisk tune on the organ—the fashionable opera air of the day—to go out of church with, occupies about three quarters of an hour. This is all the church service on Sundays. The afternoon service is a meeting of the children, who, after a prayer (a printed form) and a psalm without the organ, are examined in the Catechism. Baptisms, churchings, and such duties, are performed; but there is no sermon, and no congregation, either in town or country, in the afternoon, unless it be on some special occasion, such as a charity sermon.

This supine state of the Protestant church in Switzerland is owing greatly to the effects, indirect and direct, of the last war.



The indirect effects were those on the minds of the people bred up in the very centre of military movement, amidst excitement, bustle, and employments, which left little time or inclination for any religious education. The grown generation, and perhaps their progeny, show that little value had been put upon religious observances, habits, or instruction, in the days of their youth. The direct effects were, that, during the war, youth of talent and good education found in other professions a more congenial and better recompensed career than in the church. It was abandoned to those who had no ambition or talent for any other profession; and the standard both of learning and abilities in the clerical profession fell during the war below the standard of other professions. It is not to be denied that something of the same kind took place in Scotland, also, during the last war. The church did not obtain her fair proportion of the high-minded, high-gifted, and high-educated youth of the country, to fill her ranks; and she is now under the paroxysm of a strong reaction, is filled with ambition, and an active spirit too great for the narrow circle of her social influence, in a country of widely spread dissent, of habits of independent thinking, and of general education and intellectual culture not inferior to the standard of the clergy themselves. The agitation of late in the Scotch church is perhaps owing to this false position of the clergy with the people. The moral influence of great superiority of education, and of acquirements unattainable by the multitude, is wanting to the Scotch churchman, from the low standard of education which country presbyteries required in licensing preachers. As a sacred class of men, the Calvinist admits no superiority or influence to the licensed or ordained clerical preacher, more than to any lay or other preacher, either in the theory or practice of religion. It is to the gifts, talents, intellectual acquirements, not to the empty ordination ceremony, or clerical function, that social influence is given. But the established clergy in Scotland have no superiority in these over the clergy of the Secession, and neither have any over the youth of the middle classes, who study for the lower branches of the legal or medical professions, or for filling up their leisure hours in commercial, manufacturing, or other ordinary vocations of life. They are not fenced in, as in the English church, by expensive forms of education dividing the clerical class from other men, however well educated; nor by essential forms, as in the same ceremonial church of England, which none but the regularly ordained clergy-

an can legally, or in public opinion, perform in a religious use; nor as in England, by the ignorance of the rest of society, from whose want of education the clergyman, however poorly educated himself, derives a certain social influence. They have in Scotland neither more knowledge, nor of a higher kind, than the people they have to instruct. They have no status in public opinion simply from being ordained, and unfortunately are struggling for influence and power as a clerical body co-ordinate with the civil power in the state, without laying the foundation of superiority of attainments and education—on which alone clerical power or social influence can rest in an educated country.

The young men of the Swiss church stand higher, compared with the people, in education, than those of the Scotch. They are elected by the people from a list sent from government. The list is made up by the consistory from the roll of licensed candidates, according to their standing or seniority. The candidates are first suffragans or assistants to parish ministers. They are all paid by the state, and are, undoubtedly, in the present generation, well educated, pious men. A reaction has taken place in the Swiss as in the Scotch church, and in both, the young clergy, not the old, lead the movement. But in Switzerland the movement seems confined to a very small circle, chiefly females, around the pastor. The men appear not to enter into that circle. The taint in the flock is too deeply seated in the constitution of the Swiss church, and in the social state of the people, to be cured by their clergy in one generation.

The late insurrection in the canton of Zurich, in 1839, in which the peasantry, headed by some of the clergy, overturned, without bloodshed, the local government, for having appointed Dr. Strauss to the chair of theology, may appear altogether at variance with this low estimate of the Swiss religious character. I was in Switzerland at the time; and from all I could learn, I considered it political not religious, and confirming the opinion of the low religious state of the country. Dr. David Fiedler Strauss published, in 1835, his life of Jesus—*Das Leben Jesu*\*—avowedly with the object of overturning all

\* Dr. Strauss's *Leben Jesu* was admitted into Prussia by the college of censorship, in consequence of a minute of Professor Neander, one of the censors, and one of the most eminent divines in Prussia, which stated, that if the interpretation of the original history of Christianity laid down in Strauss's work were to be generally received, Christianity, as at present

belief in those events of, or connected with, our Saviour's history, which cannot be reconciled to, or explained by, the ordinary course of natural operation. He brings to this attack upon Christianity and the miracles, not the wit, ingenuity, or philosophy of a Voltaire, a Hume, or a Gibbon, but a mass of learning and biblical criticism, which, his admirers say, the church is unable to match. The weight of profound scholarship and philosophical criticism is, it seems, all on the side of infidelity; and the most able and learned of the German theologians—no superficial scholars in biblical lore—have, it appears, been worsted in the opinion of the learned by this Goliath. In the wantonness of power the authorities of Zurich chose to call Dr. Strauss to the vacant theological chair in their university—to appoint a learned man, who denies and controverts the very facts and foundations of all Christianity, to teach theology to those who are to instruct the people in the Christian faith. This attempt on the part of a government shows sufficiently the state of religion in the country. It was defeated, not from any new-born religious zeal of the people, but because the misgovernment and perversion of the powers entrusted by the community to their rulers, in this absurd appointment, were apparent; and the ministers found no want of followers, from the roused common sense of the people, even among those who perhaps had not crossed the church door for six months, to go to Zurich and displace magistrates who had abused their delegated powers so obviously. So little of religious zeal entered into this movement, that Dr. Strauss, as he had received the appointment, was allowed the retiring pension of a professor. The people appointed new members, without changing the forms of their government, retired to their mountains and valleys. and this revival was at an end. The present commotions in Argau, also, appear to be

understood, would certainly be at an end. The work, however, is written with such philosophical earnestness and science, that a prohibition of it by the state would be unsuitable, because it can only be overcome in the fields of learning and philosophic science; and it is, moreover, a work which can scarcely penetrate beyond the circle of the learned." Such a character of Dr. Strauss's work, from a scholar and divine of such eminence in biblical literature, places it beyond the contempt of ordinary theologians, who may affect to sneer at what they cannot even read. Why do not our young clergy withdraw from their political economy, and their non-intrusion, or intrusion politics, and refute the errors in philosophical criticism and in biblical learning of this antagonist, who, at the age of five-and-twenty, or thirty, has thrown down the gauntlet to the divines of Europe?

entirely a struggle between Protestants and Catholics for property and political power.

The snowy peak, the waterfall, the glacier, are but the wonders of Switzerland; her beauty is in her lakes—the blue eyes of this Alpine land. The most beautiful passage of scenery in Switzerland is, to my mind, the upper end of the Lake of Geneva, from Vevay, or from Lausanne to Villeneuve. Scenery more sublime may be found on the lakes of Lucerne, Zug, Brienz; but in the pure, unmixed sublime of natural scenery there is a gloom, essential perhaps to it, which cannot long be sustained without a weariness of mind. Here the gay expanse of water is enlivening; and the water here is in due proportion to the landward part of the scenery—not too little, nor too much, for the mountains. The climate, too, under the shelter of the high land, the vegetations of various climes upon the hill-side before the eye at once, have a charm for the mind. The margin of the lake is carved out, and built up into terrace above terrace of vineyards and Indian-corn plots; behind this narrow belt, grain crops, orchards, grass fields, and chestnut-trees have their zone; higher still upon the hill-side, pasture grass and forest-trees occupy the ground; above rises a dense mass of pine forest, broken by peaks of bare rocks shooting up, weather-worn and white, through this dark green mantle; and, last of all, the eternal snow piled high up against the deep blue sky—and all this glory of nature, this varied majesty of mountain-land, within one eye-glance! It is not surprising that this water of Geneva has seen upon its banks the most powerful minds of each succeeding generation. Calvin, Knox, Voltaire, Gibbon, Rousseau, Madame de Staël, Lord Byron, John Kemble, have, with all their essential diversities and degrees of intellectual powers, been united here in one common feeling of the magnificence of the scenery around it. This land of alp and lake is indeed a mountain-temple reared for the human mind on the dull unvaried plains of Europe. Men of every country resort to it from an irresistible impulse to feel intensely, at least once in their lives, the majesty of nature. The purest of intellectual enjoyments, that the material world can give is being alone in the midst of this scenery.

## CHAPTER X.

NOTES ON SWITZERLAND.—MONTREUX.—CHECKS ON OVER-POPULATION.—SWISS DAIRY.—AGRICULTURE.—SOCIAL CONDITION.

It is of the people of the countries I visit, not of the scenery,—of political and social economy, not of rocks and wilds, forests and floods, that I would speak, even in Switzerland. During two successive summers of late years, I fixed myself in the parish of Montreux, on the side of the Lake of Geneva, not far from the castle of Chilon. The locality is celebrated in every note book, delineated in every sketch-book of every sentimental tourist from the days of our grandmothers—for before Byron sung, and when Chilon was nothing more than it now is—an old French-like château, very suitable for its present use—a military magazine—the locality was the region of sentimentality, and hot-house feeling; for here Rousseau had placed his Julie, and St. Preux; and Clarens, and Meillarie, and all that is real or unreal in the Héloïse—are here or hereabouts. But the locality has its own claims on the political economist as well as on the romantic tourist. We, the inhabitants of the parish of Montreux, are of unspeakable interest in the speculations of the enlightened prozers on political economy in the winter evening re-unions of Geneva and Lausanne. They demonstrate from our sage example, to a simpering circle of wives and daughters-in-law, the wisdom, duty, possibility, and utility, of keeping the numbers of a community, be it a nation, parish, or family, in due Malthusian ratio to the means of living. We of this parish have the honour of being cited in print to all Europe—besides the cities of Geneva and Lausanne—as an edifying example of *sagesse* on the great scale, as a perfect and remarkable instance of the application of moral restraint by a whole population upon their own over-multiplication. It appears from the register of this our parish of Montreux that the proportion of births to the population is 1 to 46, while in the rest of Switzerland it is reckoned 1 to 27 or 28 inhabitants. In England the proportion is 1 in 28; in France, 1 in 32 or 33; in Prussia, 1 in 25; in Bohemia, 1 in 24; in the old Venetian states, 1 in 22;

Russia, 1 in 18 or 19. This remarkably small proportion of births to the population in our parish, is ascribed to the late period of life to which the peasants put off their marriages.

Sir Francis d'Ivernois published, in 1837, a pamphlet, "Enquête sur les Causes patentes ou occultes de la faible Proportion des Naissances à Montreux," in which, with some ill-supported conclusions, he makes many valuable observations. The strength of nations, their wealth as regards population, depends, he justly observes, not on the number of births, but of persons born who attain a useful age. The true and valuable increase of the population of a country depends, in short, upon the principle of making as many men as possible out of as few children as possible. One-half of the children born, die before they attain a useful age, the rearing them has been a national loss, not a national gain. The population of effective people in Russia, with 1 birth to every 18 or 19 persons, may not be advancing so rapidly as that of France with 1 birth only to 33 persons. The observation is applicable to the supposed rapid increase of the population of the United States: more die before reaching the age of utility, and the rearing them is a loss, in reality, to the country, by the time, labour, and expense of their food and rearing, they die before that age. In this parish, in which 1 birth is the average to 46 people, 1 death is the mortality to 75. In Switzerland, in general, 1 in 42 is reckoned the average mortality. In the canton Thurgovia, in eighteen years before 1824, the births were 1 in 27, and the deaths 1 in 31: so that in reality its population was increasing in a slower ratio than that of this parish with its births 1 in 46, and its deaths 1 in 75. Here, one-half of the infants die before their fifth year. Here, nineteen out of twenty reach the first year of life, and very nearly four-fifths of those whom the present venerable minister has baptised, have lived to receive the sacrament from his hands. His diminished mortality Sir Francis ascribes to the postponement of the age of marriage, by which a healthier child is produced than in precocious marriages, and the child is better reared. The postponement of the marriages to a later age, and also the fewer births in families, Sir Francis ascribes to a moral restraint acted upon by the population of this parish, both before marriage, and also after they have entered into the marriage state—a restraint, it seems, which their untutored good sense leads them to exert, and entirely conformable to the moral restraint inculcated by Malthus and Dr. Chalmers. This moral



restraint, as an effective check upon the tendency to over-multiplication, is, in reality, mere delusion. Moral restraint is an expression ill-defined. The propagation of the species by marriage is not immoral in itself. It may be imprudent for a man to marry, and have a family of children whom he cannot support; but it is confounding the landmarks of morality and prudence to say that marriage is moral in Canada, and immoral in Kent; or should be placed under moral restraint when a man's banker's book, or his employer's tally book is against him, but is a moral and laudable transaction if the balance be on the right side of the page. It is a delusion, or even worse in character than mere delusion, to conjure up false feelings of moral restraint, and erect a false moral standard in the human mind against acts, which, however imprudent, are not immoral, and in all times, and under all circumstances, unchangeably immoral. The immorality which it is proposed by these political economists to put under moral restraint, is the imprudence of marrying without means to maintain a family. This imprudence is founded upon the poverty of the parties. This poverty again is founded upon what? Upon their moral delinquency? no, but upon the state to which they were born; but this is no moral guilt—it is the effect of an evil construction of society, of a wrong distribution of property in it, by which a numerous class succeed to no property whatsoever. It is rather too much for our political economists to enlist moral restraint into the defence of the fictitious feudal construction of society. This parish of Montreux proves the very reverse of the conclusions of Sir Francis d'Ivernois, as to the use of this false moral restraint on improvident marriage. It shows that economical restraint is sufficient. Our parish is divided into three communes or administrations. In that in which I am lodged, Veytaux, there is not a single pauper, although there is an accumulated poor fund, and the village thinks itself sufficiently important to have its post-office, its fire engine, its watchman; and it has a landward population around. The reason is obvious without having recourse to any occult moral restraint, or any tradition of the evils of over-population from the fate of the ancient Helvetians, as Sir Francis absurdly supposes possible, whose emigration from over-population Julius Cæsar repressed with the sword. The parish is one of the best cultivated and most productive vineyards in Europe; and is divided in very small portions among a great body of small proprietors. What is too high up the hill for vines, is in orchard, hay, and pasture land. Then

no manufacture, and no chance work going on in the parish. These small proprietors, with their sons and daughters, work on their own land, know exactly what it produces, what it costs them to live, and whether the land can support two families or not. Their standard of living is high, as they are proprietors. They are well lodged, their houses well furnished, and they live well, although they are working men. I lived with one of them two summers successively. This class of the inhabitants would no more think of marrying, without means to live in a decent way, than any gentleman's sons or daughters in England; and indeed less, because there is no variety of means of living, as in England. It must be altogether out of the land. The class below them again, the mere labourers, or village tradesmen, are under a similar economical restraint, which it is an abuse of words and principles to call moral restraint. The quantity of work which each of the small proprietors must hire, is a known and fixed demand, not very variable. There is no corn farming, little or no horse work, and the number of labourers and tradesmen who can live by the work and custom of the other class, is fixed and known as the means of living of the landowners themselves. There is no chance living—no room for an additional house even, for this class, because the land is too valuable, and too minutely divided, to be planted with a labourer's house, for his labour be not necessary. All that is wanted is supplied; and until a vacancy naturally opens, in which a labourer and his wife could find work and house room, he cannot marry. The economical restraint is thus quite as strong among the labourers, as among the class of proprietors. Their standard of living, also, is necessarily raised by living and working all day long with a higher class. They are clad as well, females and males, as the peasant proprietors. The costume of the canton is used by all. This very parish might be cited as an instance of the restraining powers of property, and of the habits, tastes, and standard of living, which attend a wide diffusion of property among a people, on their own over-multiplication. It is a proof that a division of property by a law of succession different in principle from the feudal, is the true check upon over population.

The speculations of political economists on this subject are, with us, confined to philosophical discussion; but on the Continent—in *Switzerland* and in *Germany*—they have been adopted as a basis of practical and altogether monstrous legislation. The

Thurgovians, taking the alarm at the facts, that in 18 years preceding 1824, the proportion of births among them had been 1 in 27 of the people, and of deaths 1 in 31, and that in another canton, that of Tecino, of 77,000 people, 2,932 were new-born, a vast proportion of whom died within the first year, proposed,—that is, the administrators of their poor rates proposed—to their legislative body, that the marriages of the poor who were unable to pay the quota to the poor tax should be prohibited. The first article of their proposed law prohibits the marriage of males who live by public charity; the second requires that, to obtain permission to marry, a certificate from the overseers of the poor must be produced, of the industry, and love of labour, and of the good conduct of the parties, and that, besides clothes, they art worth 700 francs French, or about £30 sterling. The third article of this extraordinary law in a free state, makes the marriage admissible without the proof of this 700 francs of value in moveable property, if the parties have furniture free of debt, and pay the poor tax of 1 per mille upon fixed property. Their legislative body had sense enough to reject this absurd proposition in 1833. The canton of St. Gall, however, actually has imposed a tax on marriages; and to make it popular, the amount goes to the poor fund. It fails, because according to Sir Francis d'Ivernois, it is too low, being 46 francs, about 71 francs French, or about £3 sterling; and because it is not graduated according to the ages of the parties, so as to prevent early marriages. But he thinks the principle excellent, as both Ricardo and Say, it seems, recommend the postponement of the marriageable age of the poor as an object of legislative enactment,—but not of the rich. Professor Weinhold, who proposed, in 1836, the infibulation of both sexes in Prussia, to prevent the increase of population, was a sage and wise legislator compared to these great political economists, for his operation would have been at least equal for all classes; and not a law affecting one class only. In Germany, commissaries have actually been appointed by some governments (Bavaria among others) who are invested with the power to refuse permission to marry to those whom they judge not able to support a family. They have a veto on marriages. All this monstrous, and demoralising, and tyrannical interference with the most sacred of those private rights for which man enters into social union with man, is the consequence of the absurd speculations of our English political economists and their foreign proselytes, who see clearly enough the evil, but who do not see, or are afraid to state,

that the remedy is not in a false code of morality, imposing moral restraint upon an act not immoral,—the marriage of the sexes; nor in a false code of laws for preventing the most powerful stimulus of nature; but in raising the civilisation, habits, mode of living, and prudence of the lower classes of the community by a wider diffusion of property among them, by an inoculation of the whole mass of society with the restraints which property carries with it upon imprudence and want of forethought in human action. The object of the laws which these political economists propose to themselves, is the postponement of marriages among the lowest class, to 26 or 30 years of age, when, it is assumed, healthier children will be procreated. Of 214 marriages in this parish, the average age of the males was found to be 30, and of the females  $26\frac{2}{3}$  years. But it is by no means an ascertained fact in physics, that the progeny of parents advanced far beyond puberty, are more healthy than of parents who have just reached the age of puberty. Our breeders of cattle, sheep, horses, and dogs of valuable races, seem, on the contrary, to find improvement instead of deterioration from putting them together at earlier ages than formerly. Our nobility and gentry in England marry at much earlier ages than our lower classes; and they are certainly finer animals than these or almost any other of the human species. Other causes than the age of the parents form the constitution of animals; and to legislate upon a fact so imperfectly ascertained, is sufficiently absurd. The ages of 30 and 26 years are probably the average of the greater proportion of marriages among our own lower and middle classes at present in Britain. On the Continent, most of the civil codes fix the age of puberty for females at 16, and for males at 18 years, and probably marriages do take place at an earlier age abroad than with us. Sir Francis d'Ivernois states that at Prælognan, in the States of Sardinia, in which a premium and even a pension is paid to fathers of families who have above 12 children, upon the old exploded idea that the numbers of the population form the strength of the state, the young men had voluntarily entered into a secret association, binding themselves not to marry before 28 years of age, in consequence of the misery they saw produced in their valley by over-population. They show intelligence in this resolution; but no such association would be necessary in any community in which property was attainable by industry; for in few situations, can or does the labouring man, if he is in the way of earning any thing by his labour, think of marrying.

at an earlier age than 28 or 30. It is only in Ireland, or in Sardinia, that the peasant sees no prospect of being better off at 28 or 30 years of age, than at 18; and therefore, very naturally, and very properly, marries at 18 or very early in life, so as to have a prospect of children grown up, before he is past the age to work for them; and who will be able to work for themselves, and perhaps for him when he is worn out. It is also by no means an ascertained fact, that a woman marrying at 26 and a man at 30 years of age, will not have as large a family, as marrying at 18 and 20 years of age; and it is clear that their children will not be so soon ready to help them. In Russia, the Emperor Nicholas fixed by an ukase, in 1830, the marriageable ages at 16 for females, and 18 for men; but this is stated by Sir Francis to arise from a circumstance which will scarcely be credited in civilised countries. The value of estates in Russia is reckoned according to the number of serfs; and the landed proprietors raise or force a population on their estates. And how? As the male does not arrive at puberty so early as the female in the human species, the infant husband's marriage bed is filled by his father, until he comes to puberty!—So says Sir Francis. But this barbarous practice for augmenting the number of serfs upon an estate is scarcely credible; and can scarcely be general, if it ever did exist. It is more reasonable to suppose, that marriages below the ages fixed by the ukase took place to avoid the military service, as fathers of families would of course not be so liable to conscription as unmarried men; and therefore the military age must be attained before a man can legally marry.

Political economists have unfortunately used in their speculations the ambiguous term of moral restraint. Malthus evidently used it originally, as contra-distinctive merely to the terms legal restraint or physical restraint; but not as restraint founded on moral principle, on the moral innate sense of right or wrong. Prudential restraint, or economical restraint, would, perhaps, have expressed his meaning less ambiguously. But his followers, and perhaps he himself in some passages, lost sight of the original meaning, and followed the ambiguity in the meaning of moral, so as to set up a new moral delinquency, repugnant to the innate sentiments of right and wrong in the human breast. Men heard with indignation, marriage, however imprudent and reckless, classed with fornication, or theft, as a moral delinquency; and the morality or immorality of human action, seriously stated



even by divines, by Malthus and Dr. Chalmers, to depend upon prudential considerations. The rough untutored common sense of all men of the lower class rejected this new code of morality; and the social sts, and radicals, with reason crow over the ecclesiastics in this argument. They ask for what purpose is this new-fashioned moral obligation in the most important of the actions of man—his marriage—to be inculcated? Is it to support any natural and necessary system of society? No. But to support an artificial feudal division of property, originating in the darkest and most barbarous ages, by which one son alone succeeds to the land, and the others, with their posterity, are thrown into that pauper class, who must live on the taxes or alms of the rest of the community; and must be debarred by legal enactment, or by a false tuition of their moral obligations, from the common right of all animals, that of propagation by the law of their species, by pairing or marriage. On the Continent, where speculative ideas are pushed to the extreme, the legitimate deduction from this new moral restraint has been carried to an extent which may alarm our pious moralists who first propounded it. The obligation of this moral restraint on the poor is carried into their marriage beds. There are some subjects which it is difficult to treat with decency of expression. The physician, and also the moralist, occasionally meet with cases in which a clear understanding can only be attained at the expense of modesty. What is meant by this kind of moral restraint in marriage? The *prefet* of the Department de la Somme, Monsieur Dunoyer, in transmitting to the communes of his department the money allotted for the maintenance of their paupers, publishes the following circular letter:—“There are not two ways of escaping indigence. Families in indigence can only extricate themselves by activity, good sense, prudence, and economy—prudence especially, in the conjugal union, in *avoiding with an extreme care to render their marriage more fruitful than their industry.*” What is meant by this, “*évitant avec un soin extrême de rendre leur mariage plus fécond que leur industrie?*” Does it mean, this official manifesto of the magistrate, which, if not law, comes with the force of an injunction from the administrator of the law, does it mean to recommend the stifling the fruits of marriage after birth? or before birth? or does it mean some practice which it is against modesty to imagine? It is perhaps impossible to come nearer to the subject in decent language: but this “*évitant de rendre leur mariage fécond,*” can only mean one or other of these three modes of avoid-



ing any fruits of marriage; or it must mean a separation of the parties from bed and board after cohabitation, or a rendering marriage *de facto* a temporary cohabitation, a marriage for a few months, renewed, or not, according to pecuniary, or convenient, or economical circumstances. The Count Villeneuve de Bargemont, a *prefet*, counsellor of state, and deputy, under Charles X., in his "Economie Politique Chrétienne, 3 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1834," takes this latter more innocent meaning, but one as injurious to social happiness as that which our political economists are supposed by the foreign political economists to have intended to recommend; and, after a profound research into the writings of the fathers of the church, finds that "the Christian religion places continence between husband and wife, when it is by mutual consent, among the highest of virtues." In that enlightened age, the eleventh century, more than one instance occurred during the Heptarchy, of royal saints who attained canonisation by reaching the summit of this highest of virtues, by marrying, bedding, sleeping together, and remaining in virginity all their lives. It is somewhat curious in the nineteenth century to find a Catholic lawyer imagining that two Protestant divines, one of the English church and one of the Scotch, recommend this first of Christian virtues, and charitably coming to their assistance and proving by citations, and authorities from the fathers, that their doctrine is quite agreeable to Christianity. The principal difficulty to be got over in the theory of this doctrine is, in the simple question, Why marry at all, if people are not to live conformably to the married state, and to have families in it? or why not marry for a time—for a year or two, a month or two, a night or two? The principal difficulty in the practice of this continence in marriage among the poorer class, lies exactly in the circumstance which its foreign expounders consider as making it necessary—in their poverty. Where is the indigent family to find two rooms and two beds? or are they to sleep together, husband and wife, yet preserve continency? or are they to resort to any of the three other means hinted at, of "*éviter de rendre leur mariage plus fécond que leur industrie*?" Sir Francis d'Ivernois suspects that the peasantry of Montreux must practise this latter precious moral means of preventing their marriages being more fruitful than their industry, and puts the question to their venerable minister. The old gentleman, who is in his ninety-fifth year, evidently laughing at the gullibility of the political economists of Geneva, refers him to the other side of the lake, the Catholic side, for information, as on his Protestant side there is

no confessional through which the priest can become acquainted with such secret sins of his parishioners; and observes, that in his youth the political economists from Geneva used to deplore the unprolific constitutions of the Vandoise females, and now it is become a subject of their congratulation; but, in his opinion, hard work, in which, as proprietors working for themselves, they persevere, he thinks, even to an excess, exemption from misery, there being no destitution or extreme poverty, and exemption from great superfluity, or means of indulgence independent of work, have much to do with the matter; and I have raised among his flock a spirit of prudence, inculcated from generation to generation, which postpones marriages until the parties can support a family. Sir Francis d'Ivernois considers it quite certain that in France, the practice of this highest of Christian virtues, "*the évantant avec un soin extrême de rendre leur mariage plus fécond que leur industrie,*" is extensively diffused, because the proportion of births to the population has, since the Restoration, been diminishing regularly; and is now only 1 in 33, or even less. Is it not more reasonable to suppose, that the same causes which in this parish of Montreux have, in the enlightened opinion of the minister, reduced the proportions to 1 in 46, are in operation also on a great scale in France? that the possession of property has given to the whole population the habits of caution and prudence, and the use of gratifications of civilised life, which necessarily postpone marriages until a later period of life, and until a property is acquired adequate to the higher standard of living introduced by this universal diffusion of property? The additional, and hitherto unnoticed physical check, pointed out by the minister, upon over population in a country of small landed proprietors, must also have had its effect in France, viz., the spirit of hard work and of unremitting occupation of mind and body about their little properties, which the pastor of Montreux thinks is carried even to excess, and which is intimately connected with two other physical checks—the earlier age at which the pastor thinks his female parishioners cease to be prolific, and the prolongation of the period of nursing. The fact that France is supporting one-third more inhabitants from nearly the same extent of arable land, than before the revolution, proves that this population must be much more laborious, and give more care and incessant work to their land. It is needless to add that idleness is a great originator of population, and is altogether propagational—and hard or incessant occupation of body and mind, a most

powerful physical check upon it, and is altogether anti-propagational.

The most profound observation ever made in the science of political economy is that of Solomon—"The destruction of the poor is their poverty." It is their poverty that causes their over-multiplication, and their over-multiplication their poverty. Cure their poverty, give them property, inoculate the whole mass of society with the tastes, habits, and feelings of prudence, which attend the possession of property, by abolishing the laws of succession which tend to concentrate all property in one upper class, and over-multiplication is cured. It is evidently curing itself rapidly in France, without the unnatural and immoral restraints recommended by political economists to be taught as injunctions of religion and morality by their clergy, or to be enforced as law by the local authorities.

Political economists do not enter into the position of the poor man under our feudal construction of society. They are ignorant of his calculations. They pour out the vials of their wrath against him for marrying without having the means of supporting a family. But in his position it is the wisest and most moral step he can take. He marries early because he has a more reasonable chance of raising his children to an age to provide for themselves, if he marries early, than if he postpones his marrying until an age when he must be failing in capability of work before they can work for themselves. If his family have no property, or reasonable prospect of property but from their work, the sooner he can produce two or three working hands to help in their common subsistence the better. It is wisdom in his position to marry at twenty years of age, and folly to postpone it to thirty, or thirty-five, or forty, because he will be getting past hard work, especially piece-work, in the latter case, before his children can earn wages for full work as grown up men and women. To tell him to wait until his savings enable him to keep his children, is but a mockery. Wages of labour in no trade or position of life in which the mass of labourers exist, admit of any such saving, without the giving up of all habits of civilisation. It is out of the wages of labour, day by day, that the poor must subsist their families, not by any possible accumulation of savings out of their wages. If they postponed their marriages for such an accumulation, according to the recommendation of our political economists, they would find themselves, between fifty and sixty years of age,

when a hard-worked man is sensibly failing, burdened with children to support, of an age too young to support themselves. The poor act much more wisely in having children grown up, and the expense of their infancy and rearing over, before they themselves begin to fail. It is here we see the truth of Solomon's observation, that "the destruction of the poor is their poverty." Give them property, as a class, by abrogating the feudal law of succession, and all other impediments to the widest diffusion of property through society, and the moral and economical restraints arising from property and prudential consideration, would postpone their marriage age until the period most suitable for their interests. The very same prudential consideration hastens their marriage age now, in their hopeless, endless state of destitution of property. The state of France furnishes a remarkable illustration of this principle. In France property is widely diffused, population is increasing, yet the number of births is decreasing. Of those born many more live to be added to the population, although the actual births are in proportion almost one-third fewer in numbers, than in countries in which property is not diffused as in France. Can there be a more satisfactory proof of the right working of the great social experiment now in progress in France? The number of children reared in proportion to those born is the surest test of the well-being and good condition with respect to food, lodging, and domestic habits of those who rear them—of the people.

A political economy opposed to the moral and natural economy of society is unsound. It rests upon an arbitrary expediency only. The speculations upon artificial checks to the increase of population by legislative, educational, or conventional restraints, inconsistent with the natural rights, moral duties, and social relations of the individuals composing the poorer classes, are altogether false in principle. The administration of the poor law by the commissioners in England—the separation of husband and wife—of parents and children—the confinement in work-houses of all receiving relief—cannot be justified on any principle but expediency; and on that, anything—the veto on marriages among the poor—the enormities alluded to by Sir Francis d'Ivernois—anything and everything in short may be justified. The destitute either have a right or have not a right to relief. If they have not, it is a robbery to take the sum from the richer class to relieve them. If they have, from the nature and constitution of property and society, a right inherent in them

as animals to such a portion of the fruits of God's earth as will maintain them, it is unjust and tyrannical to withhold that portion except on conditions inconsistent with their free agency and enjoyment of life as moral intelligent beings. The expediency-principle of making the poor rate relief as sour as possible to the receiver, in order to lessen the pecuniary burden on the giver, would justify the exterminating, or torturing, or mutilating the pauper class. This is from first to last a false legislation. The expediency itself arises only from false legislation—from throwing the whole burden of supporting the poor upon one kind of property only, and one class of proprietors; and then attempting, by such an administration of the poor rates, to alleviate the burden which this exemption of all other kinds of property necessarily accumulates to a ruinous extent upon that one kind—the land.

In Switzerland each parish has its Alp, that is, its common pasture for the cows of the parish—which is the proper meaning of the word Alp—and each inhabitant is entitled to a cow's grazing, or half a cow's grazing, from June to October, on this common pasture. These grazing rights are highly prized, for the Swiss peasant is extravagantly fond of his cow. To pass a winter without a cow to care for, would be a heavy life to him. Few, however, have cows in sufficient number to repay the labour of attending them at the summer grazing in the Alps. The properties are too small, in general, to keep more than five or six cows all winter: and few can keep more than half that number. Yet these small proprietors contrive to send cheeses to market as large as our Cheshire dairy-farmers with their dairy stocks of forty or fifty cows, and farms rented at £200 or £300 a year. This is a signal instance of the absurdity of the dogma in agriculture, so implicitly received by all our political economists from books on farming—that small farms are incompatible with good husbandry, or farming operations on a great scale. Gruyere and Parmesan cheeses are quite as large as Cheshire cheeses; and, as the price shows, are incomparably better in quality. They are made by small farmers, each of whom has not, on an average, the milk of half a dozen cows to make cheese of. Each parish in Switzerland hires a man, generally from the district of Gruyere, in the canton of Freyberg, to take care of the herd, and make the cheese; and if the man comes from Gruyere, all that he makes is called Gruyere cheese, although made far enough from Gruyere. One cheeseman, one

pressman or assistant, and one cowherd, are considered necessary for every forty cows. The owners of the cows get credit, each of them, in a book dairy, for the quantity of milk given by each cow. The cheeseman and his assistants milk the cows, put the milk all together, and make cheese of it, and at the end of the season each owner receives the weight of cheese proportionable to the quantity of milk his cows have delivered. By this co-operative plan, instead of the small-sized, unmarketable cheese only, which each could produce out of his three or four cows' milk, he has the same weight in large marketable cheese, superior in quality, because made by people who attend to no other business. The cheeseman and his assistants are paid so much per head of the cows, in money or in cheese, or, sometimes, they hire the cows, and pay the owners in money or cheese. When we find this, which of all operations in husbandry seems most to require one large stock, and one large capital applied to it, so easily accomplished by the well-understood co-operation of small farmers, it is idle to argue that draining, or irrigation, or liming, or fencing, or manuring, or any operation whatsoever in farming, to which large capital is required, cannot be accomplished also by small farmers—not small tenant-farmers, but small proprietor-farmers, like the Swiss. In October the cows are brought home, and the home grass lands having been mown for hay twice during the summer, the winter food is provided, and a very small area of land keeps a cow, when the home grass has not been burdened with the summer grazing. The pasture in these Alps, or summer grazings, is abundant and rich. In some of the upper valleys inhabited winter as well as summer, but in which the corn crops are secondary, and dairy produce the main object—as, for instance, Grindewald—a man with a house suitably situated is permanently established for receiving the milk of the neighbourhood. Each family takes care of and milks its own cow or cows, keeps the milk wanted for family use, and sends the rest of it daily to the cheeseman, who gives each family credit for the quantity of milk delivered each day, and the cheese made during the season is divided, or very usually the cheese is marketed, and the money divided: and in this way cheeses of great weight are manufactured, although no one cow owner has milk enough to make one of marketable size. I went one warm forenoon, while ascending the Rigi, into one of these dairy houses. From the want of dairy-maids or females about the place, and the appearance of the cow-man and his boys, I



thought it prudent to sit down on the bench outside of the smoky dwelling room, and to ask for a bowl of milk there. It was brought me in a remarkably clean wooden bowl, and I had some curiosity, when, clean or dirty, my milk was swallowed, to see where it came from. The man took me to a separate wooden building; and instead of the disgusting dirt and sluttishness I had expected, I found the most unpretending cleanliness in this rough milk room—nothing was in it but the wooden vessels belonging to the dairy; but these were of unexceptionable nicety; and all those holding the milk were standing in a broad rill of water led from the neighbouring burn, and rippling through the centre of the room, and prevented by a little side sluice from running too full, and mingling with the milk. This burn running through gave a freshness and cleanliness to every article; although the whole was of rude construction, and evidently for use, not show. The cows were stabled, I found, at some distance from the milkhouse, that the effluvia of their breath and dung might not taint the milk. Cheese is almost the only agricultural product of Switzerland that is exported; and it is manufactured by these small farmers certainly as well, with as much intelligence, cleanliness, and advantage, as by large farmers. Grain the country must import; and the supply is principally from the east side of the lake of Constance. Wine is not produced in greater quantity than the country consumes. The Swiss cows are exported even to Russia, and to all parts of France and Germany; but as Swiss pasturage, and Swiss care, and love for the cow are not exportable, these agricultural improvements generally fail. The Swiss cows are very handsome animals, and of great value. A fine cow will sell for £20 sterling in Switzerland. Such a cow in England would bring the same price in any good market. In all this branch of husbandry, the small farming system is not in any respect behind the large farming system. In corn husbandry, from the nature of the country, no very extensive tracts dedicated entirely to raising corn-crops are met with, except in the cantons of Bern, Thurgovia, and a few other localities. To judge of the agriculture of a country by the appearance of the crops on the ground, of the working stock, utensils, drainage, fencing, and attention to manure, and from the state of all farm buildings and accommodations, Switzerland stands very high even as a corn country well farmed.

The peculiar feature in the condition of the Swiss population

—the great charm of Switzerland, next to its natural scenery—is the air of well-being, the neatness, the sense of property imprinted on the people, their dwellings, their plots of land. They have a kind of Robinson Crusoe industry about their houses and little properties; they are perpetually building, repairing, altering, or improving, something about their tenements. The spirit of the proprietor is not to be mistaken in all that one sees in Switzerland. Some cottages, for instance, are adorned with long texts from Scripture painted on or burnt into the wood in front over the door; others, especially in the Simmenthal and the Haslethal, with the pedigree of the builder and owner. These show, sometimes, that the property has been held for 200 years by the same family. The modern taste of the proprietor shows itself in new windows, or additions to the old original picturesque dwelling, which, with its immense projecting roof, sheltering or shading all these successive little additions, looks like a hen sitting with a brood of chickens under her wings. The little spots of land, each close no bigger than a garden, show the same daily care in the fencing, digging, weeding, and watering. The vineyard husbandry is altogether a garden cultivation, in which manual labour—unassisted by animal power, scarcely even by the simplest mechanical contrivance, such as wheel-barrows, harrows, or other assisting implements to the basket, hoe, and spade—does every operation; and this gives the character to all their husbandry; hand-labour is applied to all crops, such as potatoes, Indian corn, and even common grain crops, more extensively, both in digging and cleaning the land, than with us. It is not uncommon to find agricultural villages without a horse; and all cultivation done by hand, especially where the main article of husbandry is either dairy produce or that of the vineyard, to either of which horse work is unnecessary. I confess I do not like a vine-farm. The vineyard is but a garden. The hand-labour is incessant in all the different operations, and yet it is not, like the hand-labour in a garden, applied to but a few fruit trees, or plants, or beds, with which you form a kind of acquaintance that ripens into friendship in the course of years. The vines are too many, and each too insignificant by itself for that kind of pleasure, and the land under vines being always under vines, you don't get intimate either with the acres or beds, as in corn and grass husbandry, nor with the individual plants, as in gardening. Then the eye has nothing agreeable to dwell upon in the dotty effect of a field of vines; and the ear misses the rural music of a farm—the crowing of the cock—

the lowing of the cattle—the sound of the flail. In sheep-farming, cattle-farming, horse-breeding, corn-farming, orchard, or kitchen-gardening, or flower-gardening, a man may be an amateur, may have a singular delight, a very craze—but I could never hear of any such feeling about vine-farming. It is in spite of poetry a dull manufacture.

Two circumstances attending the great diffusion of landed property among the people strike the traveller in Switzerland: one is the great perfection it gives to their social arrangements. I lodged in a little hamlet (Veytaux), so inconsiderable that it could not support a shop, nor a shoemaker, tailor, or tradesman living by his trade. I found, however, that there was a regular post-office in the place, although it was not a thoroughfare to other places; a regular watchman by night, calling the hours as in great towns; two public fountains, with regulations for keeping them clean painted on boards at the spouts; a kind of market-place, in which all the orders or edicts of the canton, or of the federal government were posted up, under a wire covering, for the public information; and a fire-engine in good order, and which occasionally was brought out, and the people exercised in its use. Towns of twenty or thirty times the population in Scotland and England have no such social arrangements. I am speaking of a hamlet of thirty or at the outside forty houses. The other circumstance which strikes the traveller is the condition and appearance of the female sex, as it is affected by the distribution of land among the labouring class. None of the women are exempt from field-work, not even in the families of very substantial peasant proprietors, whose houses are furnished as well as any country manse with us. All work as regularly as the poorest male individual. The land, however, being their own, they have a choice of work, and the hard work is generally done by the men. The felling and bringing home wood for fuel, the mowing grass generally, but not always, the carrying out manure on their backs, the handling horses and cows, digging, and such heavy labour, is man's work; the binding the vine to the pole with a straw, which is done three times in the course of its growth, the making the hay, the pruning the vine, twitching off the superfluous leaves and tendrils,—these lighter yet necessary jobs to be done about vineyards or orchards, form the women's work. But females, both in France and Switzerland, appear to have a far more important rôle in the family, among the lower and middle classes, than with us. The female, although not exempt from out-door work, and

hard work, undertakes the thinking and managing department in the family affairs, and the husband is but the executive. The female is, in fact, very remarkably superior in manners, tact, and intelligence, to the husband, in almost every family of the middle or lower classes in Switzerland. One is surprised to see the wife of such good, even genteel manners, sound sense, and altogether such a superior person to her husband; and the husband very often a mere lout. The hen is the better bird all over Switzerland. This is, perhaps, an effect of the military or servile employments of a great proportion of the male population during youth, and of the mercenary spirit prevalent in Switzerland. In France, also, the female takes an equal share of business with the male part of the family, in settling accounts and books, and selling goods, and in both countries occupies a higher and more rational social position certainly than with us. This seems to be the effect of the distribution of property, by which the female has her share and interest as well as the male, and grows up with the same personal interest and attachment to the property in all around her.

## CHAPTER XI.

LYONS.—ON ITS MANUFACTURING SYSTEM.—NOTES ON AVIGNON.—FRENCH BARRACKS.—COOKERY—ITS EFFECTS ON NATIONAL WEALTH.

LYONS, with its narrow dark streets and lofty old houses on each side, resembles some of the old parts of the old town of Edinburgh. It is built at the confluence of the Rhone and Saone, upon a flat tongue of land, so narrow that the stranger is surprised, on taking the breadth of the city, to come so soon from the one river quay to the other; and on taking its length in his walk, he can scarcely believe that this is the second city in France, a city nearly as populous as Edinburgh. In 1831, it contained 165,459 inhabitants; and Edinburgh in 1831, reckoned 178,371. But on looking more carefully, the traveller perceives that the secondary streets are remarkably narrow, the houses very lofty and densely inhabited, each a little town of people within itself, and, as in Edinburgh, a great proportion of the inhabitants lodge in the air, not on the surface of the earth.

In this chief seat of the silk manufacture in France, and, at no distant period, in Europe, the manufacturing arrangements are apparently ill adapted to the improvement, extension, or even the future existence of its trade, against the competition of England, Prussia, and Switzerland. The old leaven of the corporation system sticks to Lyons; and the distress in which her operatives are so frequently plunged, that their whole existence, it may be said, is distress, is very much the consequence of a faulty arrangement of business, not suitable to the times. The master-manufacturer has no factory and workmen constantly in his employ. He merely buys the raw material, and gives it out to be sorted, spun, dyed, and put in a state for the silk weaver. In these operations, which are not conducted in his own premises or factory, he has but very imperfect checks upon embezzlement, and none upon waste. The division of labour in a manufacture is not always economical. It is a very nice point, in practice, to judge of its applicability, and to adjust it to advantage. Cheap production may arise from a division of labour under one head or master-manufacturer; but faulty processes, loss of time, and a waste of labour and means, may arise from

a division among different sub-capitals, and independent operators, of such labour or operations as are essential for producing a good and cheap product. It requires great judgment to determine—happily, self-interest is the surest guide—what may be left to others to prepare, and what the manufacturer must, from first to last, carry on himself. In Lyons, in the silk trade, the laying or preparing the pattern for the loom is the work of independent workmen; although the patterns are produced by a draughtsman who is generally a partner with the master-manufacturer. The weavers again are independent workmen, living and working each in his own shop, with two or three looms for different kinds of fabric, and with journeymen to work them. He lodges and boards the journeymen, finds the looms and the work, and gets one-half or one-third of their earnings, according to the regulations, or customs, of the craft, as established for the different stuffs or fabrics. This master-weaver is paid for the work by the master-manufacturer, so much per ell. This is the state of infancy in manufacturing operations with us—a happy infancy, but still a state of infancy in which capital has not been accumulated, or machinery invented, to enable the master-manufacturer to concentrate his operations.

It is evident that the eye and superintendence of the master-manufacturer cannot be given to quality and economy, where every operation essential to the manufacture is not under one roof or one guidance, with partners and managers attending it, and with workmen responsible directly to one head, and whose hands are always kept employed in the same kinds of work. When the web is done it is too late to check faulty workmanship, or save the character of the goods, by putting better workmen or better material to it. As long as the Continent had only Lyons, and England only her French colony in Spitalfields, to look to for the greater part of their silk fabrics, the system went on; but when Manchester, Paisley, and, on the Continent, Zurich, and other places, took up the silk trade upon different manufacturing principles, the superior economy and quality of their fabrics ruined these old seats of the silk manufacture. England, about twelve years ago, was reckoned to have about 10,000 looms engaged in the silk manufacture, and is now reckoned to have about 80,000. Lyons and its neighbourhood has now but 31,000; and Zurich and its neighbourhood is reckoned to have above 20,000. In all that regards the preparation of the silk, and the texture and quality of the stuffs, the English excel the



French manufacturers, and in economy so decidedly that the cost of silk stuff which cannot be produced at Lyons under the cost for labour of 120 to 125 centimes, cost in labour only 40 centimes in England. A certain number of privileged workmen are alone entitled to set up as masters in the weaving and other branches of the silk manufacture at Lyons, and are entitled to exclude others from the exercise of their trade. They must have served as apprentices and as journeymen for certain periods, and cannot set up for themselves without large fees of entry for the freedom of the craft, be the demand for looms ever so great. The French Revolution gave political liberty only to the people—the forms of constitutional government—but gave them no civil liberty, nor to this day is civil liberty, or the perfect freedom of every citizen to act for himself without interference, understood or thought of by the French people, any more than before the Revolution. The municipal taxes on the transit of goods through towns, the leave and licence necessary to carry industry from one locality to another, and the restraints upon its free exercise, as here in silk weaving, are in full vigour. The only argument in favour of this system of corporate privileges is, that it allows the small capitalist as well as the large to live, and this is not an argument to be despised in social economy. The weaver with his two or three looms has an independent existence; and, however inefficient as a producer of silk fabrics at the cheapest rate compared to the master-manufacturer who has a couple of hundred looms, perhaps, at work under his eye, with all that precedes and follows the weaving going on simultaneously, he is one of a body far more valuable in social relation than the two or three great capitalists who supersede this body of middle class manufacturers. But this is, unhappily, the natural and unavoidable progress of manufacturing industry. Large capital, when it comes into competition with small capital in the world's wide market, inevitably drives the small out of the field. An aristocracy of large capitalists obtains the possession, the property it may be called, of supplying all human wants, and holds it by the best of all tenures—that of being able to supply mankind cheapest. It is a manufacturing and physical good, but a social and moral evil. The actual operative in Great Britain has no prospect before him. He may save a few hundred pounds by unceasing industry and sobriety; but why should he save it? This little saved capital—call it thousands instead of hundreds of pounds sterling

—can do nothing in the present state of our trade and manufactures, in competition with the vast capitals, accumulated by long inheritance, pre-occupying every branch of industry and manufacture, and producing far cheaper than he can do with his trifling means. Land, by the effect of the privileges accorded to that kind of property, and of the expense of title deeds, is out of his reach as much as trade and manufacture; there being no small estates in Britain, generally speaking, which a labouring or middle class man could purchase and sit down upon with his family to live as a working yeoman, or peasant proprietor; and thus small capitals when they are accumulated are forced into trade and manufacture, although every branch is over-supplied with the means of producing. What can a man turn to who has a little capital of three or four thousand pounds? What can he enter into with any reasonable prospect of not losing his little capital in his most honest and prudent efforts? And what can the working man do, but spend his earnings, drink, and fall into a reckless improvident way of living, when he sees clearly that every avenue to an independent condition is, by the power of great capital, shut against him? A vassalage in manufacture and trade is succeeding the vassalage in land, and the serf of the loom is in a lower and more helpless condition than the serf of the glebe, because his condition appears to be not merely the effect of an artificial and faulty social economy, like the feudal, which may be remedied, but to be the unavoidable effect of natural causes. Mankind will naturally prefer the best and cheapest goods. Great capitals will naturally produce better and cheaper, than small capitals applied to the same objects. Corporations, trade restrictions, privileges either of masters or workmen, and all such local or partial legislation, add to, instead of curing the evil, for they can only reach the producers, not the consumers; and few, indeed, are the branches of industry, in which the producers have a command of the market. The feudalisation going on in our manufacturing social economy is very conspicuous in some of the great cotton factories. The master-manufacturer in some districts, who employs eight hundred or a thousand hands, deals in reality only with fifty or sixty sub-vassals or operative cotton spinners, as they are technically called, who undertake the working of so many looms, or spinning jennies. They hire and pay the men, women, and children, *who are the real operatives, grinding their wages down to the lowest rate, and getting the highest they can out*

of the master manufacturer. A strike is often the operation of these middle men, and productive of little benefit to, and even against the will of the actual workmen. They are, in the little imperium of the factory, the equivalent to the feudal barons.

In a few branches of the silk trade, in the elegance of pattern, and in some few dyes, the Lyons manufacturer still has a pre-eminence. The draughtsman and dyer are educated in the branches of science and fine art connected with their trade. Science and good taste in colours and patterns are more diffused in France by education, social habits, and cultivation even among the working class, than among our middle class. In every departmental town, a public school of design for the working class, and exhibitions of models, and objects connected with the cultivation of taste, are established. Elegance, and variety of fashion in patterns, can, it is probable, never be overtaken by machinery, or by the class of workmen who are but parts in a machine, so well as by the manual labour of independent workmen of taste and skill, under the French system. In the figured stuffs in which hand-labour is not and cannot be superseded by machinery on account of the changeable and short-lived fashion, the French workmen excel ours, and can work 25 per cent. cheaper. Fashion is too evanescent and variable to be followed up closely by machinery; and formerly our corn laws, and other taxes affecting labour, turned the balance against us, where hand-labour was in competition with hand-labour. It is, however, a remarkable sign of the times, that what is called fashion in colours, patterns, and materials of dress, appears to be growing less changeable and fantastic as the world grows older. As the body of the middle and lower classes, and not merely the court and highest class, become consumers, and regulate the market, good taste, or taste with reference to the useful in its requirements, becomes more prevalent, and its application more steady. One no where sees now, as fifty years ago, except, it may be, in remote little German towns, skyblue, or pink, or green, or pompadour coats, or people walking the streets in silk stockings, silk breeches, and powdered hair. The taste of the middle class, the mass of the consumers, has invaded the empire of fashion, and, in fact, sets the fashion to the higher classes; and the nobleman now would be laughed at, who appeared in any other shape, colour, or material of clothing, than the well-dressed tradesman. Exclusiveness, the soul of fashion, cannot exist in the present cheap

extensive production of clothing material. This greater steadiness of fashion with the great mass of the consumers of cloth, cotton, and silk, and the longer endurance, and greater extension of the demand for any fashion that once gets established, enable machinery and large capital to work even upon objects which would have been left formerly to hand-work ; and the field for hand-loom weavers is narrowed to the production of a few fancy articles. The hand-loom weavers in the silk trade in Lyons appear to have been for the last hundred years in no superior or more prosperous condition than those in Spitalfields.

As far back as 1740, it appears by a petition to the local authorities at Lyons for raising the rates of weaving the ell of silk stuff, that the earnings of a master-weaver with three looms in full work all the year, fell short of the necessary expense of a family living in the poorest way. The statement of the hand-loom weavers reckons 296 working days (52 Sundays, 17 holidays, and 6 days of military town guard duty, being deducted), and reckons 800 ells a year the production of each loom. Bread is taken at 2 sous per lb., and 10 lbs. as the daily allowance of a man, his wife, two children, and a journeyman. Meat is taken at 6 sous, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. daily for such a family, and wine 1 pint, at 6 sous ; and to meet this condition of subsistence with such a family in full work, the earnings are shown to be deficient. How then has this class of operatives existed through a century ? By going down lower in the scale of subsistence, in the enjoyment of the comforts and necessaries of life. It is impossible to foresee how low the condition of many masses of population may be reduced in the working manufacturing classes. It has no minimum of depression, as there appears to be in the condition of the working agricultural class. The reproduction of the husbandman's food and of seed for the following crop, is the point below which the condition of the labouring husbandman cannot permanently fall. Population and cultivation stop at that point ; and overproduction is a good, not an evil, where the producers are themselves the principal consumers. In manufacturing industry, there is no such defined terminus. Labour and production go on, whether food and cost are reproduced by the operatives or not ; and overproduction is followed by famine to them. The very prosperity of one great body reduces another great body to want in manufacturing industry. One would almost think there is a balance point in social well-being, which society has already reached, and that now the higher one end is

mounting, the lower the other end is descending. Although the peculiar manufacture of Lyons, the silk weaving, is declining, the country round Lyons is flourishing. Building, repairing, whitewashing, are going on briskly in the villages. New cotton or flax factories, iron-works, and steam-engine chimneys are rising along the river side. Steam-boats, rail-roads from coal works and quarries, river craft carrying goods, iron suspension-bridges across the stream, are far more numerous on the Rhone than on the Rhine,—bustle and business far more advanced. Industry, in spite of the trammels on its free development, is on the move in this part of France, although its objects are changing from the manufacturing of one single article of luxury, silk, to the production of a great variety of useful articles, for which the command of coal and water carriage in this district gives peculiar facilities. This will be a great manufacturing district, and only wants civil liberty to be so: it surpasses already, in the activity on the waters, and in the numbers of new factories, and manufacturing villages, and establishments on their banks, the German manufacturing districts on the Rhine. Here they are doing,—there they are but dreaming of doing.

The ancient palace of the popes at Avignon is now converted into a barrack for infantry. The popes resided at Avignon full 73 years, from 1303 to 1376. There is nothing remaining of those times, but the outward shell of the buildings, and the names of the different chambers—the chamber of inquisition, the chamber of torture, the chamber of execution, and among the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood, it is said, a tendency to favour despotism, fanaticism, and legitimacy in royal rights. The chambers in the old papal residence, so agreeably handed down to posterity by their religious uses, and in which the names of victims are said to be legible on the plaster of the walls—subject to the doubt if writing was so ordinary an accomplishment in the fourteenth century—were washed in blood at the revolution. The crimes and sufferings spread over a century were surpassed in a day. And now these chambers of blood resound with the careless laugh and merry vaudeville of the young soldiery. A French barrack is worth seeing. The beds appear particularly good. Each private had a bed to himself on an iron bedstead. In our service, two and even three men are laid in one bed. The French peasantry, even in the lowest condition, are accustomed to good beds. A high pile of bedding seems a kind of ornamental furniture indispensably necessary

in their ideas of housekeeping ; and you see even in the single room households of the poor, a kind of display in the neatness and quantity of bedding. This taste has probably spread so widely as to act upon the military accommodation. Each bed had a brown cloth coverlet neatly covering the bed clothes, and the sheets and mattresses were as clean and nicely done up as in any hospital.—In this barrack it struck me as characteristic of the good relation between the officers and men, that on the inside of the door was stuck up a notice, that it would not be reputable to be seen in certain streets mentioned, on account of houses of ill-fame in them.

A great quantity of very good wit which might have served the owners for any of their lawful occasions, was expended some years ago upon the subject of cookery. The French began with their *Science Gastronomique*, their *Almanacs des Gourmands*, their saucepans and gridirons of honour, and a thousand equally witty sayings and doings. Our manufacturers of roast and boiled, and printed paper, our Kitcheners, Udes, and Glasses, were not behind, and mixed up their flour and melted butter with wit and philosophy as well as their neighbours. The subject is not quite so ridiculous as it has been made. The food of a people, and its preparation, are closely connected with their industry and civilisation. The female half of the human species do little other work in most communities but cook : and much more than half of all the work of the other moiety is applied to the direct production of the materials for cooking. The least observant and least hungry of travellers abroad is struck with admiration at the readiness with which a dinner of eight or ten dishes of various eatables makes its appearance in foreign inns, and remembers with no patriotic feelings the never-ready perpetual mutton-chop and mashed potatoes of the English road. Yet much of our national prosperity and wealth, much of the capital and productiveness of our labouring and middle classes, and especially of the industrious who are in a state of transition from the one class to the other, may be ascribed to the greater simplicity and frugality of diet among us ; and particularly to the great saving of time and labour in its preparation. A working man, tradesman, or man of the labouring or middle class in ordinary employment, sits down abroad to a much better dinner than a man of good realised capital and in a thriving way with us. The three or four well-dressed dishes, principally of legumes or other cheap materials, cost the foreigner less perhaps in money



than the bread and cheese, or simply-cooked mutton and potatoes of the English dinner of the man of the same class. This is the main economical advantage, indeed, which absentee families promise themselves from settling abroad. It is to them, no doubt, an advantage. They eat and drink more sumptuously than they could at home for the same money. But this way of living is of great social disadvantage to the people among whom it is habitual. Its cheapness is but a delusion. The political economist will differ widely from the traveller, in his opinion of its superiority. It costs a vast deal more time and labour to bring all this finely-cooked food together : it costs, at the least, twice as much of human time and labour to dine five millions of French or German people, as to dine five millions of English : and time and labour, be it remembered, are the basis of all national wealth and prosperity. Time and labour employed unproductively are capital thrown away. The meals of the Englishman and of the Continental man end equally in satiating appetite, and recruiting strength. If this end be attained in England, by an hour's work of one person in a family of five in the ordinary station of life of our working and middle class, cooking generally but a single meal in the day in the simplest way, and on the Continent, owing to the general habit of living, the more complicated forms of cookery, and the more frequent meals, if the cooking for such a family occupies one of its members the whole day, the English family evidently has saved most capital, or that from which alone capital is produced—time and labour—in a given period. The loss of time in the eating and preparation of food, the numerous meals, dishes, and modes of cookery, form a very important drawback on the prosperity of families on the Continent in that station in which with us very little time, indeed, is expended in eating or cooking. It is an important diminution of the means of national wealth. Gourmandise is found also to be a vice as troublesome to deal with among the French soldiery, as tippling among ours. The craving for variety of food and cookery leads to most of the irregularities and depredations in the field, of which the French armies are accused. The variety in food, and in its complicated preparation, which is so blended with the habits of living on the Continent that even the poor have the craving for it, appears by no means necessary or conducive to health. A remarkably smaller proportion of the labouring and middle classes abroad are healthy-looking individuals, with blooming looks, pure teeth, and all

external indications of vigorous animal condition, than in our more simply fed population. It is evidently such a drawback on the acquiring of capital in the lower stations of life, that the want of a middle class of capitalists—of men who rise by industry and frugality from common labour to a wider circle of business—is very much to be ascribed to this habitual waste of time and labour in their family living and house-keeping. They spend in immediate gratification the beginnings of a working capital. The national wealth and prosperity is materially affected by this cause, trifling and ridiculous as it appears to be in stating it in a single case. In the total, however, it is fully a fifth of the time and labour of a Continental population, that is daily wasted in cookery and eating.

## CHAPTER XII.

NOTES ON GENOA—POOR OF GENOA—CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF GENOA.

GENOA—Genoa the superb ! I first set my foot on Italian land on the mole of Genoa. Who does not picture to himself, on approaching the mole of Genoa, the grand days of this once powerful republic—her doges, her Doria, and all her magnificent aristocracy stepping in splendid array on board of gallant fleets, that carried her dominion over the realms of the East? How unromantic is reality ! The moles of Genoa, as works of magnificence and art, are but shabby quays, not to be named on the same day with the quays of Leith, Dundee, Aberdeen, or dozens of our third-rate shipping towns on the British coast. I see in Genoa only a town of eighty thousand inhabitants, covering about as much ground as Aberdeen, built at the foot and on the slopes of some rocky barren knolls of about the same elevation, and as bare, as the upper half of Arthur's Seat near Edinburgh, and which surround a bight of the coast, called by courtesy a bay, of about the size of one of the larger wet docks at Liverpool, at the bottom of a gulph of the Mediterranean. This bight is made a tolerably secure port by two piers or moles dividing it into an outer and inner harbour; the latter for small craft, and containing a good many of them, and the other for larger vessels, of which, that is, of brigs and traders to foreign parts, there might be a score or more—a show of masts certainly inferior to what we see daily in our third-rate ports, such as Dundee, Aberdeen, or Leith. This is, next to Leghorn, the greatest commercial port on this side of Italy—one of the main mouths of the export and import of a population equal to that of Great Britain—so that the poor muster of sea-going vessels in it surprises the traveller.

The streets of Genoa are in general so narrow that two ladies in the huge sleeves lately in fashion would certainly stick if they met each other. They are all paved with flat stones of a foot or two square, laid diagonally, and with an open channel in the middle of the alley for the run of water. Climate is a better scavenger than the dean of guild, or dirt-bailie of our ancient

ch burghs. These narrow Wynds and Closes of Genoa are dirty, and from the constant draught of air through such narrow funnels, are sweet and cool in hot weather. The buildings on each side of these narrow alleys are palaces—lofty, magnificent, extensive palaces rising to the skies, excluding light and even light from the two-legged insects dressed in brown mollen cloaks crawling between them.

Here in Genoa, the imaginative traveller may revel in his visions of orange groves, vine-clad hills, and marble palaces, gilded in luxuriant magnificence, and rising against a background of heaven-high peaks of snow cutting into a deep blue above, and washed beneath by a sea still more intensely blue. But that miserable proseman, the political economist, goes gazing about this magnificent city, the city of palaces, the *Gioia la Superba*, asking, Where do your middle classes live? Where did they live in the days of Genoa's greatness? He sees that the same roof covers the beggar and the prince; for the ground-floors, under the marble staircases, and marble-pannelled halls, and superb state rooms on the first-floor, there are cellars, holes, and coachhouse-like places opening into the streets, in which the labouring class and small shopkeepers pig together, sleeping, cooking, and doing all family work, half and half in the open air. But was this always so? Where did, or where do they live, who are neither princes nor beggars? Who are a step above porters, or day labourers, or the small shopkeeper or tradesman living by their custom, in the means and habits of a civilised existence? Where be the snug, comfortable, suitable dwellings for this middle class, the pith and marrow of a nation, which cover the land in England and Scotland so entirely, that a great mansion is the exception, not the rule in our national habitations, wealthy as the nation is? Here, all is palace, and all is noblesse, public functionary, and beggar. They reckon in Genoa, in clerical function alone, 6,000 persons, and 7,000 military. Sweep away the edifices of nobility, those appropriated to public functionaries and their business, together with churches, convents, hospitals, barracks, theatres, and such public buildings, and Genoa would scarcely be a town. Yet Genoa is not a poor town in one sense. Many of these palaces are inhabited by a wealthy nobility, and, it is said, there are more capitalists, more great capitalists in Genoa, than in any town in Italy. To have a palace, and to keep up such palaces as they live in, or even to hold so much dead stock as is invested in the mere material,

the marble, gilding, pictures of value, ornaments, and costly furniture, speaks of enormous wealth, both in past and present days. Some traveller tells us, that the Italian noble will go on building and building at a family palace from generation to generation, living in the meantime in a corner of it, or in a garret, poorly and shabbily. This is certainly not the case here. I underwent the usual sight-seeing penance of the traveller, and was trotted by a valet-de-place through sundry magnificent palaces; the Palavicini, the Brignoli, the Durazzi, and others. These appeared to me as complete in furniture, establishment of servants, and all the magnificence of life, as any nobleman's mansion in any country. In one palace, for instance, as we entered the hall in the morning about nine o'clock, the chaplain of the family was going into the drawing-room to read family prayers, the servants went in after him, a goodly number, neatly dressed, just as in any orderly English family of high rank, and we were asked to wait in an adjoining room, until the service was over and the family had retired to the breakfast-room, in order to show us some paintings of note in the grand drawing-room. It was more interesting than the pictures to see this magnificent apartment, although gilded, curtained, chandeliered, and ornamented with a costliness suitable for the residence of a crowned head, yet comfortably as well as splendidly furnished, with a carpet fully covering the floor, a blazing fire in the chimney, tables covered with books, ladies' work in baskets and work-bags, scattered about the room, and with a home look of daily use and domestic enjoyment about every thing, which resembled the taste of English life. Many of the old wealthy mercantile nobility have apparently fallen from their high estate, and, in the course of ages, have been extinguished, or become impoverished; for vast edifices, in fact, costly palaces, are occupied by innkeepers and others, who could never have built them for the uses they are now put to; but evidently a class of very great capitalists remain. They, with a very great body of destitute people, and the military, civil functionaries, clergy, and the small dealers and tradesmen living by their expenditure, now constitute the population of this once powerful republic.

May not the history of Genoa's commercial greatness and decline become, in the course of ages, that of England's? May not the one show in small, what the other will come to in large? Is not the same element of decay common to the social economy?

of both? It is in the nature of trade and manufacture, that great capital drives small capital out of the field; it can afford to work for smaller returns. There is a natural tendency in trade to monopoly, by the accumulation of great wealth in few hands. It is not impossible, that in every branch of trade and manufacture in Britain, the great capitalist will, in time, entirely occupy the field, and put down small capitalists in the same lines of business; that a monied aristocracy, similar to that here in Genoa, will gradually be formed, the middle class of small capitalists in trade and manufacture become gradually extinguished, and a structure of society gradually arise, in which lords and labourers will be the only classes or gradations in the commercial and manufacturing, as in the landed system. An approximation, a tendency towards this state, is going on in England. In many branches of industry—for instance, in glass-making, iron-founding, soap-making, cotton-spinning, the great capitalists engaged in them have, by the natural effect of working with great capital, driven small capitals out of the field, and formed a kind of exclusive family property of some of these branches of manufacture. Government, by excessive taxation and excise regulation, both of which have ultimately the effect, as in the glass and soap manufacture and distillery business, of giving a monopoly to the great capitalist who can afford the delay and advance of money these impediments require, has been hitherto aiding, rather than counteracting, this tendency of great capital to swallow all the employments in which small capital can act. It is a question practically undetermined, whether the experiment into which this tendency has forced society within these few years, the junction of small capitalists in joint-stock, subscription, or share companies, can compete in productive industry, with great capital in the hands of one or two partners wielding great means with the energy, activity, and frugality of an individual. It is not an imaginary, nor perhaps a very distant evil, that our middle classes with their small capitals may sink into nothing, may become, as here, tradesmen or small dealers supplying a few great manufacturing and commercial families with the articles of their household consumpt, and rearing supernumerary candidates for unnecessary public functions, civil, military, or clerical; and that in trade, as in land, a noblesse of capitalists, and a population of serfs working for them, may come to be the two main constituent parts in our social structure.



A Genoa in large, England may possibly become—with one small class living in almost royal splendour and luxury ; and the great mass of the community in rags and hunger.

I went to see the poor-house in Genoa, a vast ancient palace in which about 1800 poor are kept upon the principle of making them work for their living. Work, or material of various kinds suited to the trade or ability of the pauper, is given out to each, and, when finished, it is sold or valued, the cost of the material and of the rations of food or other necessities supplied to the pauper while producing it, deducted, and the balance paid to him in money. Rational as this principle of relief appears to be, I am in doubt whether it answers well, or rather in no doubt that it answers ill. In the small population of a town, the effects may be more distinctly traced than in an extensive national system upon the same principle ; but the effects must be the same. The kinds of employment given to the pauper are necessarily those which the poor usually live by, and which require few, and not expensive tools, and are easily acquired and exercised ; such as coarse weaving, rope-making, ordinary joiner-work, shoe-making, tailoring of slop clothes, &c. Among 80,000 people in a town, the work of 1800 working in a poor-house, or as out-door paupers, at the common trades of the poorer class, displaces exactly so much of the work of the latter, makes them poorer—is robbing Peter to pay Paul. The poor artisan whose market is anticipated, and overstocked by a forced production from the poor-house, and at a cheaper rate than he who has to buy the material by retail can afford to produce the article, must go to the poor-house himself. This is clearly the effect, in the great as in the small, of applying public or subscribed capital to pauperism, in a way that interferes with any branch of industry in which the poor usually employ their own time and labour to keep them out of pauperism. If this be true, the only kind of industry which is suitable either for pauper or penal employment in a community, is that which interferes with the means of living of no other class in the community : and that is only labour applied to the direct production of the pauper or penal labourer's own food and necessities, as in the poor colonies in Holland, either in husbandry, fishery, or work connected with what they themselves consume.

When we reflect on the former greatness and the present decay of this once powerful state, how important the lesson it teaches ! not the common-place lesson only of the instability of

human greatness—but that the misapplication of capital, or rather of human industry for capital is the command of human labour and time, embodied in the form of money—is the cause of the instability of greatness in empires, as in individuals. Look at this city of Genoa! at the millions upon millions that have been expended unproductively! The loom, the ship, the steam-engine, the factory, reproduce their own cost with a profit, and the whole is laid out again and again, and to the latest generation, reproductively; but the palace, the gorgeous ornament, the pageant, the display of pomp and power in fleets and armies and courtly splendour, reproduce nothing. The labourer earns his needful food during the time he is employed in producing them; that done, he is no richer than at first, and the means of his employer to re-employ him, the capital which, laid out in a reproductive way, would have gone on to all posterity, augmenting and extending employment, well being, and civilisation, is fixed down and buried in a pile of stones. The labourers of the day earned their wages for piling them together, consumed and paid for their meat and drink during the time, and that is all the result of the outlay of capital, which, if the Genoese nobles had employed it reproductively in manufacturing or transporting the objects of civilised life for the consumers, instead of in building huge palaces, would have vivified the East. Capital is a bank note for so much human labour. If its value is not reproduced by its outlay, the holder of it is wasting his means, and the industrious of the country suffer a loss.

I mourn not for Genoa. Distant countries conquered, plundered, oppressed, reduced to subjection and barbarism, to enable a wealthy and ostentatious aristocracy to vie with each other in splendid extravagance—the middle class extinguished, the useful arts and manufactures, those which diffuse comfort and civilisation through society, and extend by their productive action the sphere of human industry, postponed to the ornamental or fine arts, to those which minister only to the luxurious enjoyment of the few, and add little or nothing to the means of living, well-being, and industry of the many—in the downfall of such a state of a people of princes and beggars—what is there to regret? Lord Castlereagh need not turn him in his grave, if the annihilation of the Genoese aristocracy be the greatest of his diplomatic sins.

## CHAPTER XIII.

NOTES ON NAPLES—SCENERY—VESUVIUS—POMPEII—NEAPOLITAN PEOPLE—  
CAUSES OF THEIR LOW CONDITION.

THE Bay of Naples will not disappoint the expectations of the most imaginative of the tribe of wanderers. Distant mountain peaks tipped with snow rising in the clear intensely blue sky, are encircled by the deep green forests, below which bright pasture and grass fields join to a rich network over the face of the country of vineyards, orchards, olive and orange groves, hamlets, towns, villas, terraces, white walls, and a dazzling confusion of the works of nature and of man. This splendid hill-skirting terminates in sea-cliffs, some black, some yellow, some bare, some bending over the waves under the tangled luxuriance of southern vegetation. High over all, the graceful outline of Vesuvius loses itself in the column of smoke which rises, and spreads in the heavens, concentrating the innumerable details of the vast scene into one harmonious glorious whole. But this magnificence of nature must be seen : it cannot be described. It is seen to most advantage from the sea. On shore you want a suitable foreground. You are shut in between white walls on a dusty road, or stand upon terraces with vineyards and orchards, row behind row, all around you ; and although these may please at a great distance, they have but a patchy, dotty effect near the eye, as the foreground of scenery. The poet-painter would scarcely select such objects for the foreground of his landscape. They are too artificial. The great clearness of the Italian atmosphere, the absence of mist, vapour, or exhalation partially hiding, partially showing distant objects, and thus giving the mind play upon them, is also against the picturesque effect of this scenery in general. All is distinctly seen. There is no delusion, or rather there is the delusion that distances appear smaller, and elevations lower than they actually are. In our northern scenery, from the vapour in the atmosphere, the refraction of the rays from a distant mountain makes it visually, and to the sense of sight positively higher, than the actual measurement confirms : and where mist and cloud partially hide the *mountain*, there is a mental refraction magnifying the unseen,

as well as a visual refraction enlarging the seen. It is this difference of the medium through which a country is viewed, and which, in our cloudy atmosphere, brings our own imaginations to act on objects of mountain scenery, that makes the traveller from the north doubt whether the mountains he sees so clearly and minutely in the south, are really so much higher than those he has been accustomed to see half hid in mist and vapour.

Vesuvius is an isolated mountain about three miles from the sea, of an elevation of 3,792 feet. An American would call it an elegant mountain, and no English word can better express its character, so graceful are the flowing outlines of its slopes from the base to the summit, on every side. Vesuvius has been prodigiously higher than it now is, for the Monte Somma, a peak about 800 yards north of the present cone, and Ottajana on the south, are apparently peaks remaining of the circumference of the base of some vast ancient cone. These three remaining peaks, of which Monte Somma is the highest, belong to one mountain base, although divided above by chasms of the vast extinct crater, and by ravines below, and the whole mountain mass is a single independent elevation on a vast plain, and unconnected with the Appenines. To ascend Vesuvius is no very difficult feat. The stranger is beset with guides waiting at Portici with their mules and asses, and like watermen at the Tower stairs, clamorous for a fare, and so violent in their gesticulations, that the traveller might suppose they were going to roast him at the volcano, and were quarrelling about their shares of the meat. But it is the custom of these people to scream at the top of their voices in ordinary conversation, and to use their hands and arms, as well as their tongues, as explanatory organs. In fact, no guide is necessary, there being a regular footpath, and the shape of the ground, to lead any one accustomed to hills, and the footpath is well frequented at all hours. You ride up to the hermitage, a house of two stories high, like an old Highland manse, about half way up, or about an hour and a quarter's walk from the beginning of the ascent. It is situated on the dividing ridge between the ravine through which the lava of the ancient crater of Monte Somma has flowed, and that through which the lava of the present crater, in its recent eruptions, has partly taken its course. It is a ridge formed apparently by the deposition of stones and ashes from the volcano, upon a natural feature of the ground rock of the mountain. The hermitage is at the end of the cultivated ground on the side of Vesuvius. Above it, all is

lava or scorix, and some of this rubbish was still so hot, that lava ejected eight months before ignited dry leaves thrust into its crevices. At this hermitage you may get hermit's fare for your money, a bottle of good wine and an omelette : and ladies are carried to the summit from hence in about an hour and a half, in a sort of sedan-chair, with about as much fatigue and danger, as in being sedanned on a frosty night from the lowest to the highest of the fashionable streets of the city of Bath.

Is there any reason for supposing that the fire-seat, the focus of this volcano, is situated far below the level of the plain on which the mountain stands, and is not contained altogether, or principally, within the walls of the mountain itself? Travellers and geologists are very apt to run poetical when they fall in with burning mountains. They tell us that this and the other great volcanoes of the world are vents of a great central fire in the interior of our globe. How does this vast central fire burn without known communications with atmospheric air or water? At what depth below the crust of the earth is it in activity? In the last eruption of Vesuvius, in 1839, the elevation in the air to which luminous matter, stones, or ashes were thrown, was estimated or guessed by intelligent observers to be about one half of the apparent height of the mountain. In the great eruption of the 8th of August, 1779, the height of the column of flame or ignited matter, was estimated at one and a half the height of the mountain, or 1800 yards : and Sir William Hamilton even reckons it to have been 3,600 yards, or above two miles high. Stones, as large as hogsheads, are stated by the Abbé de la Torre to have been projected to the elevation of 400 yards. In 1775, a mass of lava of 120 cubic feet is stated by de Bottis to have been projected to an elevation from which he reckoned the descent to have occupied nine seconds of time. This fact would also give an elevation of about 400 yards. Now the projecting force cannot have been working at any immense distance below, such as the semidiameter of the earth, nor at any considerable portion of it, because gravity and atmospheric resistance would oppose the elevation of huge masses of stone through such a space. No solid masses of matter, such as stones, rocks, lava, could be projected entire and compact, against the column of air through such a distance ; but would come to the surface of the earth from such a depth, be the crust over this central focus ever so thin, in a liquid or gaseous state. The points of ejection, also, the vents of a central fire-action, would naturally be always and



invariably in the points of least resistance ; that is, in the lowest plains, not in the points of greatest resistance, the summits of high and weighty mountains resting on the plains. The prodigious power of volcanic agency on and above the surface of the earth, is the strongest proof that the focus of that power is at no immense distance below its visible energy. The supposed communications between Vesuvius and Etna, Stromboli, Hecla, or even the Solfaterra, are not supported by historical facts of any correspondence between their eruptions. The communication even of this volcanic focus with the sea, at three miles' distance, is very doubtful, and rests only upon the ejection of torrents of water in one or two of the recorded eruptions : but besides the explanation of rainwater accumulating in the hollow of the crater, and at one period forming in it a small pond or lake, the gases evolved in the combustion within the crater might, by their combination in the air, produce water. Water from the sea passing through such a focus of fire, would undoubtedly be ejected in a gaseous state.

The most instructive appearance to the traveller who carries the ordinary smattering of geological theory with him is, that the ashes, cinders, dust, stones, whether loose, or indurated and cemented by pressure, heat, or other causes, into tuffa rock more or less compact—in short, all ejected matter from the volcano that is not ejected in a liquid state like lava, is deposited in a distinct order or stratification. The larger particles are in one regular bed, above which is another bed of finer, above that another and another of finer and finer particles, each bed lying with a certain character of regularity above the other, as in water depositions ; and then comes another bed or layer of rougher, larger particles, and a similar gradation of finer regularly above it. Where the tuffa rock is laid bare in section, as by the road leading to the hermitage, and also in the rocks about Naples and in the excavations at Pompeii, this stratified tendency of the ejected matter is to be seen. When the matter—dust, ashes, fine particles, stones—is ejected, the densest falls first to the ground, is the first deposited from the atmosphere, exactly as if water instead of air had been the medium in which the particles had been suspended. Then follows bed after bed, each in succession, according to the size or gravity of its particles. A new ejection of the same eruption follows with the same succession from coarse to fine particles, deposited upon the former deposition. If this tendency to stratification in the



ejected matter of volcanic agency be confirmed by more extensive observation, it would explain in a satisfactory way many puzzling geological appearances—such as the stratified formation of rocks composed of crystalline or chemically aggregated particles, the veins or bands of rough pebbles in old red sandstone, the stripes alternating in almost all rocks. If geologists exclude all regularity from volcanic agency, and confine stratification to aqueous deposition, how many deluges must they take to account for a striped pebble, or a sandstone with bands or beds running through it at every three or four inches, or lamellated structure of any kind? And how would they account for the formation of gneiss with its character of regularity in the arrangement of its particles? The striated arrangement of its constituent particles, and the lamellated structure and stratified formation of rock of crystalline or chemically aggregated particles may all be explained without the clumsy supposition of some unknown fluid in which these particles were suspended, and from which they were mechanically deposited, by taking them as they naturally lie after being ejected by a volcano, and deposited in succession according to their gravity; and supposing them welded or partly fused together by the continuance or renewal of the heat. The air as well as water has been a medium in forming the mechanically deposited stratified rocks, and it is instructive to see, from what goes on at eruptions of this volcano, that many appearances ascribed to aqueous, belong in reality also to volcanic agency, and may be simply explained by similar processes going on here according to the usual law of gravity.

Pompeii, the victim of the mountain, loses much of its interest from the removal to the museum at Naples of every article that could be removed. All the ancient utensils, household goods, and personal ornaments of the inhabitants, had an interest upon the very spot where they were last used and handled by their owners eighteen centuries ago, which is lost under glass cases, in modern show-rooms, with a prattling cicerone in black silk Name-me-nots, showing them off. What remains at Pompeii are pillars of brick stuccoed over, walls stuccoed, and embellished with some rude paintings and ornaments in fresco on the plaster, done mostly with red ochre, and some mosaic or tessellated work in marble on the floor, representing, in black and white inlaid stones, ill-drawn figures of animals, and such ornaments. The interior arrangement of the houses is more interesting than anything remaining *in situ* at Pompeii. It gives us some idea of the

amount, or rather of the want of physical civilisation, of domestic comfort, and of luxury in the ordinary dwellings of the ancients. The streets of Pompeii have been narrow lanes ill paved, and ill kept, the ruts worn by the cart-wheels in the bare rock appearing in the street, and from these ruts being single, it is to be presumed that there was little continuous traffic of carts in opposite directions, no lines of going and coming carts; but, as is the case now in small Italian towns, the carts have come in from the country in the morning, and gone out in the evening in the same ruts in which they arrived. The houses have been generally low, without upstairs rooms, and constructed generally on one plan. An outside wall encloses a square or oblong space, and, except the street door, is without opening to the outside for light or air. The roof has run with a slight slope from this outside dead wall to an inner wall parallel to it, which determined the breadth of the apartments. A row of pillars connected with each other by round arches, or by beams within this inner wall all round the open space, has supported the extremity of the roof on every side of the square open court, and has furnished a covered colonnade all round it. In the centre of this open court, which is in the best houses paved with marble in ornamental figures, has been a fountain, cistern, or receptacle for the rain water from the roofs, and this open court appears to have been the drawing-room of the mansion, or its equivalent. The doors and windows of all the rooms have opened into the colonnade. The rooms are very small, about ten or twelve feet square, and have been dark and ill ventilated; the windows, small openings, in general without glass, and for sake of shelter, made in the inside wall under the roof of the colonnade. The rooms have seldom communications with each other, but each opens into the covered gallery or colonnade. The best rooms are very small, have never been lined with wood, but merely plastered, and a rude ornament in ochre or red lead delineated on the plaster. Under this square of dwelling rooms has been a sunk floor, or square of vaults for cellars, and for lodging the slaves. In one of these was found the skeleton of a slave, who has had a bell fastened round his neck as we put a bell on a cow or sheep. In none of these mansions which, with masters and slaves, must have been very close, crowded, and inconvenient, is there any appearance of an outhouse, yard, privy, or detached building of any kind. The rooms have been merely used to retire to at night or in bad weather; and the open court in the centre, the covered colonnade running round it, and the bath-room have been the living places

by day. \* A basking, Lazaroni, out-of-door life has been then, as now, the way of living in this part of Italy.

The two distinct theatres, one for comedy and one for tragedy, and the amphitheatre with its seats for the different classes of spectators, its dens for the wild beasts, its issues for them, and for the prisoners condemned to be their victims—often prisoners of war, not criminals—are the most interesting remains of public structures in Pompeii. What a singular state of barbaric civilisation ! The whole population of a little town of six or eight thousand inhabitants, even the female sex, the vestals, spectators of such scenes of carnage ! All classes delighting in combats which have not had even the excitement of an equality between the parties, or of a doubtful issue, or of the possibility of the escape of the human combatant ! The sheer lust of blood-and-torture spectacle has been the only gratification of this refined people ! The scholarship of eighteen centuries has been extolling Roman virtue, Roman civilisation, Roman arts, arms, and institutions, until men are almost afraid to express the opinion, that the fine arts, sculpture, architecture, poetry, oratory, and all the rest of them, have been vastly over-rated as indications or means of civilisation. The Romans, with all these, were in a more uncivilised social condition, had more of the tastes and habits of savage life in their highest and most refined period, than the inhabitants of New Zealand or of the Sandwich Islands, when we first discovered them. King Tommaha or Prince Pommaree was, in reality, much less of a savage, than Julius Cæsar, or Augustus.

Naples is a wonderful den of human animals. Beggars, thieves, idlers are lounging at every corner ; ladies, monks, and military fill the streets. Where is the industry, or what the means and capital, that keeps this mass in life and movement ! It must be the concentration and expenditure of almost all the incomes and revenues of the kingdom, in this one spot, by nobility, churchmen, and military. The bustle and hubbub in the Strada de Toledo is as great as in the most crowded street of London ; but if you mark the stream of people, you see the crowd here consists of idlers hanging about, not of passengers hastening silently through on their affairs. All are talking at once at the highest pitch of their voices, and hands and arms are going as violently as tongues. In the secondary and poorer streets, people squatting on the stones in the sun or shade, sleeping, eating, working, hunting for vermin in their clothes, playing a favourite

game of betting on the number of fingers held up (a Roman game, *micare digitis*), all out of doors, and all screaming like peacocks, give no favourable impression of their social condition.

It is very striking to see in this finest soil and climate of Europe, this land overflowing with the richest productions for the use of man, the peasantry and townspeople of the labouring class clothed in sheep skins with the wool on, and in all respects worse clad, more wretched, and in food, lodging, property, sense of decency in their habits and ways of living, in a lower condition than the Laplander on the Norwegian fields. Their fine climate is their curse. Many of the wants and desires which with us are the greatest stimulants to industry, and to all the virtues that spring from industry, are of little importance here in the catalogue of human gratifications. Life may be enjoyed without them; and therefore the industry is wanting, along with the motives. The labouring man with us, who could ask, Why should I strive to get regular employment, or to earn high wages? would be deemed insane. To buy meat, drink, fuel, lodging, clothing, and social respect among those of your own station, would be the reply. But in this country, the labouring man is no fool, who asks, what enjoyment or gratification can high wages gained by constant hard work, give me, equal to the enjoyment of doing nothing, of basking in the sun, or sleeping in the shade, doing nothing? Fuel, clothing, lodging, food, are in this climate supplied almost spontaneously to man. Fuel to cook with, is all we need of firing, and even that may be dispensed with by most working people, for our food is sold to us ready cooked at the corner of every street. It would be waste and no comfort in it, to light a fire in our own dwellings. Clothing we only want to cover our nakedness, a ragged cloak, or sheepskin jacket three generations old, does that. Lodging is only necessary to sleep in, and shelter us from rain. A mere shed, like a coach-house, does that. We live out of doors. Animal food is not necessary, where olive oil is so plentiful as to be used for frying all vegetable and farinaceous food, and assimilating it as nutritious aliment to flesh meat. Olive oil, wine, Indian corn, flour, legumes, fruit, are to be got in exchange for our labour at vintage and harvest, during a few weeks when these crops require a great number of hands at once. Why should we labour every day? This is the condition of all around us in our station; why should we labour?

It is the case, that steady, regular, every-day industry is ac-

usually not required for enabling these people to satisfy the few wants which the blessings of the climate, of the soil, and of the cheap nutriment of olive oil, Indian corn, small fish, and fruits leave them; and they only work by fits and starts. Lazaroni is rather a character, than a class of the people. They are all Lazaroni in their social condition, in the lounging about idle, and in a state almost of nudity, when not forced by want to look for a short job; and in their out-of-door way of living. It is in the nature of the products of the climate, that the demand for labour on the land is desultory—requiring great numbers of hands for short periods; and, consequently, the payments are made in portions of the material worked upon, not in regular wages. But this material includes those necessities of life for which, in other climes, people must labour steadily, day after day. The amount of food here, in chestnuts, figs, fruit, legumes, cakes of Indian corn, various small fish, and in the nutriment of olive oil added to these otherwise unsubstantial articles of diet, surpasses all we understand by abundance in northern countries; and all these require but very little human labour for their production. Food for the idle, that is food requiring small and irregular application only of human labour, is abundant; and this is evident, from the way in which common work is carried on. Time and labour seem not worth saving in their estimation. The women are universally sauntering about, spinning wool or flax with the distaff and spindle. A woman will spin as much yarn at her spinning wheel in an hour, as in a week with her distaff and spindle. But I doubt if a spinning wheel could be found in Naples. I have seen two men carrying between them, slung upon a pole on their shoulders, a common-sized paving stone. One of them could have transported six such stones in a common wheelbarrow, with ease. Boats are manned with six or seven, or even ten men. A man and a boy, or at the utmost, two men, would be the crew of such a craft in any other country. I have seen two asses with a driver to each, and a padrone, or overseer, on horseback to attend them, employed in trailing into town two sticks with each ass, one on each side of the saddle, and the sticks positively of a size that one of the drivers might have carried the whole four. In every job, the padrone, the helper, the looker-on, the talker, and the listener, seem indispensable personages. The division of labour may be an evil as well as a good in society. It is an evil, if the time and labour saved by it be not applied to reproduction. It is an evil among these



**Lazaroni.** Six men doing the work of two, merely multiply themselves and their idle habits by their division of labour. They do nothing with the time and labour they have gained by the division—if they have gained any by it—in their way of working. This is a point not so thoroughly considered by our political economists as it should be. The saving of time and labour by machinery, or by a supplanting of labour by machinery, or by a division of labour, is not of itself of any value, nor is it adding to national wealth of itself, as our great political economists Adam Smith and M'Culloch teach us. It is only of value and adding to national wealth, if the time and labour saved be employed in other production. Steam, for instance, applied to pumping water out of mines, to moving machinery, and so on, adds to national wealth, only because the men and time employed in pumping or in moving hand engines, are immediately employed in other analogous productive labour. But if they could not be employed, if any branch of industry, as, for instance, all husbandry labour, or all shoemaking, or all tailoring, could be executed by steam machinery, the nation, the community, would be no gainer, unless the classes thrown out of work, and idle, can be, and are, employed and absorbed in some other kind of productive labour. One class only, the employers, would be gainers at the expense of another class; and unless that class can become productive in some other branch of industry, there is a loss, not a gain, to the nation, even by machinery. The division of labour here is the offspring of idleness, not of industry, and produces idleness, not industry. It is followed by no increased production. This evil, in the social condition of the people of Italy, is so closely connected with the nature of the soil and climate, that it may be doubted if the inhabitants of this part of the Italian peninsula, ever were in any higher state of civilisation than they are in at this day. What were the inhabitants of Pompeii, but a population of slaves cultivating the earth in chains, of Lazaroni basking in the sun, and of public functionaries and patricians of enormous wealth, to whom the Lazaroni were so formidable, that it was necessary to feed them and keep them in amusement and excitement by such shows and bloody spectacles as suited their half savage state? The mass of the people then, as now, have had no wants, but those which the soil, with desultory labour, could supply—no civilising desires for comforts and enjoyments, which industry only produces.

It is characteristic here of the social condition, that all trades-



men's work—shoemakers', tinsmiths', coppersmiths' work—is carried on out of doors, in the open air, amidst the gossip and bustle of the street passengers ; and all domestic business is done on the pavement, or in cellars, or vaults of coach-house-like dwellings, with a side open to the street, leaving the whole interior of their households exposed to view, and only shut in at night or in rainy weather, there being no windows to these dens. The sense or feeling of domestic privacy, or the tastes, civilised habits, and virtues connected with this feeling, cannot exist, where the whole family are separated from the view of the passengers in the streets, even when in bed, only by a bit of mat hung up for the occasion. Whoever considers well the causes which act on the social state of the Irish or Neapolitan, and the Swiss or French people in the same station of life, will find that the lodging of a population, the ordinary standard of house accommodation for the families of the lowest class, is very closely connected with their moral condition. The first step, perhaps, towards the imbuing the Irish people with the peaceful habits they are accused of wanting, would be giving them timber free of duty, for building their dwellings on a civilised standard of accommodation.

The soil and climate which produce industry, produce the real crop on which man lives in well-being, civilisation, and comfort, and not the soil and climate which produce the objects of industry : and viewing the world in large, industry will be found to thrive in every country, almost in the inverse ratio to the value and amount of its natural productions. This is a just balance made by Providence in the lot of man. With their crops of wine, oil, silk, grain of every kind, and endless succession of fruits and of vegetable food, with their perpetual fine weather and easy life, what is the condition produced by these very advantages, of the inhabitants of this earthly paradise ? the poorest cottar on the poorest hill-side, in the north of Scotland, is a decently clothed, decently brought up, intellectual man, with habits and ideas of a civilised being, compared to the half-naked, filthy, half-savage human animal wallowing in a sheep-skin with the wool on, and a tattered brown cloak, as his only body covering, upon the marble steps of the palaces and churches of Italy. The soil and climate are not more superior in the neighbourhood of Naples to the soil and climate of the north of Europe, than the social and moral condition of the people is inferior. But moral causes, as well as physical, have their part in this low

social condition of the people of Naples. The population is reckoned about 338,000 souls. It is a city, therefore, about one-third more populous than Glasgow. Here we see strikingly the social effects of functionarism, in withdrawing from the paths of industry the class who should be diffusing employment in the useful arts among the labouring classes around them. In Naples there are 4,632 secular clergy. If to these we add the monastic clergy of 1960 monks, and the nuns who are 717 in number, we have in all 7,809 persons withdrawn from the pursuits of industry, and earning social influence and all that men strive to obtain by industry, in other employments than the useful arts. We see here, in its extreme, the working of a forced church extension, of a numerous establishment of clergy in a community. The effects will be proportionably the same whatsoever be the religion; the same proportionably in Presbyterian Glasgow as in Catholic Naples, if the clerical body were increased upon the principle of what governments and clergy may think requisite for a people, instead of upon the principle that the people themselves will provide for their own religious instruction according to their wants, and recipient capability of using it. Carry the clerical establishment of Glasgow to 4,873 persons, which would be in proportion to that of Naples—if that number would satisfy our admirers of church extension—abstract this number from the pursuits of productive industry—and Glasgow would be another Naples.

This Naples is the St. Giles's of Europe. I would advise the first pedlar who travels this road to bring in his pack a goodly assortment of small-toothed combs—not that the natives are civilised enough to need such machinery—they use more summary measures, and you see them sitting all of a row before their doors with their heads in each other's laps in turns, and searching for—animated ideas—but for the benefit of the English ladies who may visit Naples. A man impreguates his skin with the effluvia of tobacco and wine, and offers no such tempting pasture to the herds and flocks of his Neapolitan majesty; but a delicate English lady, in all her cleanliness and loveliness, swarming, as she must be—whew! The English lady, in fact, must leave all her delicacy at home, and all her blushes, unless a small travelling assortment, if she intends to reside among this more than half naked, and all-alive people. The country about Naples may be an earthly paradise; but it is paradise after the fall, given up to the serpent for an habitation.

## CHAPTER XIV.

TRAVELLING IN ITALY.—VETTUBINI.—CAPUA.—TERRACINA.—PONTINE MARSHES.  
—MAREMMA.—THE APPROACH TO ROME.—COLISEUM.

THERE are three ways of travelling in Italy. One is to travel post, carrying all England along with you in your own English travelling carriage. With English books, English servants, English habits, and a foreign courier to cheat him, the English traveller may get over a good deal of country, and a good deal of money in this way, without the trouble of taking in any more ideas, or loading the memory with any more weighty matters than in seeing a diorama passing before his eyes. Another way is to travel in your own foreign carriage, with hired horses, with which the vetturino drives you to your journey's end, at the rate of five-and-twenty or thirty miles a day. There is often the inconvenience attending this way, that as the driver, at the end of his engagement, may have to ride his horses back without any return fare, which he would have if the carriages as well as the horses belonged to him, you are not much cheaper, and are vastly slower in your movements, than with post horses: and the owner, or vetturino, will scarcely come himself to ride back with his horses if he can put off any lad upon you to do the job. The third, and ordinary way of travelling for all ranks in the country, is by a voiturin, or vetturino, who has his own carriage and horses. They are a class of coach proprietors, many of them intelligent, respectable men, who drive a light carriage of their own that will hold four inside and two outside passengers, and with a pair of gaunt, bony horses. You engage the number of places you want, and the vetturino visits all the inns to find other travellers going the same road to fill up the empty places. There is, of course, considerable difference in the rates paid, even in the same carriage, for the same distance, as the vetturino will take any fare at last rather than none. It is necessary, also, to have a regular contract in writing, and to insure it by taking an earnest upon it—a piece of money from the vetturino, which is returned to him when he is fairly on the road; for in Italy it appears to be the

principle in all dealings between man and man—impose if you can. The average expense, travelling in this way, is about 16s. sterling a day for each passenger: but this includes your living on the road, that is, a dinner-breakfast—dinner as to the fare, but breakfast as to the hour, about ten or eleven—a good supper at eight or nine in the evening, and your bed. The vetturino always engages for the living, and the traveller is much better served, and more cheaply, than if he paid for himself. The vetturini form a class all over the Continent, known to each other, and have the innkeepers at their command, because the inn which had the reputation of serving their passengers ill might as well be shut up. An English family travelling in their own carriage with four post horses, would not get the best beds, or the best fare at every Italian inn, if a known vetturino with his passengers came to the door at the same moment. The ordinary way of their travelling is, to start at four in the morning, and stop at nine or ten. They start again at two, and travel till six or seven, and in this way get on for weeks together, at the rate of thirty miles a day. The old-fashioned arrangement of the vetturino undertaking for the lodging and feeding, as well as for the transporting of his passengers, is not, as our English tourists imagine, devised for the sake of saving them from being imposed upon by Italian innkeepers. It is a remnant of ancient manners from the ages of pilgrimages and crusades, when bands of pious passengers from all parts of Christendom contracted with conductors to lead them to Rome, and purvey for them out and home. It is at this day the best way for the traveller to see a foreign country. It takes him as fast over it as he can go with the advantage of seeing what is remarkable, and brings him into contact with people of the country, and travellers of all kinds and classes.

We set out early in the morning from Naples by Vetturino, and got to Mola de Gaeta for the first night's quarters, stopping in the forenoon, for a few hours, at Capua. The road to Capua is over a highly cultivated fertile plain. The most fertile land in Europe is probably hereabouts, in the plain watered by the Volturno, because with the finest climate for vegetable production, the soil is a deep black, alluvial, garden mould, which, in any climate, would be rich land; and from its flat surface, and low level, it retains the necessary moisture, or receives it easily by irrigation. The gods, says Polybius, might dispute the possession of such a delicious plain, as that of Capua. Yet in

this earthly paradise, the people are not merely in rags and wretchedness; it is difficult even to conceive humanity in so low a condition, as you see it in here. In the streets of Capua, you see animals which you can scarcely acknowledge to be human beings. The Esquimaux has a covering for his body, which, even in his rude state, shows a sense of decency, as well as the mere feeling of cold—a sense of ornament even, may be traced in his seal-skin garment. But here the sense of decency, even in the female animal of the human species, is apparently little higher than among the irrational creatures. How low bad government may reduce the civilisation of a country, is impressively brought out here. Come to Capua, all ye conservatives of existing institutions, all ye defenders of things as they are, all ye good, pious, moral gentlemen of England, who look with aversion on every reform, with horror on every social change, come to Capua, and see the working of your principle of conservatism. It is not the wish certainly of the Neapolitan government, to have its subjects in a low and miserable condition; but it is the fear of change, our own principle of conservatism—which shuns all improvement; and where society is not improving, it is retrograding. There is no stand still in human affairs.

From Mola de Gaeta, where a branch of low hills from the Appenine chain approaches the coast, we travelled next day to Terracina, passing through the beautiful scenery around the little towns of Itri and Fondi. Fondi is more celebrated for the attempt, in 1534, of Hayraddin Barbarossa with a Turkish squadron to carry off, for the seraglio, the beautiful Countess Julia de Gonzagua, than for the eloquence or logic of Thomas d'Aquinas. Yet here he taught theology. He was a great man in his day, and for generations after his day:—for ideas never die, and his may still be influencing theological and metaphysical science.

In this Italian atmosphere, there is a transparency in the shadows seldom seen in our climate in our rural scenery. With us, all that is in shade is indistinctly made out. The shadows in our landscape paintings and drawings, are often laid in muddy, because, in fact, they often are so in nature—and it is not every painter who is a poet of the brush; who can select, and avoid, or take what nature offers. Copying nature *literatim*, is not painting well. Here objects, even in the deepest shadow of a mountain, are very distinct, both in outline and colour, although kept down and subdued by the general shade: and this atmospheric peculiarity

in the real scenery of Italy gives a peculiar character to the paintings of it, a something different from the way in which the artists of other countries would conceive and express the same objects under the same circumstances.

In strolling about Terracina, in defiance of malaria, which has its headquarters here, I came upon a little water-mill with a perpendicular shaft turned round by the rill of water striking upon vanes inserted obliquely in it to receive the impulse—the mill of the Scandinavian peasant, and still found in the Shetland islands, and some of the Hebrides. How very little progress had been made by the ancients in the useful arts, at the time when many of the fine arts were carried to great perfection! A good mill is a machine which, if it ever had existed in a country, could never have been lost as an invention. The Romans have ground their corn in hand, or cattle mills, or mills worked by slave labour, or in such rude machines as this water mill, at a time when, in architecture and sculpture, they had made a progress not yet equalled. Cicero's bread was made of flour ground in such a rude imperfect machine! They had neither shoes to their feet, nor shirts to their backs, when to please the eye they had statues and magnificent buildings which are still the admiration of the world. The woollen tunic next the skin worn while it lasted, the woollen toga, coarse and heavy as a horserug, and the raw wool much less perfectly cleaned of its animal oil than a horserug, must have rendered the windward side of the Roman gentleman, with all his luxury, considerably the most agreeable on a sunshine day.

On leaving Terracina, we come upon the Pontine marshes. The Roman Maremma, or Campagna, extends from the frontier of Tuscany, to the Neapolitan frontier, and from the foot of the Appenines to the Mediterranean. This tract, including in its widest scope Rome itself, is all more or less unhealthy, or subject to malaria, but is not all marshy. The greater part, on the contrary, is a flat dry pasture land, with too little, rather than too much moisture, the ditches holding no water for want of a retentive subsoil, and the ponds, and watering-places for cattle, artificial. The Pontine marshes included in this Maremma, begin here at Terracina, and occupy an area of about eight leagues in length along the coast, by about two in breadth; and are so inundated that they cannot be cultivated or inhabited. *The whole marshy surface in this state has been estimated at about 56,000 English acres.* On the south this marsh is bounded



by the sea, or by salt water lagunes ; on the east, by the high grounds and shore at Terracina ; on the north, by the high grounds about Velletri ; and on the west, by the plains of Cisterno. This marsh is formed by the rivers Amasino, Uffente, Cavatella, Tippin, Ninno, and other mountain streams, which are the drainage of a large amphitheatre of country, but have no sufficient outlet, nor sufficient descent to carry off the waters they bring down. In the time of the Romans, great works, among others the canal by which Horace travelled, and the Appian way itself, were constructed for draining, and giving access to this tract ; and although it was so far rendered habitable, that Pliny says there were three-and-twenty towns in, or round this district, the same author still speaks of it as a lake, or marsh, of which the exhalations were considered noxious as far as Rome. The draining of this marsh has often been attempted and abandoned in later times. The blame of the unsuccessful attempts at drainage, is always thrown by travellers upon the papal government. Bad enough the government may be, and like all governments, good or bad, it must put up with more than its own fair share of all that does not succeed : but the popes in reality, have not been so very inert in attempting to recover this land. Martin V., in the beginning of the 15th century, constructed a drain, the Rio Martino, on such a scale that it has been sometimes ascribed to the ancient Romans. His death, in 1431, interrupted this work ; but in each succeeding century, in almost each pontificate, considerable efforts at drainage have been made. But to drain an extensive area of flooded marsh land on a level with the sea, or with very little fall, and receiving the water of a very extensive amphitheatre of high grounds, and hills, without any lower level to drain it off into, would puzzle the most Protestant of governments. The Mediterranean Sea, be it remembered, has no rise and fall, no ebb-tide giving a drainage of several feet of level for half of the twenty-four hours, as on our no-popery shores of Kent, Lincolnshire, or Holland. After leading the inland waters by canal to the sea side, there is, after all, no outlet or escape for them. This impediment to drainage on all the coasts of the Mediterranean, is insurmountable, and from century to century is necessarily increasing. Land is forming, and gaining upon the sea, by the diluvium of the rivers, and the accumulation of vegetable matter on it ; but such low tracts never can have been healthy, never can be made so, and must every century, as the marshy surface extends itself, be growing less and

less habitable. True it is, these tracts are studded thickly with shapeless masses of ruined habitations, which show that the Maremma at least, if not the marsh itself, has been inhabited densely in the time of the Romans. But the agricultural population of the ancient Roman territory were slaves working in chains under a few freedmen as slave-drivers, or factors, and were in reality in no higher condition than the oxen, or husbandry horses of the present day. The waste of human life in this class, was regarded only as a matter of profit and loss. If a farm had to be stocked with slaves, the losses by fever, or malaria, was a matter of no more importance than the tear and wear of horses and cattle in any of our agricultural undertakings—a deduction merely from the gross value of the crops, to be allowed for in the calculation. The aqueducts, towns, arches, ruins great and small, thickly sprinkled over this waste and uninhabited Maremma, indicate no greater salubrity of the air in former days, but only a greater disregard of human life, nor perhaps any great resident free population.

The fixed inhabitants of the whole district called Maremma do not now exceed, it is said, 16,000 souls, as, owing to the unhealthiness, or malaria, few places in it are habitable all the year round; but from 25,000 to 30,000 people come down from the high grounds, the Abruzzi and the Sabine hills, to lay down the crops and to reap them. The unhealthiness is aggravated by this kind of migratory life of the cultivators. When there is work to be done in this flat unwholesome country, they leave the villages on the high ground to pass a few weeks or months in it, and wood being very scarce, as the Maremma is destitute of trees, they lodge on the ground in temporary straw or reed huts, like bee-hives in shape, put up in the fields in which they are working, with a few sticks or hurdles to support the straw or reeds; and into these huts the labourer crawls at night, and in the heat of day, and sleeps on the bare earth. Fever and ague would be inmates of such a lodging in any climate. This migratory life, also, is unfavourable to the morality, as well as to the health and industry of the people. A shifting population is always in a low moral condition, because the influence of public opinion upon private conduct is lost, where the individuals are isolated, and beyond the social restraints and influences which neighbours and friends exercise over each other in a fixed state of inhabitation. This appears to be the great demoralising influence in the condition of the peasantry or labouring class in this part of Italy,

and the true cause of the banditti life resorted to sometimes by people, who in general are found to be not the fixed inhabitants but the migrating wanderers about the Maremma. The little towns, also, in which the people live when not employed in the Maremma—viz. Cisterno, Gensano, Velletri, Albano, and many others, furnish very unwholesome lodging to the lower, and even the middle classes. The inhabitants occupy ill-ventilated cellars, or coach-houses on the ground floors of the better classes, or of ruinous decaying buildings not fully inhabited. A perpetual malaria must exist in these damp small dungeons, without ventilation, light, cleanliness, or any domestic convenience. The cooking goes on just within the door, which must be left ajar for receiving light, and letting out the smoke, it being door, window, and chimney, in most of the houses of the labouring class in these little towns. The beds are in the interior of the den, concealed by a bit of curtain, or more usually by wine casks, jars, or such household goods, piled up before them. In the far end twinkles a little lamp, night and day, before a print of the Virgin. This adoption by the Romish church of the *dei penates* of the ancients is general over Italy. Around these cellars, or ground-floor rooms, is an accumulation of old rubbish of former edifices, from which the exhalations in such a climate must be very unwholesome. The country never could have been healthy; and the mode of living could not be less favourable to the health of the people. From Naples to Rome you do not see one individual in a state of robust health. The whole population is of a sickly appearance, like convalescents from fever, or ague, sauntering about their hospital grounds.

The land all the way from Naples to Rome is held in large estates, let out to metayer tenants who provide the labour, and the landlord the land, stock, and utensils, and the produce is divided between the parties, or it is feued in perpetuity, or for long periods, at fixed and heavy feu rents in kind. From the little improvement, or alteration for ages, in the modes of husbandry, or markets in Italy, the difference in the value of old feu duties and their present value, and between the produce of the same land now and formerly, is not so great as with us in Scotland. The *dominium nobile*, and the *dominium utile*, are two distinct interests in the land here as with us; but the former has not become a mere illusory payment for the land compared to its present value; but is still a real rent of estates, and retaining all its original proportion to the value of the land.

In all these fine southern climates, one evil peculiarly affecting the condition of the working man weighs heavily against all their advantages. It is that, in reality, there are two winters in the year for man and beast. There is not only our winter, little felt, indeed, in some particular localities, as about Naples, but still wet, occasionally cold, and of such weather that agricultural labour is interrupted from the state of the land, cattle must be tended in doors, and in general in Italy it is very severe; but there is another winter as far as regards labour, a summer-winter, in which, for three or four months all out-door work of man and beast is suspended by heat, and much more interrupted than it ever is by cold in our climate. All cattle must be provided for in doors, as in winter. Fodder must be cut and water carried to them. From extreme cold, man and beast have a relief in hard work; but from overwhelming heat there is no relief but bodily inaction. All water power, as well as animal power, is interrupted by it, and many arts and manufactures cannot, evidently, be carried on in these southern climes, without an enormous waste of labour and life. This summer-winter, also, is the season of malaria, producing fevers among working people exposed to the heat and dews, far more generally, and dangerously, than epidemic diseases in our climate.

From Cisterno we got to Rome easily in a day, the third from leaving Naples, stopping at Albano to breakfast. Albano stands on high ground, from which the descent into the great plain of the Campagna is very impressive. This plain of the Campagna, boundless to the eye, is without trees, or houses, or ponds, or running waters, but is one vast sheet of dry, fine pasture grass, thickly studded with shapeless remains of buildings. The city of Rome sits by herself in the midst of this green, yet uninhabited, uncultivated, joyless desert. Rome sits here in lonely grandeur on her plain—a type of what Rome was of old in the midst of the world. The approach to Rome by this ancient Appian way has great moral grandeur. For twelve or fifteen miles, pieces of ancient pavement, ancient walls of bricks built checker-wise, shapeless ruins, masses of rubbish of considerable elevation, arches of demolished buildings, monuments with inscriptions not legible, fountains not running, and broken ranges of aqueducts for conveying water from the hills, are scattered in all directions upon the deserted plain—deserted by man, yet covered with remains of human power, and with the *habitations of an extinct population*. There is no sound or sign

of human industry on this lifeless sea of grass. The lark singing in the sky, and a solitary shepherd and his dog in the distant horizon, are all of living objects that strike ear or eye. You reach the gates of Rome through the silence and solitude of the grave. Within it, all is as silent, solemn, and destitute of movement as without. A clerical-looking soldier on guard, a half-asleep functionary of the custom-house, a few labourers working at remarkably slow time on the repair of the causeway, are all the concourse at the gate of the mistress of the world. You pass the gate, are within her walls, and are still in the country, with fields, gardens, and vineyards on each hand. Roads bounded by white walls on each side, a crucifix at every turn of the road, and in the distance a monk or a beggar crossing it, are all that, for nearly a mile within this gate, remind you that here is Rome. But our road becomes a street at last, with houses, palaces, churches, ruins, temples, triumphal arches, statues, fountains, priests, monks, soldiers, people, shops, carriages, bustle, and business.

We found some difficulty in lodging ourselves, as all the inns and lodging-houses are occupied on account of the approaching holy week of Easter, which is celebrated with great pomp by the Catholic Church. By going, however, a little beyond the circle within which strangers generally herd, we got very good lodging in the Via delle Quatre Fontane, at a moderate rate of two piastres a day—moderate for Rome at this particular season. It is reckoned that the population of Rome is increased by 30,000 strangers generally during the holy week. This estimate is probably an exaggeration in modern times, even if it include the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns, villages, and country—the pilgrims of a day on foot, in carts, or in chaises, who come for a forenoon, and not strictly the strangers. The number of the latter is no doubt considerable; but the places of resort being the same for all strangers—the galleries and antiquities, and frequented at certain hours—one sees the whole body of foreigners, more than in other cities, at one time, and is apt to over-estimate their numbers. There are few or no diligences running daily between Rome and other distant cities: and taking the steam-vessels which stop at Civita Vecchia, the voiturins, and the post-horses at the different stations near Rome, into consideration, you see no means of conveying 30,000 travellers and their luggage to and fro, in any moderate space of time—nor one tenth of that number—to the holy week.

Artists, foreign clergy on business, and foreign nobility, with a few of the English of the highest class, and a great body of English travellers of the nondescript classes, form the mass of the foreigners. English signboards of "Horses to hire," "English grocer and tea-dealer," "Dealer in curiosities," and so on, show that there is a perpetual stream of English running through the place.

A valet-de-place, cicerone, or bear-leader, is the first of the Romans who makes his bow to you, and recommends himself as a guide to all that is remarkable in Rome, at the rate of five francs a day. He is a very useful personage at Rome, provided he is intelligent, and provided you never take him with you. If you do, you are the party fairly entitled to be paid for the day's work; for you have the fatigue of listening to a rigmarole of names and phrases that would tire the patient ear of any of his marble statues. But consult him in the morning before you sally forth, as a kind of two-legged dictionary, get all the information you can out of him about what you intend to see, and the way to it; pluck him and leave him at home, and the goose is worth his price.

The Coliseum, of all that Rome encloses, should be seen alone, and by moonlight. No other human monument speaks so strongly to the moral sense of man. The deep and lonely silence of the moonlight hour within its vast walls, is broken only by the chirping of the solitary cricket in the grass of that arena, which has resounded with the shrieks of human beings, the wild yells of ferocious beasts tearing them, and the acclamations of eighty thousand spectators rejoicing in the butchery. This is the triumph of the Christian religion. This immense edifice is coeval with Christianity, and is its noblest history. Eighteen centuries ago, the most civilised people on the face of the earth erected this huge pile for savage and bloody spectacles, such as no known tribe on the face of the earth at the present day is so barbarous, so destitute of humanity, feeling for others, and discrimination of right and wrong, as to enjoy or tolerate. The New Zealander, or the Cherokee of the present day, stands higher as a moral being imbued with feelings of humanity, and of duty to his fellow men, than the citizen of ancient Rome in his most civilised state. Is this no improvement in the social condition of man? Is man not in a progressive state as a moral and intellectual being? We may rather ask, if human nature itself has not changed during these eighteen centuries; and if we really belong to the same species



of beings, as the men who, eighteen centuries ago, laid those stones upon each other, for the uses for which this immense fabric was erected. These stones are still sharply square. Man has changed more than his works. How little appear all the squabbles between church and church, between Catholic and Protestant, Lutheran and Presbyterian, sect and sect, opinion and opinion, when we consider this sublime result of Christianity, as a whole, amidst these walls which witnessed its origin, its progress, and are now bearing testimony to its humanising influences on the condition of man! Details vanish before the sublime result. Time itself seems to vanish amidst the works of man standing for eighteen centuries, uninjured but by his own hands. What are eighteen centuries in the history of the human race?—a span of time too short to reduce their buildings to dust, yet long enough to elevate their physical and moral condition from the deepest barbarism, ignorance, and wickedness, to civilisation, knowledge, and religion; to raise them morally and intellectually to a new species of beings. The changes of eighteen centuries are enclosed within these grey walls of the Flavian amphitheatre. The mind involuntarily runs back over the footsteps of time, to consider what other events, influential on the condition of man, these walls have witnessed. Is it an unreasonably extended view, here amidst the remains of their power, civilisation, and barbarity of man, eighteen hundred years ago, to consider causes which first appeared in the world about three centuries back, as only now beginning to act powerfully and visibly in the affairs of society? The diffusion of knowledge and mental power by the art of printing, of religious inquiry by the Reformation, of new and artificial tastes and wants which sprung up suddenly and simultaneously in Europe, on the discovery of America and the navigation to the East, and which are now more influential among men, as motives of action and industry, than the natural wants connected with the support of life—for such are the acquired tastes for objects unknown in former times, as tobacco, coffee, sugar, distilled liquor, which now set in motion more of human activity than the Roman power ever wielded, or all the monarchs of Europe in the present day can command—the introduction of a new article of food in the potato, of a new clothing material in cotton, of a new power for human use in steam, are causes which, if we reflect on their obscure, and unobserved origin and first progress, and their subsequent vast development and influence on the human race in this age, we

must regard as events in the moral world, parallel and equivalent to those deemed miraculous in the physical. These mighty causes must work out mighty effects in the social condition of man. It is absurd, it is almost impious, to suppose that such moral wonders have been called into action for no purpose—and that the social arrangements constructed when these were not in existence, or only beginning to influence human affairs, can be adapted to the future social condition of man, and should be pressed down upon it as of fitting capacity and suitable mould. It is an error not dissimilar to that of the first Jewish converts to Christianity, who witnessed the not more astonishing miracles in the physical world, and supposed the effects were to be confined within the circumcision and the law. The whole of civilised society is in a state of transition. The laws, institutions, the very ideas belonging to those ages of darkness and barbarism which followed the downfall of the Roman empire, are silently but rapidly passing away, and a new state of society is forming itself. A day will arrive in the progress of the human race, when every record or trace of our existing establishments will be regarded with the same curiosity with which we now regard those of the Roman power before its decline. The feudal arrangements of society which sprung up and overspread its ruins, are in their turn decaying, and giving place to other ideas and principles ; and in this slow but certain succession of one system of human affairs to another, like the successive formations of rocks in geological science, the philosopher and the truly pious man hail in every change an evident amelioration of the moral and physical condition of mankind, a wonderful advance in religion, morality, good government, and wellbeing ; and leave to the bigots in legislation and religious forms the inconsistent and fruitless attempt to hold back this mighty movement of divine and beneficent will for the improvement of the moral and physical condition of its creatures. These walls of the Flavian amphitheatre may witness in the next eighteen centuries—and no natural cause seems to forbid the idea of their enduring so long—changes and improvements in the state of human society, as great as those which have consigned them in our times to the lizard and the owl.

## CHAPTER XV.

NOTES ON ST. PETER'S.—ON ROME.—POPULATION.—POSITION.—CAUSES OF THE RISE OF ROME.—ORIGIN OF RIGHTS OF PROPERTY.—CIVILISATION OF ANCIENT ROME.

GREAT is my veneration for the opinions of all constituted authorities—from the pope's to the kirk-session officer's—from the lord of session's to the town-crier's—and doubly great for the opinions of the self-constituted authorities in the realms of literature and taste. In the courts of these authorities, animosity, virulence, and bad feeling, rise high, just in proportion to the smallness and unimportance of the matters in question. With fear and trembling, therefore, I venture to propound my own secret heresy in a small matter of taste, and to avow that St. Peter's, the great cathedral of St. Peter, appears to me a great architectural failure. The parts are magnificent, and the whole of no effect, by reason of the magnificence of the parts. They divide the effect, distract the attention of the spectator, and prevent any adequate impression from the first view of the structure, so vast as a whole. The spectator only views it piecemeal, not as one mass. We all know that St. Paul's, with its dome, could stand inside of St. Peter's; yet the impression of St. Paul's on the spectator is so much greater, that it is with difficulty, and upon consideration and comparison only, that he admits the dimensions of the fabric, and especially of the dome, to be so greatly inferior to St. Peter's; and he finds the dome of St. Paul's far more impressive and grand than that of St. Peter's, both in the near and in the distant view, both inside and outside. The reason I imagine to be, that the dome of St. Paul's is simple, without accompaniment; the spectator sees it, and it alone; and receives its full impression undisturbed, without, by any superfluity of parts, or within, by any profusion of ornament. St. Peter's, again, is overloaded in the exterior by so many accompaniments of pillars, colonnades, and ornaments, that the mind receives no undivided impression from it as a whole. The inside, with its silk hangings, brilliant paintings, polished marble pillars, statues, gold and silver altar ornaments, is like a peep

into a child's penny show-box. All is tinsel and glitter ; neither the eye nor the mind takes it in as a whole ; but views it in detail, and, from the multiplicity and splendour of the parts, with a kind of painful distraction. You stand under the dome of St. Paul's with an undivided feeling of awe. You cross and recross St. Peter's before you are led to look up at all, so many other objects press upon your notice ; and when you do, it is from comparison and reflection, not from immediate impression, that you arrive at the conclusion, that it must be very vast and sublime ; and that you ought to feel its grandeur, but somehow you don't.

An important principle in the fine arts, and in literary composition, is involved in this superior effect, produced by the inferior structure of St. Paul's in consequence of the simplicity and unobtrusiveness of its accompaniments or parts.

I have read or heard somewhere, that architects admit that St. Peter's appears less than it is at first sight ; but that this is its great perfection, as this impression of its smallness is produced by the just and perfect proportion of all its parts. But, with all submission to architects and artists, this is sheer jargon. Architecture, in common with sculpture and painting, addresses itself to the mind through the sense of sight, and its end and object is to impress the mind with feelings of the beauty, grandeur, or sublimity of the object it produces. Now what kind of perfection of proportion is that, by which a building fails of this object of architecture ; and by which, material, labour, and talent are expended in order to make a building appear less, and to produce an inferior impression on the mind, through the sense of sight, to that which it might do ? The end and object of piling all these stones upon each other, was to produce at first sight impressions of sublimity, grandeur, or beauty upon the mind of the beholders. To send them home to reflect, calculate, and compare, in order to arrive at a just impression of the magnitude and sublimity of St. Peter's, is not the object of architecture as a fine art. The same quantity of stones and human labour in any shape, would, upon consideration and reflection, produce this after thought impression. To call that a just and perfect proportion, which fails in the end and object of the art, is the entailed nonsense of artists handed down from one generation to another, and adopted as hereditary undeniable axioms. In the fine arts, as in politics, many people can only see out of their neighbour's spectacles.

Rome is not quite so populous as Edinburgh. It contains 158,678 inhabitants. About a century ago, viz. in July, 1714, the inhabitants were found to amount to 143,000; but the Jews, not being human beings at that time in the estimation of the church, and who amount to 8000 or 9000, were not included in that enumeration. The number of ecclesiastics in the present population is 5267; viz. 1478 secular clergy, 2208 monks, or persons belonging to monastic establishments, and 1581 nuns. About a century ago, the whole ecclesiastical population was reckoned at 6285, and 1814 nuns. The houses of the middle and lower classes are four or five stories high, containing several families under one roof, with one common entry and stairs; and the streets are narrow, dirty, and without foot pavement. The Canongate and Cowgate of Edinburgh give a good idea of the ordinary streets of Rome. Half or more of the area within the walls is not occupied with buildings, and probably never was built upon. It entered into the principle of the military fortification of cities before the invention of gunpowder, to leave such a space as would protect the citizens inhabiting the centre from missiles, and would also furnish room and fodder for a day or two, for sheep or cattle driven upon an alarm within the walls. The enormous extent of walls around ancient cities, in some Eastern remains, of many leagues in circuit, is by no means an indication, as antiquarians consider it, of an enormous resident population; but merely of the numbers of men who, from without as well as from within, and from a circle possibly of several leagues from the city, could be raised to man the walls on the approach of a besieging army. The fortifications constructing round Paris are laid out upon this old principle.

The expenditure of the large incomes of the nobility and high clergy resident in Rome, and of the revenues of the Papal States, estimated to be about 1,800,000 pounds sterling, and of which the greater proportion is laid out in Rome itself, every thing being centralised in this city, and the considerable sums, besides, expended by strangers, should make Rome one of the wealthiest cities in the world, for this expenditure among her population has been going on for ages within her walls. Yet no city, except Naples, displays so much poverty and misery, and has so many wretched idle people wandering about in it. They live each in his station, beggar or banker, thief or prince, upon this money that is passing through. They breed up to the subsistence it gives, each in his station; are numerous enough to keep

each other poor ; and they do not labour. A people are not rich by the amount of money passing through their country ; but by the amount of their own productive labour. Spain was, and Rome is, an example of the little benefit idle people derive from the mere unproductive receipt and expenditure of money among them. They breed up to the amount, and are as poor as when the amount was small. Productive industry is the only capital which enriches a people, and spreads national prosperity and wellbeing. "In all labour there is profit," says Solomon. What is the science of Political Economy but a dull sermon on this text?

The seven hills of ancient Rome have been such elevations of alluvial formation as now exist on both sides of the river-valley of the Tyber a little higher up, and which on the left bank terminate at the Capitoline and Palatine hills. These seven hills have been eminences of from 50 to 150 feet high above the river-plain ; and although the ruins of buildings and degradation of soil during so many ages must have reduced their original height, they are still very good town hills, as well marked in Rome, as Ludgate Hill, Holborn Hill, Snow Hill, or Tower Hill, in London. The houses do not entirely hide the natural features of ground. The Capitol is still a considerable eminence upon the ground plan of the city. The accumulation of earth at the basis of these elevations has been very partial. In some places the ancient pavements, as that of the Via Sacra, are upon the present surface. In other places the soil has accumulated several feet. The correct inference perhaps should be, that the sites, and ground around the ancient buildings, and the ancient streets themselves, never were levelled. The natural hollows of the ground were built upon or paved upon, and these have been overlaid irregularly by accumulations of soil. The difference of level between the Forum and the Capitol can never have been very different from the present, as we see the old bottom level of the Forum in the pavement, and it can scarcely have been so great as between the Castle of Edinburgh and the Grassmarket. A fall from the Tarpeian rock might have broken a man's neck sufficiently well, if the ground below was clear, and originally it was perhaps hollowed out, or naturally lower, as ground at the foot of a steep precipice usually is. The Tyber is a muddy or rather clayey stream, as yellow and thick as the water of a clay-pit in a brick-field. It is deep and rapid, but not wide, the bridge of St. Angelo crossing it in three small arches, with two



others having water only occasionally under them. It is deep and rapid enough to have been a good natural defence on one side for a town, and the population has always been principally on the left bank, between the river and the hills or eminences included within the walls.

What is there in the situation of this city, upon and around some small eminences on a plain by the side of a small river, which could give her that mastery over the neighbouring little states and towns, that led to the subjugation of Italy, and of the known world? Some principle in the physical advantages of the position of this city must have occasioned the continued advance of its power. The only very obvious advantage is, that the inhabitants of this position had a constant supply of water, had a defensible retreat on these hills, protected on one side by a river not fordable, and had the command of the whole plain of the Campagna, as a cavalry-power acting from a centre. The other cities and states conquered in the early period of the Roman progress were all situated, probably for the sake of drinkable water, among the hills which skirt the Campagna, and could only draw their forage, pasturage, and even their bread-corn, from this plain, the higher grounds around it being more adapted for vines and olive-trees than grain crops. Rome, from the hour of her foundation, occupied the best natural position for defence and aggression, had under her eye and command the routes up to the higher grounds by which the supplies of grain and forage of the other little states must pass, and they could only march into the Campagna with cavalry, or deploy troops in it, by a few routes known and seen from Rome. The amalgamation of every little rival city with Rome, and the voluntary removal of the inhabitants to Rome, indicate that her position commanded their military movement and food. Their supply of water has evidently not been so permanent and certain as that of Rome; and their forage and grain more exposed to destruction.

Here, as in every site of early inhabitation, water appears to have been the mother of society. Water has been the first of the common gifts of nature to all human beings, which has been claimed and appropriated by individuals. Water has been property long before land was appropriated, and it must, from the first day of the existence of the human race, have in the greater part of the world been appropriated by a community exclusively to themselves; and its use, from the first, been subject to laws

and regulations, as a property vested in the community, and not in any individuals of it. Civilisation, society, government, law, appear to have originated in those countries which are partially watered, that is, have water only at certain watering-places on great rivers, or at perpetual springs; but have it not at all seasons generally in the land. Necessity must, from the first day of human existence, have led men to congregate at those particular watering spots, and to appropriate them, as a society, to their own peculiar use. In those countries in which water is abundant every where and at all seasons—as in North America—no such natural want has forced men into social union, and they still wander uncivilised, unconnected, and without government or law, unless to the extent that self-defence obliges them to unite in nomade tribes. Civilisation comes to such countries from without by their subjugation, or their intercourse with more civilised people. Civilisation itself has arisen from the necessity of supplying a natural want—has sprung from the waters. In India, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Mexico, the earliest civilised countries of the old and new continents, and those in which men have first congregated in societies, water, from the very nature of the countries, must have been appropriated, and been a cause of law, government, and regulation from the very first day of the existence of human beings in them. I conceive this to be a more reasonable conjecture upon the progress of man to social union and government, than the fanciful theory adopted by philosophers, of men passing through three distinct stages, from the hunter state to the shepherd state, from the shepherd state to the agricultural, and thence to the appropriation of land, and the adoption of law and government. There is no tendency of, nor motive for, men in any one of these states to pass into the other. The hunter and shepherd require the range of a hundred hills. Society, or even neighbourhood, is adverse to their subsistence. We see, in fact, that in North America and in Asia, people in the hunter or shepherd state never have got beyond that state.

If we consider the remains of ancient art, the cyclopean walls in Italy and Greece of an age prior to the Etruscan, and long prior to the Roman or the Grecian, the mounds of earth containing sculptured remains and gold ornaments of races of men forgotten even by tradition, which are found in the forests of America, and in the steppes of Asia—and, above all, if we consider the intellectual remains of former civilisation, more im-

perishable than the material, the structure, and relations of the religion, and of the languages of the rudest tribes, connecting them with a state of great mental development in those who first constructed those systems, we must come to the conclusion that the shepherd and hunter states are the retrograde, and not the progressive steps of the human race from one stage of civilisation to another, that the wandering uncivilised tribes of mankind now in the hunter or shepherd state, in America and Asia, are the expiring remnants of an earlier civilisation, and of varieties of our species which have originally stood on a far higher material and intellectual grade of social existence than at present.

It is no idle speculation to inquire into the origin of property. Hundred-weights of books have been written on subjects less important. Is the right of property derived from society? Does the individual derive his right to appropriate, to *individualise* a portion of land, water, or other of the common gifts of nature to the human species, from a previously existing right of the whole community to that property, and to parcel and grant it out to its several individual members, under regulations and conditions for the general good of the community? Or is society derived from the right of property? Have social union, law, and government, originated from individuals seizing on, and appropriating to their own exclusive use, portions of the common gift of nature for the subsistence of the species, and then meeting, and forming society for the mutual defence, by arms, law, and government, of their individualised property? Idle as such questions or speculations may appear, they are not without their practical application at the present day. The right of every man to do with his own as he likes, and the right of a government to interfere, either in the use and application of property, or in the general arrangement of property in the social economy of a country—as, for instance, to alter the distribution of the land by abolishing the rights of primogeniture in heritage—depend, in the abstract, upon this question—is society instituted for the protection of previously existing rights of property, or is property derived from previously existing rights vested in society?

What was the real amount of civilisation among the ancient Romans, understanding by civilisation the physical and moral good enjoyed by the mass of the community? This must not be measured by their literature, architecture, and statuary.

The state of the fine arts in a country is usually taken as the measure of the civilisation of its inhabitants; but it is altogether a fallacious test, for a taste for the fine arts, and great perfection in them, may exist with great barbarism. The Russian noble at the present day makes his slaves perform difficult pieces of music, or copy with wonderful precision the paintings of the best masters—just as the Roman artists, many of them slaves also, copied the Grecian—yet without the slightest advance of the operative, or of the community around him, in the comforts and conveniences of civilised life, by the effect of his labour. The buildings, baths, fish-ponds, statues, the amphitheatres, and temples of ancient Rome, belonged either to the public, or to a very small master-class in the community, and the population which produced them was not in any degree benefited, that is, raised to a higher physical or moral condition, by their own labour. This is the great and essential difference between slave labour and free labour. The slave labourer may be, and no doubt very often is as well fed, clothed, and taken care of, as the free labourer. The American slave-owner, the old West Indian planter, the Russian noble, tell us so, and many travellers confirm their account. But the labour of the slave does not tend to raise his condition. It carries no improvement in it upon his moral state. His physical state, even when it is equal in comfort and wellbeing to that of the free labourer, is not the fruit of his own labour. His civilisation is not advanced by his industry. The public works, theatres, and works even of utility, and the agriculture itself of the Romans, appear to have been all carried on for the gratification and use of a small master-class, by the animal power of men working in slavery, and suffering in slavery. The saving of labour—an object which has led to the perfection of labour in all the useful arts in our state of society—was no object in their state of society. All was done by slaves, and great multitudes of them at command, and by overseers or freed men entertained about the families of the great. Any thing may be produced, if waste of time, labour, human life, and happiness, be left out of the estimate of the cost of production. But this is not civilisation, although a country may be filled by it with temples, arches, statues, and amphitheatres. There is this radical difference between the civilisation of the fine arts, and the civilisation of the useful arts—the taste for the fine arts is gratified by the simple *recipience of the senses*. The individual is quiescent in receiv-

ing his gratification. The taste is principally a gift of nature, connected with the organisation of the individual, cultivated with little trouble, and to be enjoyed in slavery or in freedom. No exertion of his, or very little, is required to enable him to enjoy fine music, fine paintings, fine statuary, and no benefit to others is involved in his enjoyment. But the taste for the products of the useful arts can only be gratified in freedom, and by free exertion, mental and bodily, of the individual in a free social state. Industry, forethought, and social co-operation, besides the free use of property, are all necessary to enable the individual to gratify, or even form his taste for the useful arts, even in their most simple applications, as in his clothing, lodging, furniture.

The importance of the fine arts as humanising influences in society have been much over-rated. Such objects and tastes as belong to the fine arts are necessarily confined to the highest ranks of the community. No other class of society was thought of by scholars at the revival of literature and of a knowledge of the fine arts. It was the public, it was the sole patron of intellectual merit; and what influenced or gratified this small class which scarcely extended beyond the court circle of the monarch, was raised to exaggerated importance, and made a standard for all excellence; and the prejudice continues to this day. But in reality the great mass of society, the most moral, influential, and intellectual, and in every sense the most civilised portion of it in Europe, the middle classes, never, generally speaking, saw an object of the fine arts in their lives, have no taste for any of the fine arts, unless as these may be connected with their trades and occupations. Unless the fine arts are carried on as useful arts, that is, as trades repaying free independent industry, they neither add to, nor denote civilisation in a community; and then they add to it less than the useful arts, because from their nature they employ less industry. They depend entirely on the individual, on his single talent or genius, or execution alone; the useful arts on the co-operation of many individuals. Music, painting, statuary, and architecture, as far as it is a fine art distinct from masonry, employ but the head and hand of the one artist. If the humanising influences of the fine and the useful arts may be measured by the civilisation of those who cultivate them, the professors of the fine arts stand, as a class in society, below, in morality and intelligence, the class of manufacturers or **merchants** engaged in the production or circulation of the objects

of the useful arts. If the comparative influence on civilisation of the fine and the useful arts be measured by the state of society most favourable to their development, we find that it is only under despotic governments that the money, labour, and time of the community can be concentrated, and commanded into the production of objects of the fine arts ; and it is under free government only, and the security of property and its wide diffusion in society, that the useful arts prosper.

The amount of independent industry in a country, that is, of the free labour, bodily or mental, which the labourer exchanges for his own gratifications, physical and moral, seems to be the true measure of its civilisation, and not its temples, palaces, statues, pictures, music. Can Bavaria be compared to Scotland in the enjoyments of civilised life by all the community, although the country is drained and squeezed to produce the frippery in the fine arts which adorns Munich ? The ancient Romans, as a people, have enjoyed little of this independent industry, as the mass of the working producing population was in slavery. They wanted those objects of the acquired tastes which both give employment to and are the gratifications of industry in modern society. Annihilate in Europe, as gratifications generally diffused, and as incentives to industry, the use of silk, cotton, linen, and shoe-leather for ordinary clothing materials, the use of sugar, coffee, tea, tobacco, distilled liquors, spices, and our ten-thousand other modern stimulants or condiments for the gratification of the palate, the use of glass for the eyes, of steam and all machinery for the hands, of books, sciences, knowledge, religion for the mind, and leave only bread, wine, oil, and wool, as the main materials on which industry is employed, slave labour as the means of production, and triumphal arches, temples, amphitheatres, statues, public games, and spectacles of gladiators killing each other and of wild beasts tearing to pieces slaves—as the intellectual gratifications—and we get probably pretty near to a just idea of the civilisation of the mass of the people of ancient Rome in the most flourishing period of the fine arts.



## CHAPTER XVI.

THE POPE'S BENEDICTION—VATICAN LIBRARY.—TOMB OF CLEMENT XIII.—HORSES OF MONTE CAVALLO.—ANCIENT AND MODERN SCULPTURE.

THE pope's benediction of the people, from a balcony on the outside of St. Peter's, is a fine sight. Troops, body-guards, yeomen in red and yellow clothing of the costume of Henry VIII.'s time, splendid equipages, gaudily dressed servants, ladies, officers of all countries, monks, priests in great variety and contrast of habiliments, a moving mass of uniforms, feathers, and lace, and an assemblage of 30,000 people, not wedged into a tight, immovable heap, but undulating in the vast area in front of St. Peter's, form a very fine sight—very fine to talk about afterwards—but, to say the truth, a little tedious to wait upon. Sight-seeing is the traveller's dull duty.

The illumination of the cupola of St. Peter's, which took place the same evening, is also a fine sight—and is really a magnificent effort of art. The outline of the dome, the ribs, belts, windows, and all that would be drawn with the pencil 'in an outline sketch, are first illuminated in the early part of the evening with a steady but not brilliant light. This is the finest effect in the scene. The cupola looks like some vast thing suspended from the heavens. The lines of light give its form, and all between them is in utter darkness. On the first stroke of eight o'clock the lights start instantaneously into brilliancy, and all is brightness and dazzle. They have changed in figure as well as in splendour, and now form belts of diamond-shaped forms round the dome. This magically quick change—done while the first three strokes of eight are striking—is effected by a number of exercised people, one to every fifty lights, with blinds and cordage, to unveil them at once. The effect of all this glare is not so fine as before. The flickering of the lamps destroy the delusion—it is no longer a distant steady light suspended from heaven, but a huge chandelier upon the ground. It is altogether a sight worth seeing. The pageantry of the holy week concluded with a grand display of fire-works from the castle of St. Angelo. But fire-works are poor things. What is a sky-rocket to the

lightning? or a Catherine wheel fizzing upon a wall, over a yellow, muddy stream, to the silent moon hanging over the wide Atlantic?

Of all the tombs in the world, the Vatican library is the most impressive. What labours of mind, what hopes, fears, excitements, irritations repose here! The good, the bad, the dull, the bright, wisdom, folly, the poet's inspirations, the philosopher's speculations, the historian's researches—all the workings of the human intellect for ages sleep on these shelves, preserved, yet forgotten! In this cemetery of the mind, as in that of the body, the tomb is of more value than what it encloses. The decoration of the rooms, the bookcases, the vast extent of librarian-palace—palace in size and magnificence—make this the most princely establishment in the world. It is an establishment for show, and forming part of the suitable splendour of the head of the Catholic church, not a library for use. You see no books, the bookcases having doors of fine wood well locked; no readers, no catalogues: you must believe, because you are told that all the literary productions of every age, worth preserving, are entombed in these magnificent rooms. We are told many things harder to be believed than this.

You go to the library and galleries of the Vatican through a long gallery, in which a vast number of ancient inscriptions, on tombstones principally, are arranged on each side, and built into the walls. From the rude, irregular way in which the letters are cut in ancient Roman inscriptions, even upon triumphal arches, and under statues and such important objects, it must be inferred that people of the middle class among the Romans, the architects, sculptors, and the mass of the people who employed them, or saw their works, were not generally acquainted with the use of letters, with writing and reading. The letters of inscriptions, even upon objects of importance, are rudely shaped, of unequal sizes, with frequent omissions among them, with the words sometimes running into each other, sometimes with intervals in the middle, as if two distinct words; the lines not straight—in short, such work as a stone-cutter would make at the present day, in copying the strokes of an inscription laid before him, without his having any knowledge of their use as letters; and such work as only a public unacquainted with the use of letters would tolerate upon objects of art of the highest perfection. It is probable that the sculptor of the Minerva did not know his A, B, C. Great perfection in execution in sculpture,

painting, and music, is not incompatible with gross ignorance. Phidias may have been as unlettered as a Russian slave. A common millwright, to exercise his trade, must be able to read, write, calculate and think. The one is the civilisation of the fine arts, the other of the useful arts.

In St. Peter's, a tomb of Clement XIII., the work of Canova, attracts the general admiration of the travelling world, or rather the figures of a Muse, Genius, or somebody of that family, reclining upon a beautifully sleeping lion, on one side of the pediment, the figures of the size of life; and on the other side of it, a full length female of the same family, with a ditto also sleeping most naturally; and on the top sits the Pope in marble, in full costume, as good as alive, and as large. The figure of the reclining genius, and the sleepiness of the lion, are, beyond doubt, wonderfully fine, and well expressed: but where is the beauty or grandeur of conception, in putting a fine naked figure reclining, *tout à son aise*, upon a wild beast fast asleep? The beauty of the execution cannot redeem the poverty of the conception. What is there in the idea and combination, grand, poetical, agreeable, natural, or comprehensible? The parts and execution may be ever so exquisite, the idea is common-place, weak, unpoetical, and worthless. I admire this work, therefore, not as an effort of mind and imagination; but of chisel and mallet. In contrast with this finely executed piece of sculpture, and in that respect worthy of all admiration, look at the horses of the Monte Cavallo. These are pieces of ancient sculpture, ascribed, but without any sufficient reason, to Phidias, and Praxiteles. The horses are like nothing equine. Their necks are thicker than their bodies. If such shaped horses ever existed, they must have been a cross between a Berkshire pig and a Shetland pony. Yet what fire, what life, what poetry in the attitudes of these uncouth animal-bodies in the act, apparently, of dashing over a precipice! The very unwieldiness itself of the shapes, brings out the energy of the attitudes. And the human figures, the Castor and Pollux, top-heavy figures like boatswain's mates, all head and arm, and breadth of shoulder above, and no corresponding breadth of loin, or buttock, or thighs and legs, to support such upper works of men—yet their attitudes, and grouping with those hippopotami-like horses, are poetical, are grand, and give grandeur and effect to the parts. In Canova's work, the parts give the value to the conception: here the conception throws its grandeur over the parts. Who thinks

here of the finish, and artistical execution ? If fine forms of men and horses were the things intended by these ancient sculptors, they have, in truth, succeeded marvellously ill. But evidently these poet-artists never intended to give a fac-simile of a horse down to his shoe nails, and of a man down to his epaulettes and pigtail. They give an idea, like the poet's, made out in part, and in no more completeness than enables the imagination of the reader or spectator to work out the rest. The heads of the horses, the feet in the air, have the last touch of art ; these parts live, and are in all the energy of action. The rest is in sketch, is purposely blocked out only. The spectator's own mind throws over the whole work the spirit, character, and energetic action of the heads. Canova's work in this tomb proceeds upon a different principle—the very embroidery on the hem of the Pope's garment is carefully made out—the tailor who sewed it might depone to every stitch—and, with what I humbly conceive to be a littleness of taste, a corner of the robe is brought over the ledge of the pedestal, to show the fidelity of the representation of the piece of cloth. Those ancient sculptors have not put even bits or bridles on their magnificent horse-heads. The attitude and fire of what is represented, tell that these horse-like animals are in the act of springing, but are restrained. The attitudes of the human figures tell that they restrain. Buckles and bridles are purposely left out ; because unnecessary to convey their conceptions in all their force to the spectator's mind. In modern sculpture, these minute details would be laboriously brought in, and exquisitely finished ; overloading the conception intended to be conveyed, and weakening its impression. This appears to be the great difference between ancient and modern sculptures. The ancients were poets in the art, and philosophers, who had analysed the principles on which effect is produced, as well as great practical artists. In practical excellence in the art, in expressing physical beauty and grace of attitude in the female or the male figure, Canova, and the school of Canova, perhaps, equal the ancients. The Venus of Canova is equal, in the estimation of many, to the Venus de Medici, as a representation of ideal beauty and grace ; but neither of these great works of art represent mind. Physical beauty and grace of attitude in the utmost ideal perfection is all they aim at. The Niobe, the Aristides at Naples, the Moses of Michael Angelo, and many busts here, *belong to a higher class of composition than the works which merely express the perfections of shape, form, and attitudes of .*

the human body, which are called beauty and grace. They express also mental power, intelligence, working of mind, energy. In this class of works, the modern school of sculpture has productions not sufficiently estimated ; as, for instance, the basso-relievo by Tenerani of two Christians, a brother and sister, exposed to a tiger in the Flavian amphitheatre. The expression of devotion and resignation mingled with fear, in the two principal figures, is great. The tiger and the slave letting him out of his den, are superfluous in the composition, as the story tells itself in the expression of the two principal figures. The Laocoon is considered one of the finest productions of the art of sculpture ; because it represents not merely physical perfection of the human frame in action, but the physical sufferings. It does so. The countenance and whole attitude and frame of Laocoon express the utmost agony of bodily pain ; but the Niobe cowering over her child in the attitude to hide or cover it, the Aristides speaking with dignity and energy, are works of a higher class, expressing mental suffering or acting. The false object of almost all modern sculptors to attain in their statues the highest *ideal* of physical beauty and grace, has the consequence, that in proportion as they approach the ideal, they lose the natural. They lose all individuality. The figures round the tomb of an Indian Begum, might do for Minervas, or Hebes, or Venuses, or Madonnas, or whatever the artist may choose to call them, by merely hanging about them the appropriate ornaments and appendages. The heads, figures, attitudes, and expression will do for any thing. In modern painting and statuary, what you see, are a few Grecian figures performing a scene. They are actors of all work. Walk on to the next piece of canvass, or piece of marble, you find the same countenances, the same figures, attitudes, costumes, and expression, representing persons, events, or conceptions of a totally different character, age, country, and people. Raphael gives you a touch of reality in his most ideal figures. They are each of them individualised. In the fresco painting, for instance, of a Venus pleading to Jupiter, in the Farnese palace, there is reverence, mingled with anxiety and grace, in the countenance of the pleading figure—and it is an individual's face and form. It is not the faultless, inexpressive Grecian countenance, belonging to a class rather than an individual, such as represents Venus in the works of other painters.

<sup>A</sup> pollos, Venuses, Apostles, Madonnas have, in fact become, both **marble** and on canvass, conventional figures, which the spec

tator refers not, to any natural type of the beautiful within his own feeling, nor to any individualisation of nature's excellences ; but to an acquired taste—a taste which a century ago would have represented, and have admired an Apollo in a full-bottomed wig, and a Venus in a hoop-petticoat and flounces ; and now represents and admires them in costumes, attitudes, and style of countenances, quite as widely apart from the natural in any human beings we recognise, or have fellow-feeling with. Until sculptors and painters emancipate themselves, as our poets have done, from this classical imitation and prestige, and follow natural instead of conventional types, as Michael Angelo and Raphael have done, the sign-painter and gingerbread-baker may claim brotherhood in their arts.



## CHAPTER XVII.

## CHURCH OF ROME—CATHOLICISM AND PROTESTANTISM.

THE power of ancient Rome in the meridian of her glory was not so wonderful as her subsequent and her present dominion over the mind of man. Physical power we can understand. We see its growth. We see its cause along with its effect. We see armies in front, and civil authority in rear. But this moral power, this government over the mind, extending through regions more vast and distant than ever the Roman arms conquered, is the most extraordinary phenomenon in human history. The papist claims it as a proof of the Divine origin and truth of his doctrine. The Protestant and the philosopher inquire what principles of human origin give this power over the minds of men such wonderful extension and durability. To compare the machinery of each establishment, the Catholic and Protestant, the means by which each of these churches works upon the human mind—an inquiry altogether distinct from any investigation or comparison of the scriptural foundations of their different doctrines—would be a noble subject for the philosopher and historian, and one belonging strictly to metaphysical and political science, not to theology. It would bring out many of the most hidden springs of mental action, would elucidate many of those great moral influences which have agitated nations, and which are sometimes dormant but never extinct in society; and would explain some of the most important historical events and social arrangements of Europe. A few observations upon the present state and working of the machinery of each church, as they appear to the traveller in passing through Catholic and Protestant lands, may turn the attention perhaps of the philosophic inquirer to this vast and curious subject.

Catholicism has certainly a much stronger hold over the human mind than Protestantism. The fact is visible and undeniable, and perhaps not unaccountable. The fervour of devotion among these Catholics, the absence of all worldly feelings in their religious acts, strike every traveller who enters a Roman Catholic church abroad. They seem to have no reserve, no false shame, false pride, or whatever the feeling may be, which

among us Protestants, makes the individual exercise of devotion private, hidden—an affair of the closet. Here, and every where in Catholic countries, you see well-dressed people, persons of the higher as well as of the lower orders, on their knees upon the pavement of the church, totally regardless of, and unregarded by the crowd of passengers in the aisles moving to and fro. I have Christian charity enough to believe, and I do not envy that man's mind who does not believe that this is quite sincere devotion, and not hypocrisy, affectation, or attempt at display. It is so common, that none of these motives could derive the slightest gratification from the act—not more than a man's vanity could be gratified by his appearing in shoes, or a hat, where all wear the same. In no Protestant place of worship do we witness the same intense abstraction in prayer, the same unaffected devotion of mind. The beggar-woman comes in here and kneels down by the side of the princess, and evidently no feeling of intrusion suggests itself in the mind of either. To the praise of the papists be it said, no worldly distinctions, of human rights of property, much less money payment for places in a place of worship, appear to enter into their imaginations. Their churches are God's houses, open alike to all his rational creatures, without distinction of high or low, rich or poor. All who have a soul to be saved come freely to worship. They have no family pews, no seats for genteel souls, and seats for vulgar souls. Their houses of worship are not let out, like theatres, or opera-houses, or Edinburgh kirks, for money rents for the sittings. The public mind is evidently more religionised than in Protestant countries. Why should such strong devotional feeling be more widely diffused and more conspicuous among people holding erroneous doctrines, than among us Protestants holding right doctrines? This question can only be solved by comparing the machinery of each church.

Although our doctrine be right, our church-machinery, that is, our clerical establishment, is not so effective, and perhaps from the very reason that our doctrine is right, cannot be so effective as that of the Catholics. In the popish church, the clergyman is more of a sacred character than it is possible to invest him with in our Protestant church, and more cut off from all worldly affairs. It is very up-hill work in the church of England, and still more so in the church of Scotland, for the clergyman to *impress his flock with the persuasion that he is a better man and more able to instruct them, than any other equally pious and*

equally well-educated man in the parish, whose worldly circumstances have given him equal opportunity and leisure to cultivate his mind ; and in every parish, owing to the diffusion of knowledge, good education, and religious feeling, among our upper and middle classes, there are now such men. The Scotch country clergyman in this generation does not, as in the last, stand in the position of being the only regularly educated, enlightened, religious man perhaps in his whole congregation. He has also the cares of a family, of a housekeeping, of a glebe in Scotland, of tithe in England, and, in short, the business and toils, the motives of action, and objects of interest that other men have. It is difficult, or in truth impossible in our state of society, to impress on his flock that he is in any way removed from their condition, from their failings or feelings ; and it would be but a delusion if he succeeded, for he is a human being in the same position with themselves, under the influences of the same motives and objects with themselves in his daily life.

The machinery of the Roman Catholic church is altogether different, and produces a totally different result. The clergyman is entirely separated from individual interests, or worldly objects of ordinary life, by his celibacy. This separates him from all other men. Be their knowledge, their education, their piety, what it will, they belong to the rest of mankind in feelings, interests, and motives of action, he to a peculiar class. His avarice, his ambition, or whatever evil passions may actuate him, lie all within his own class, and bring him into no comparison or collision with other men. The restriction of celibacy led, no doubt, to monstrous disorder and depravity in the age preceding the Reformation—an age, however, in which gross licentiousness of conduct and language seems to have pervaded all society—but it is a vulgar prejudice to suppose that the Catholic clergy of the present times, are not as pure and chaste in their lives as the unmarried of the female sex among ourselves. Instances may occur of a different character, but quite as rarely as among an equal number of our unmarried females in Britain of the higher educated classes. The restriction itself of celibacy is unnatural, and in our church is properly done away with, because we receive the elements of the Lord's Supper as symbolical only, not as being any thing else than bread and wine, in virtue of the priestly consecration. The papists, who receive the elements as transubstantiated by the consecration, require very naturally and properly, that the priest should be of a sanctified class, removed

from human impurity, contamination, or sensual lusts, as well as from all worldly affairs, as far as human nature can by human means be. Both churches are right, and consequent in their usage and reasoning, according to their different doctrines. The Puseyites of the church of England alone are inconsequent; for if they claim apostolic succession, and apostolic reverence and authority for the clerical body, they should lead the apostolic life of celibacy, and repudiate their worldly spouses, interests, and objects.

But our Scotch clergy, placed by the Reformation in such a totally different religious position as to the nature of their function, are wrong in expecting a peculiar veneration, and in challenging a peculiar sanctity for their order. As a sacred order, or class, they ceased to exist, or to have influence founded upon any sound religious grounds, when the distinction which made them a peculiar class in the eyes and feelings of mankind, the distinction in their sacramental function, and consequent separation in all worldly affairs between their class and other men, ceased and was removed. The veneration and sanctity which each individual works out for himself by his personal character and conduct in his clerical functions alone remained. As a member of an order, he could take nothing, and *de facto* receives nothing. Superior education, and the prestige from Catholic times, kept up a lingering distinction in our Scotch country parishes in the last generation; but it seems a hopeless claim now in an educated age, for members of a profession not better educated than men of other professions, not separated by any peculiar exclusive religious function from the ordinary business, interests, motives, and modes of living of other well-conducted men, to obtain a separate status in society, analogous to that of the popish clergy. They have an elevated, and if they will so apply the word, a sacred duty to perform along with the ordinary duties of life; but they form no distinct sacred class, or corporation, like the tribe of Levi among the Israelites, or like the Catholic clergy among the papists, having religious duties or functions which none can perform but its members, and to which they are essential. Some of our clergy in Scotland in the present day would insinuate that they are, by virtue of their ordination, or of their duties, a sacred order or class in the community; but this is a papistical pretension so entirely exploded by our Reformation, that those of the Scotch church who make it are afraid to speak out. The genuine spirit of Calvinism, as adopted by the Scotch

people, acknowledges no such order of priesthood, admits no such principle. A presbytery has no claim, like the Roman Catholic bishops, to sacred apostolic power of ordination. Their examinations and licenses regard only the education, moral and religious character, and fitness of the individual to become a preacher in the established state-church, and to serve that particular charge to which he is called; but confer no spiritual gifts, no peculiar sacred powers; and for the good reason, that, in our presbyterian faith, no such gifts or powers are reserved for one class of men more than another; but scriptural knowledge, piety, sanctity, and all religious gifts, powers, advantages, and abilities, stand equally open to all men, to be attained through faith, and their Bibles. As an influential machine in society, our clerical establishment cannot therefore, from its nature, have such power over the mind as the Roman Catholic priesthood. The latter appears also to have taken up a new and more efficient position since the settlement of Europe after the revolutionary war. Catholicism has had its revival—and its priesthood has used it adroitly.

By the French revolution many of the most glaring and revolting abuses of the Roman Catholic church were abolished. In no Catholic country, for instance, not even in Rome, is the interference of the church or the clergy, in the private concerns, or civil affairs, opinions, or doings of individuals, at all tolerated. Its establishments, and powers discordant with the civil authority, have every where been abrogated. Monks and nuns are no longer very numerous, except in Rome and Naples, and are nowhere a scandal; and the vast estates of these establishments have generally, over all the Continent, been, in the course of the last war, confiscated and sold to pay the public debt of the state. In Tuscany, for instance, of 202 monastic establishments; viz., 133 of monks, and 69 of nuns, only 40 remain with means for their future support and continuance, and 162 receive aid from government, until the existing members who survive the confiscation of their former estates die out. The rich Neapolitan monasteries have, in the same way, been reduced in wealth and numbers. In France and Germany, the Catholic clergy, in general, are by no means in brilliant circumstances. The obnoxious and useless growth of the Catholic church establishment has, in almost every country, been closely pruned; and their clergy are, in reality, worse provided for than the Protestant. The effects of the Revolution have been to reverse the position

of the clergy of the two churches; and to place the Catholic now on the vantage ground, in the eye of the vulgar of the continental populations, of being poor and sincere, while the Protestant clergy are at least comfortable, and well paid for their sincerity. The sleek, fat, narrow-minded, wealthy drone is now to be sought for on the episcopal bench, or on the prebendal stall of the Lutheran or Anglican churches; the well-off, comfortable parish minister, yeomanlike in mind, intelligence, and social position, in the manse and glebe of the Calvinistic church. The poverty-stricken, intellectual recluse, never seen abroad but on his way to or from his studies or church duties, living nobody knows how, but all know in the poorest manner, upon a wretched pittance in his obscure abode—and this is the popish priest of the 19th century—has all the advantage of position with the multitude for giving effect to his teaching.

Our clergy, especially in Scotland, have a very erroneous impression of the state of the popish clergy. In our country churches, we often hear them prayed for as men wallowing in luxury, and sunk in gross ignorance. This is somewhat injudicious, as well as uncharitable; for when the youth of their congregations, who, in this travelling age, must often come in contact abroad with the Catholic clergy so described, find them in learning, liberal views, and genuine piety, according to their own doctrines, so very different from the description and the describers, there will unavoidably arise comparisons in the minds, especially of females and young susceptible persons, by no means edifying, or flattering to their clerical teachers at home. Catholic priests and monks at the time of the Reformation, may have been all that our Scotch clergy fancy them still to be; but three centuries, a French revolution, and an incessant advance of intelligence in society, make a difference for the better or worse, in the spirit even of clerical corporations. Our churchmen should understand better the strength of a formidable adversary, who is evidently gaining ground but too fast upon our Protestant church, and who, in this age, brings into the field, zeal and purity of life equal to their own, and learning, a training in theological scholarship, and a general knowledge superior, perhaps, to their own. The education of the regular clergy of the Catholic church is, perhaps, positively higher, and, beyond doubt, comparatively higher than the education of the Scotch clergy. *By positively higher* is meant, that among a given number of popish and of Scotch clergy, a greater proportion



of the former will be found, who read with ease, and a perfect mastery, the ancient languages, Greek and Latin, and the Hebrew and the Eastern languages connected with that of the Old Testament—a greater number of profound scholars, a greater number of high mathematicians, and a higher average amount of acquired knowledge. Is it asked of what use to the preacher of the gospel is such obsolete worldly scholarship? The ready answer is, that if the parish minister of the Scotch church can no more read the works of the Evangelists, Apostles, and early Fathers easily and masterly in the original Greek, than any other man in the parish, knows them only from the translations and books in our mother tongue, to which every reading man in the parish has access as well as he, and if he has not had his mental faculties cultivated and improved by a long course of application to such studies as mathematics, the dead languages, scholastic learning, ancient doctrines in philosophy and morals, the ancient history of mind and men, and the laws of matter and intelligence as far as known to man, on what grounds does he challenge deference and respect for his opinions from us his parishioners? We are educated up to him. How can he instruct a congregation who know him to be as ignorant as themselves? Has the ordination of a presbytery conferred on the half-educated lad any miraculous gifts or knowledge? If he be as ignorant as his hearers of these higher branches of knowledge, which few have his leisure to arrive at, what is it he does know? What is the education, what the acquirements on which a presbytery, not better educated than himself, have examined and licensed him? He is like an apothecary ignorant of chemistry, compounding his medicines from a book of formulæ left in his shop by his predecessor, and without any knowledge of the nature and properties of the substances he is handling. It may be said that the standard of clerical education in Scotland at the present day, is as high as it ever was—as high as in any generation since the Reformation. It may be so; but if the public has become educated up to that standard, the clergy of the present day have lost the vantage ground of superior education and learning, and consequently of moral influence as teachers, as much as if the standard of clerical education had itself been lowered.

In the nature also, of our Presbyterian church service there is an element of decay of moral influence, produced by the general advance of society in education, intelligence, and reli-

gious knowledge. From the days of the Apostles to the Reformation, all instruction was oral, all knowledge was conveyed by word of mouth from the teacher to his pupils. But printing and the diffusion of books have reduced to insignificance this ancient mode of communicating knowledge, especially in abstract science. It is confined now to the branches of knowledge connected with natural substances, and the operations on them. Knowledge is imparted to the mind now, through the eye, not through the ear; and the book read, referred to, considered in the silence of the closet, has in all studies, sciences, public and private affairs, and intellectual acquirement, superseded, even in the universities, the duty and utility of the orator, lecturer, or speaker. Reading has reduced oral instruction to utter insignificance in pure science and in public affairs; and the ancient, but imperfect, mode of conveying information by word of mouth is banished to the nursery. The influence of the oral teacher naturally must decay along with the utility and importance of his occupation; and this principle of decay of the moral influence of oral tuition reaches the Presbyterian pulpit.

It is unfortunate, also, for the influence of the Scotch Calvinistic church, that its service consists exclusively of extemporary effusions or temporary compositions. These, composed in haste by men of moderate education, and often of small abilities, have to undergo the comparison, in the mind of an educated and reading congregation, with similar compositions, prayers, or sermons prepared carefully for the press, by the most able and learned divines. The moral influence resting solely on such a church service cannot be permanent. As a machinery, the English church is founded on a more lasting and influential basis; its established forms of prayer, unobjectionably good in themselves, not placing one minister or his compositions in competition with another, or with other similar compositions, in the public mind—the almost mechanical operation of reading the service well or ill, being all the comparison that can be made between two clergymen in the essential part of the church duty. The competition, also, or comparison of any other compositions of the same kind, however excellent, with the old liturgy, can never occur in the public mind in England; because the liturgy has use and wont, antiquity, repetition from childhood to old age in its favour, and is interwoven with the habits of the people by *these threads*, in all their religious exercises.

*The comparative education of the Scotch clergy of the present*

generation, that is to say, their education compared to that of the Scotch people, is unquestionably lower than that of the popish clergy compared to the education of their people. This is usually ascribed to the popish clergy seeking to maintain their influence and superiority, by keeping the people in gross ignorance. But this opinion of our churchmen seems more orthodox than charitable or correct. The popish clergy have in reality less to lose by the progress of education than our own Scotch clergy; because their pastoral influence and their church services, being founded on ceremonial ordinances, come into no competition or comparison whatsoever, in the public mind, with any thing similar that literature or education produce; and are not connected with the imperfect mode of conveying instruction, which, as education advances, becomes obsolete, and falls into disuse, and almost into contempt; although essential in our Scotch church. In Catholic Germany, in France, Italy, and even Spain, the education of the common people in reading, writing, arithmetic, music, manners, and morals, is at least as generally diffused, and as faithfully promoted by the clerical body, as in Scotland. It is by their own advance, and not by keeping back the advance of the people, that the popish priesthood of the present day seek to keep ahead of the intellectual progress of the community in Catholic lands; and they might, perhaps, retort on our presbyterian clergy, and ask if they, too, are in their countries at the head of the intellectual movement of the age? Education is in reality not only not repressed, but is encouraged by the popish church, and is a mighty instrument in its hands, and ably used. In every street in Rome, for instance, there are, at short distances, public primary schools for the education of the children of the lower and middle classes in the neighbourhood. Rome, with a population of 158,678 souls, has 372 public primary schools, with 482 teachers, and 14,099 children attending them. Has Edinburgh so many public schools for the instruction of those classes? I doubt it. Berlin, with a population about double that of Rome, has only 264 schools. Rome has also her university, with an average attendance of 660 students; and the Papal States, with a population of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions, contain seven universities. Prussia, with a population of 14 millions, has but seven. These are amusing statistical facts—and instructive as well as amusing—when we remember the boasting and glorying carried on a few years back, and even to this day, about the Prussian educational system for the people,

and the establishment of governmental schools, and enforcing by police regulation the school attendance of the children of the lower classes. France sent her philosophers on a pilgrimage to Berlin to study the manifold excellences of the Prussian school machinery, and to engraft them on her own "liberty of the people ;" and not a few of the most enlightened, liberal, and benevolent of our own upper classes, sighing over the supposed ignorance and vice of the multitude, wish that our government, even at the expense of a little demoralising constraint and infringement of the natural rights of parents, would take up the trade of teaching, make a monopoly of it as in Prussia, with a state-minister of public instruction to manage it, and enforce by law and regulation the consumpt of a certain quantity in every family, out of the government shops. Our statesmen were wiser than our philanthropists, or rather the common sense, and sense of their civil and moral rights among the people were more powerful than both ; and society with us has been wisely left by our legislature to educate itself up to its wants—a point beyond which no school-mastering can drive it with any useful moral or religious result, and up to which, as in all free action for meeting human wants, the demand will produce the supply. The statistical fact, that Rome has above a hundred schools more than Berlin, for a population little more than half of that of Berlin, puts to flight a world of humbug about systems of national education carried on by governments, and their moral effects on society. Is it asked, what is taught to the people of Rome by all these schools ?—precisely what is taught at Berlin, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, languages, religious doctrine of some sort, and, above all, the habit of passive submission in the one city to the clerical, in the other to the government authorities. The priesthood and the state functionaries well know that reading and writing are not thinking ; that these acquirements, and all the branches of useful knowledge besides, which can enter into the education of the common man in ordinary station, only increase his veneration for, and the social influence of that higher education which the mass of the community has no leisure to apply to, and which always must be confined to a few ; to a professional class. The flocks will follow the more readily for being trained, if the leaders only keep ahead of the crowd.

There is an evident reaction in the application of the old *maxim*, that superstition and despotism must be founded on

ignorance. In Austria, in Prussia, in Italy, it is found that school acquirements and knowledge do not necessarily involve thinking, and still less acting; that, on the contrary, they furnish distraction and excitement to the public mind, and turn it from deeply considering, or deeply feeling, real errors in religion, or practical grievances in civil life. Education is become the art of teaching men not to think. When a government, a priesthood, a corporate body of any kind, gets hold of the education of the people without competition, even in the most minute portion, as in a village school, this is invariably the result of their teaching.

It is not difficult to account for the great number of schools—consequently the great diffusion of those acquirements which are called education—in Rome. The same cause acts in the same way in Edinburgh. There is a great demand for that sort of labour which may be called educated labour, to distinguish it from mechanical labour, but which has as little influence on the moral or mental condition of the individual, as shoemaking, or chipping stones on the highway,—and the demand produces the supply. Church servants of all kinds, from the cardinal down to the singing-boy, must be able to read: and the great amount of living to be found at Rome in the Church, produces the demand for instruction in the qualifications. In Edinburgh, and generally in Scotland, the same demand for educated labour, in the colonies, in mercantile, or legal, or medical professions, and in the Scotch church, produces a similar supply. Those who raise the supply are, in both cities, generally the young men intended for the priesthood; but in Rome the clergy occupy themselves more systematically, and more authoritatively, more in the Prussian style, with the education of the people, than they have legal power to do with us. They hold the reins, and are the superintendents, if not the actual teachers, in all these schools. It is very much owing to the zeal and assiduity of the priesthood in diffusing instruction in the useful branches of knowledge, that the revival and spread of Catholicism have been so considerable among the people of the Continent who were left by the revolution, and the warfare attending it, in that state, that if the Catholic religion had not connected itself with something visibly useful, with material interests, they would have had nothing to do with it. The Catholic clergy adroitly seized on education, and not, as we suppose in Protestant countries, to keep the people in darkness and ignorance, and to inculcate

error and superstition ; but to be at the head of the great social influence of useful knowledge ; and with the conviction that this knowledge—reading, writing, arithmetic, and all such acquirements—is no more thinking, or an education leading to thinking, and to shaking off the trammels of popish superstition, than playing the fiddle, or painting, or any other acquirement to which mind is applied.

Since the peace of Europe was established in 1815, very important events in church history have taken place, although scarcely noticed by our clergy, occupied too exclusively in the petty politics of their own establishments. The revival of religious feeling in every country of Europe after the war-feeling, after the moral fever, and excitement of the revolutionary period were extinguished, and the embers of the flame trodden out at Waterloo, is one of the most striking characteristics of the times which have succeeded ; and the different directions this universal revival of religion has taken in the different churches of Europe, one of the most eventful for future generations. The Continental people had a religion to choose at the end of the last war. How have the two churches of Europe availed themselves of this peculiar state of the European mind ? The Protestant church is shaken to the foundation in her ancient seats, Germany and Switzerland, and, as a body politic, has lost, instead of gained influence. The overthrow of the very name and form of Protestantism in Prussia by the late king, and the defection even of the clergy, from her doctrines in Switzerland, Germany, and other Protestant countries, have thrown great moral weight into the scale of the Roman Catholic church. The European people had a religion to choose, and found the Protestant church in its very centre, Germany, in a state of transition, and transformation into the new-shaped thing—the Prussian church ; and from the almost total silence of the abject Prussian population, both clergy and flocks, at the change, it was naturally believed that the change was undeniably necessary ; and people naturally attached themselves to that church which acknowledges no want of change, and carries with it the moral weight of stability and time-hallowed forms. In the Continental Protestant church, the revival flame of religion has not taken a church direction, but has shown itself in schisms, discord of rites and opinions, the extinction in Prussia of the doctrines and forms of the two great branches of Protestantism, and the adoption, even by the clergy in Germany and Switzerland, of views which would have been



considered formerly in their churches, as deistical, unitarian, socinian. In Britain, also, the Protestant church has got into a false position. The clergy, both in the church of England and in the church of Scotland, have been attempting to unite the two opposite poles—power and popularity—and in their struggle for church power, and church influence, have lost the lead in the religious revival of the age. It is not the church in either country now that sustains, or directs, or even represents the religious sentiments of the people, but the offsets from the clerical body acting independently of the church, and forming an evangelical laity. The scholars have outgrown the teachers; and the teachers, instead of advancing with, and leading the progress of the age, are in danger of becoming superannuated appendages on the religion of the people, sustained by it, not sustaining it; nor capable of directing it in the vast educational and missionary efforts which the religious sentiments of the people are making by their own agents, while their clergy are battling for church wealth, or church power.

The Roman Catholic Church, with its more effective machinery of a priesthood, has held the bridle, and guided the public mind in this great revival of religious feeling in Europe, more cleverly than the Protestant. It has evidently entered more fully into the spirit of the age, has seen more clearly what to give up, and what to retain, in the present intellectual state of the European mind, and has exerted its elasticity to cover with the mantle of Catholicism, opinions wide enough apart to have formed irreconcilable schisms and sects in former ages. Monkish institutions, onerous calls upon the time or purse of the common man, relic-veneration, vows, pilgrimages, auricular confessions, penances, and processional mummary, appear to be silently relaxed, or relinquished, wheresoever the public mind is too advanced for them. The old Catholic clergy and their kind of Catholicism appear to have died out, or to be placed in an inactive state, and young men of new education and spirit to have been formed, and set to work: and these men have taken up their church as they found her, shorn of temporal and political power in almost every country, and of all social influence in a great part of Europe, and even with the means of living reduced to a very scanty pittance in France, and other Catholic lands, and have set to work from this position, without looking back, with the zeal and fervency which perhaps only flourish in poverty. It is so far from being on the ignorance of the people,

this new school of the Catholic priesthood founds the Catholic church, that you hear sermons from them, which might be preached to any Christian congregation. The general doctrines of Christianity are as ably inculcated, as from our own pulpits, and the peculiar or disputable doctrines of the Popish church seem, by some tacit understanding, to be left out of the range of their subjects.. They are not only free from the puerilities of doctrinal points, but also from the affectation so common in the Protestant churches abroad, of preaching only the moral, and not the religious doctrines of the gospel.

Besides this greater efficiency of the machinery of the Romish church, the Catholic religion itself has the apparent unity of belief of all its adherents, in its favour. This unity is apparent only, not real; but it has the same moral effect on the minds of the unreflecting, as if it were real. The Catholic religion adapts itself, in fact, to every degree of intelligence, and to every class of intellect. It is a net which adapts its meshes to the minnow and the whale. The Lazarone on his knees before a child's doll in a glass case, and praying fervently to the bellissima Madonna, is a Catholic, as well as Gibbon, Stolberg, or Schlegel: but his Catholicism is little, if at all, removed from an idolatrous faith in the image before him, which may in its time have represented a Diana of Ephesus, or a Venus. Their Catholicism was the result of the investigation of philosophic minds, and which, however erroneous, could have had nothing in common with that of the ignorant Lazarone. I strolled one Sunday evening in Prussia into the Roman Catholic church at Bonn on the Rhine. The priest was catechising, examining, and instructing the children of the parish, in the same way, and upon the same plan, and with the same care to awaken the intellectual powers of each child by appropriate questions and explanations, as in our well-conducted Sunday schools that are taught on the system of the Edinburgh Sessional School. And what of all subjects was the subject this Catholic priest was explaining and inculcating to Catholic children; and by his familiar questions and their answers, bringing most admirably home to their intelligence?—the total uselessness and inefficacy of mere forms of prayer, or verbal repetitions of prayers, if not understood, and accompanied by mental occupation with the subject, and the preference of silent mental prayer to all forms—and this most beautifully brought out to suit the intelligence of the children. I looked around me, to be satisfied that I was really at the altar

steps of a popish church, and not in the school room of Dr. Muir's, or any other well-taught presbyterian parish in Edinburgh. Yet beside me, on her knees before the altar, was an old crone mumbling her Pater Nosters, and keeping tale of them by her beads, and whose mind was evidently intent on accomplishing so many repetitions, without attaching any meaning to the words. Between her Catholicism, and that of the pastor and of the new generation he was teaching, there was certainly a mighty chasm, a distance that in the Protestant church, or in a former age, would have given ample room for half a dozen sects and shades of dissent—a difference as great as between the Puseyite branch of the church of England, and the Roman Catholic church itself. But the mantle of the Catholic faith is elastic, and covers all sorts of differences, and hides all sorts of disunion. Each understands the Catholic religion in his own way, and remains classed as Catholic, without dissent, although, in reality, as widely apart from the old Catholic church, as ever Luther was from the pope. Our Protestant faith sets before all men distinctly one and the same doctrine and belief, the same principles, the same Christian knowledge, ideas, and objects. There is consequently, distinct ground for sectarianism and dissent, in the very nature of the Protestant church. These are also abstract ideas which are set before men, to which every mind must raise itself, and which from the very nature of the human mind, cannot be comprehended so readily, or dwelt upon so long, and so fervently, especially by those untrained to mental exertion, as the material ideas of crucifixes, images, relics, paintings, and ceremonies, with which Catholicism mixes up the same abstract ideas. These material objects act, like Leyden jars in electricity, upon the devotion of Catholics: and every one seems to adjust to his own mental powers and intelligence, the use of this material machinery for quickening his devotion. With some, the invocation of the Virgin Mary and the Saints, is considered but as a necessary logical deduction from the great doctrine of mediation. If the mediation of the Son with the Father, be efficacious, the mediation of the Mother, who must have been the most perfect of created beings as the chosen vessel for our Redeemer's conception, with her Son, who in filial piety and affection as in all other virtue, was perfection, must, according to their not unspecious deduction, be efficacious also. The *ora pro nobis*, the invocations addressed to the Virgin Mary, the Apostles, Saints, and those who were either personal friends and companions of our Saviour

when on earth, or supposed to have been acceptable to him by their lives or sufferings, are founded on this deduction from the principle of mediation, and from the excellency of the virtue of our Saviour. The mediatory nature of these invocations is with others, again, almost entirely lost sight of and forgotten, and it becomes a direct idolatrous worship to those secondary mediators, equal to what we pay to the great Mediator himself: and as these are at best but human beings little removed from our own condition, the mind is able to dwell without exertion or fatigue upon them, their merits, and their works; and is excited to a fervency of devotion, not attainable by the human mind from the contemplation of the sublime abstract truths of our religious belief. Our belief is the working of judgment, theirs of imagination; and this fervency of feeling is, in the construction of our mental system, more nearly allied to, and nourished and excited by imagination, than judgment. In this way we must account for the undeniably greater devotional fervour of Catholics than of Protestants.

The elasticity of the Catholic church adapting itself to every mind, instead of raising every mind up to it, is the great cause of the advance of Catholicism in the present day, among the enlightened, as well as the ignorant classes; and the great cause of the small influence of Catholicism in raising the moral and intellectual condition of mankind, and advancing the civilisation of society. It is a cap that fits every head, for every head can stick it on in some fashion or other. Its most absurd doctrines, as that of the real presence in the elements of the Lord's Supper, is plausibly enough deduced from the plain words of scripture—"This is my body"—not, this is the symbol of my body—and the natural objection of the evidence of our senses contradicting the supposed transubstantiation, is met by the argument of the unceasing divine power to operate a miracle even every day and hour upon every altar, the incompatibility with any rational idea of divine power, of the doctrine that the age of miracles is past, that what the divine power worked at one time it cannot or will not work at another, although the same necessity exists, and the insufficiency of our senses as a test of miracle, the disciples themselves having been blind to the miracle of the loaves and fishes, although seeing and assisting in it. 'This fits some heads. Others find the consubstantiation of the Lutheran, not *at all more intelligible*, than the transubstantiation of the *Catholic*, and acquiesce in the older faith of the two. The ma-

jority believe that which requires no thinking. The French revolution left the minds of men in a rude uneducated state, more adapted to receive the material impressions of the Catholic faith, the ideas suited to a low, neglected, religious, and moral education, than to comprehend and embrace the higher and more abstract truths of Protestantism. The military spirit of a generation, born and bred in wars and revolutions, and accustomed to see all distinction and honour resting not upon moral worth and good principle, but upon success, promotion, and outward decoration, could, when a reaction and revival arose in religious feeling among them, more easily go over into that church in which similar merits and similar emblems are admitted ; and supersede mental exertion.

The period of the French revolutionary war, undoubtedly, lowered the tone of moral and religious sentiment in Europe. In the events and present results of that vast movement, so many enterprises were successful, in which all acknowledged moral and religious principles were set aside, and so many agents and participators in iniquitous events, attained, and still to this day retain, all honour and social consideration, although gained in defiance of all moral principles of conduct, that wrong-doing has been kept in countenance, and success has been allowed to legalize, and cover from the judgment of posterity, the most flagitious acts of public historical personages. This is the deepest stain upon the literature of our times. Who in all wide Europe, which of the many historians of the French revolution—Scott, Alison, Carlyle, Thiers—who, who has raised his voice in the cause of moral right and integrity ? Who has applied to the test-stone of just moral principle the men and acts he is describing to posterity as great and brilliant examples of human conduct ? Who has asked the French generals, marshals, and princes, the living individuals who now revel in the eye of the world as the highest characters of the age, who has asked them, one by one, how did ye amass your immense wealth ? Is it honestly come by ? Is it the savings of your daily pay and allowances in your professional stations ? or is it money gained by secret participation with your own contractors and commissaries, or wrung by forced gifts, requisitions, unmilitary robbery—in a word, from towns, ancient institutions, and innocent suffering individuals ? Where got ye your services of gold and silver plate ? your collections of Flemish, Italian, and Spanish paintings ? Were these not forced, plundered from their lawful

owners, without even the show of purchase? When the great men of the earth arranged and restored at the congress of Vienna, the political and territorial interests of kings and states, why did they not follow out the principle, and restore the moral interests of Europe also? Why did they not make the vultures who were gorged with the pillage of Holland, Germany, Spain, Italy, of every city from Hamburgh to Bern, and from Bern to Cadiz, and to Naples, disgorge individually their unmilitarybooty, and restore the property to the countries, towns, institutions, and private persons, from whom it had been extorted contrary to all principles of civilized warfare? They were not eagles, these were but the foul birds of prey which follow the eagle to feed upon the carcass he strikes down in his flight. Political or military profligacy in high station and command, is more ruinous to public morals than private vice, because it sets principle at defiance openly, and not in a corner, and showing the homage to virtue of attempting to hide itself; but braves, in high and conspicuous social positions, the control of morality and public opinion. The congress of Vienna, in restoring something like a balance of power, and a monarchical shape to the Continent, only skinned over the wound inflicted on society—made compensation only to kings, and some royal dynasties, not to the people; restored nothing of what is of more importance than forms of government,—nothing of the moral principle which had been pushed out of its proper place and influence in society, by the impunity, unmerited honours, and impudent assumption of dignity, permitted to the most shameless rapine that ever disgraced the history of civilized people. M. Thiers, the late minister of France, is now in Germany, writing history, fortunately for mankind, instead of making history on the banks of the Rhine. He is visiting all the cities and localities of Germany, which were the theatres of important events and memorable exploits, to collect, it is said, materials for a great historical work from the commencement of the French revolution. Has M. Thiers the moral courage to write such a history as history in this age ought to be written? Will he bring to the unerring test-stone of moral principle, every act, every character, every man he is dealing with as an historian? Will he unmask and denounce to posterity, the unprincipled adventurers, pillagers, and marauders, whom accident, good fortune, military talent, and the bravery of their troops, threw up into high and conspicuous stations, and who are figuring to this day in the eye of the world,



the first of men? Will he restore the moral tone to society which has been lost in France, by the unmerited success and splendour of such men? Or will he only give the world a classical work—a fine imitation of the ancient historians, brilliant descriptions of marches, battles, intrigues, causes and results of events, fine spun, imaginary, eloquent, modelled upon the manner and style of Thucydides or Tacitus—a work of talent, but not of historical philosophic truth, a work which every body will praise, few will read, and nobody believe, or be the better for; a work, in short, of leading articles in which every victory is unparalleled, every successful general a hero, and glory a cloak for the most infamous deeds and characters? The road is open to M. Thiers, and Germany is the country which contains much of the materials, to produce the most influential and truly philosophical history of an eventful period, which the moralist, or the historian teaching morality by example, ever had before him. Will M. Thiers have the moral courage to take this road?

The results at some future period of the singular moral and religious state of the European mind which has followed the revolutionary paroxysm of the beginning of this century, baffle conjecture. The Protestant religion existing, it may almost be said, only in detached corners of the world, and there torn into a hundred sects and divisions, and the clergy of her two branches occupied in unseemly squabbles for power and property, and not leading, nor, in public estimation, capable of leading, the religious revival among Protestant Christians, nor of meeting and refuting the learning and theological scholarship of professed infidel writers—the popish church advancing stealthily, but steadily, step by step, with a well-organised, well-educated, zealous, and wily priesthood at the head of, and guiding the religious revival in her domain of Christianity, and adapting herself to the state of the public mind, and the degree of social and intellectual development in every country, from the despotism of Naples to the democracy of New York—the moral tone of society, the power of moral and religious principle over conduct, the weight and value of right or wrong in public estimation deranged, the influence of public opinion on the moral conduct of public men lowered, by the countenance given by governments to individuals who should be branded in the history of this age as unprincipled depredators setting all moral and international law at defiance in their military and political acts—these are

elements in the religious, moral, and political condition of European society, which, together with the change in its social economy by the new distribution of property, must make every thinking man feel that the French revolution, as a vast social movement, is but in its commencement. We are but living in a pause between its acts.

## CHAP. XVIII.

THE OLIVE TREE—ITS EFFECTS IN SOCIAL ECONOMY.—MAIZE.—POTATOES.—  
FLORENCE.—DIVISION OF LAND IN TUSCANY.—STATE OF THE PEOPLE.—  
STATE OF THE CONTINENTAL AND ENGLISH PEOPLE COMPARED.

THE inhabitants of the gloomy little towns in the Papal states, Civita Castellana, Otricoli, Narni, Terni, their squalid nothing-to-do appearance as they saunter in listless idleness about their doors, a prey to ague and ennui, are sadly in contrast to their bright sunny land, and its glorious vegetation. Their country produces every thing—every thing but industry ; and man flourishes as a moral intelligent being only where industry is forced upon him—and civilization and well-being with industry—by natural circumstances—by the want, not the abundance of natural products. Truly the plenty of their country is their curse. Suppose every kail-yard in Scotland had a tree growing at the dyke-side, like the old pollard saughs we usually see there, and requiring as little care or cultivation, and that from this tree the family gathered its butter, suet, tallow, or an oil that answered perfectly all the household uses of these substances, either as a nutritious adjunct to daily food in their cookery, or for soap, or for giving light to their dwelling—all, in short, that our grasslands and dairies, our Russia trade, our Greenland fisheries, produce to us for household uses—would it be no blessing to have such trees ? Such trees are the gift of nature to the people here in the south, and are bestowed with no niggard hand. The olive-tree flourishes on the poorest, scarpy soil, on gravelly, rocky land that would not keep a sheep on ten acres of it, and a single olive-tree will sometimes yield from a single crop nearly fifty gallons of oil. Is this a curse, and not a blessing ? Look at the people of all olive-growing countries—and the question is answered. The very productiveness of nature in the objects of industry, naturally stifles industry. The countries which produce industry, are in a more civilized and moral condition, than the countries which produce the objects of industry. The Italian governments—the Neapolitan, the Papal, the Austrian, the Sardinian—are, perhaps unjustly, blamed for the squalor,

idleness, and wretchedness of the Italian people. No government can give incitement to industry in commerce, agriculture, or manufactures, where soil and climate produce, without any great or continuous exertion of man, almost all that industry labours for. The people of Italy, and of all the south of Europe, probably, never can be raised to so high a social state as the people of the north of Europe, if the measure of a high social state be the diffusion of industry and all its moral influences, and of the useful arts and all their gratifications—nor the people of the north raised to that of the Italian people, if the general taste for, and cultivation of the fine arts, be the measure of the social condition and civilization of mankind.

The olive-tree is but one of the many fruits of the earth which supply the natural wants of man here without any incessant demand upon his toil, and which lap him in an indolent contentment with a low social condition. The maize, or Indian corn, is, both physically and morally, the equivalent among the populations of the south, to the potato among those of the north. It is curious that both these additions to the subsistence of man became generally cultivated about the same period, both being of unknown or unnoticed origin, and the one, as if in compensation, flourishing best, where the other succeeds but imperfectly. Maize is almost limited to the climate of the vine. Potatoes, indeed, succeed, although less perfectly both as to quality and quantity, within the climate of the maize and vine, but practically enter little into the supply of food in those countries in which maize succeeds. The first introduction of both these plants is involved in some obscurity. The potato is usually stated to have been brought home by Sir Walter Raleigh from America, in the reign of James; but we have, in the Merry Wives of Windsor, the weighty evidence of Sir John Falstaff himself against this opinion. "Let the sky rain potatoes."—The potato must have been commonly known to pit, boxes, and galleries in Queen Elizabeth's time, to have admitted of such a familiar allusion to it. The maize, from its French name probably, *blé de Turquie*, is supposed by some to have come to Europe from the East—to have been the fruit of the crusades, and the principal fruit now remaining of those expeditions. When we consider the vast populations now subsisting principally on maize, the potato itself will be found to yield in importance to it. The amount of subsistence from a small space of land is great, and where the vine is cultivated, the maize is often

cultivated between the rows of vines as a kind of secondary crop. The cultivation of maize acts upon the amount and condition of the population—on their numbers and habits, precisely as that of potatoes. The moral results have been the same from both. Where the land is not the property of the cultivators, but of a nobility, as in the Sardinian, Neapolitan, and Papal states, the cheap and inferior, but plentiful food in proportion to the land and labour bestowed on its production, has brought into existence a great population miserably ill off. The difference of value between their inferior food of maize, and the value of other kinds of food, has only gone into the pockets of their landowners, and their employers. Their condition has been deteriorated by a cheaper food increasing the quantity, and thereby reducing the value of labour to a rate equivalent to a subsistence upon an inferior and cheaper diet. Where the land, again, is the property of the labourers themselves, as in Switzerland, in Tuscany, in France, the cheaper and inferior food leaves them more of a superior, higher priced food for market, or more land to produce marketable provisions from ; and what they save in their diet goes into their purse. Thus the very same cause, this cheap article of diet, produces thrifty, active, industrious habits among the Swiss, Tuscan, and French peasants, and lazy, trifling, lazaroni habits among the labourers of the Neapolitan, Papal, and Sardinian states. It is the possession of property that regulates the standard of living in a country, as in a single household, and fixes the general ideas and habits, with regard to the necessary, or suitable, in diet, lodging, and clothing : and this standard regulates the wages of labour. People who have at home some kind of property to apply their labour to, will not sell their labour for wages that do not afford them a better diet than potatoes or maize, although in saving for themselves, they may live very much on potatoes and maize. We are often surprised in travelling on the Continent, to hear of a rate of day's wages very high considering the abundance and cheapness of food. It is want of the necessity or inclination to take work that makes labour scarce, and considering the price of provisions, dear in many parts of the Continent, where property in land is widely diffused among the people.

Italy is a country of contrasts, of finery and rags tacked together ; but none of its contrasts strike the political economist so much as the difference between Florence and Rome. All around Rome, and even within its walls, reigns a funereal

lence. The neighbourhood is a silent desert, no stir or sign of men, no bustle at the gates tell of a populous city. But without, within, and around the gates of Florence, you hear on all sides the busy hum of men. The suburbs of small houses, the cluster of good, clean tradesmen-like habitations, extend a mile or two. Shops, wine houses, market carts, country people, smart peasant girls, gardeners, weavers, wheelwrights, hucksters, in short, all the ordinary suburban trades, and occupations which usually locate themselves in the outskirts of thriving cities, are in full movement here. The labouring class in Florence are well lodged, and from the number and contents of the provision stalls in the obscure third-rate streets, the number of butchers' shops, grocers' shops, eating-houses, and coffee-houses for the middle and lower classes, the traveller must conclude that they are generally well fed and at their ease. The labourer is whistling at his work, the weaver singing over his loom. The number of bookstalls, small circulating libraries, and the free access of all classes to the magnificent galleries of paintings and statues, even to the collection in the Pitti palace itself, and the frequent use made by the lower class of this free access to the highest works of art, show that intellectual enjoyments connected with taste in the fine arts—the only intellectual enjoyments open to, or generally cultivated by those classes on the Continent who do not belong to the learned professions, and are, by the nature of their government, debarred from political or religious investigation and discussion—are widely diffused and generally cultivated. No town on the Continent shows so much of this kind of intellectuality, or so much well-being and good conduct among the people. It happened that the 9th of May was kept here as a great holiday by the lower class, as May-day with us, and they assembled in a kind of park about a mile from the city, where booths, tents, and carts with wine and eatables for sale, were in crowds and clusters, as at our village wakes and race courses. The multitude from town and country round could not be less than 20,000 people grouped in small parties, dancing, singing, talking, dining on the grass, and enjoying themselves. I did not see a single instance of inebriety, ill temper, or unruly boisterous conduct; yet the people were gay and joyous. There was no police, except at the crossings of the alleys in the park, a mounted dragoon to make the *innumerable carts, horses, and carriages of all kinds and classes keep their files, and their own sides of the roads.* The scene



gave a favourable impression of the state of the lower classes in Tuscany.

But why should the physical and moral condition of this population be so superior to that of the Neapolitans, or of the neighbouring people in the Papal states? The soil and climate and productions are the same in all these countries. The difference must be accounted for by the happier distribution of the land in Tuscany. In 1836, Tuscany contained 1,436,785 inhabitants, and 130,190 landed estates. Deducting 7,901 estates belonging to towns, churches, or other corporate bodies, we have 122,289 belonging to the people—or, in other words, 48 families in every 100 have land of their own to live from. Can the striking difference in the physical and moral condition, and in the standard of living, between the people of Tuscany and those of the Papal states be ascribed to any other cause? The taxes are as heavy in Tuscany as in the dominions of the Pope; about 12s. 6d. sterling per head of the population in the one, and 12s. 10d. in the other. But in the whole Maremma of Rome, of about 30 leagues in length by 10 or 12 in breadth, Mons. Chateaufieux reckons only 24 factors, or tenants of the large estates of the Roman nobles. From the frontier of the Neapolitan to that of the Tuscan state, the whole country is reckoned to be divided in about 600 landed estates. Compare the husbandry of Tuscany, the perfect system of drainage, for instance, in the strath of Arno by drains between every two beds of land, all connected with a main drain—being our own lately introduced furrow tile-draining, but connected here with the irrigation as well as the draining of the land,—compare the clean state of the growing crops, the variety and succession of green crops for foddering cattle in the house all the year round, the attention to collecting manure, the garden-like cultivation of the whole face of the country, compare these with the desert waste of the Roman Maremma, or with the papal country of soil and productiveness as good as that of the vale of the Arno, the country about Foligno and Perugia, compare the well-clothed, busy people, the smart country girls at work about their cows' food, or their silkworm leaves, with the ragged, sallow, indolent population lounging about their doors in the papal dominions, starving, and with nothing to do on the great estates; nay, compare the agricultural industry and operations in this land of small farms, with the best of our large-farm districts, with Tweedside or East Lothian—and snap your fingers at the wisdom of our

Sir John, and all the host of our book-makers on agriculture, who bleat after each other that solemn saw of the thriving-tenantry-times of the war—that small farms are incompatible with a high and perfect state of cultivation. Scotland, or England, can produce no one tract of land to be compared to this strath of the Arno, not to say for productiveness, because that depends upon soil and climate, which we have not of similar quality to compare, but for industry and intelligence applied to husbandry, for perfect drainage, for irrigation, for garden-like culture, for clean state of crops, for absence of all waste of land, labour, or manure, for good cultivation, in short, and the good condition of the labouring cultivator. These are points which admit of being compared between one farm and another, in the most distinct soils and climates. Our system of large farms will gain nothing in such a comparison with the husbandry of Tuscany, Flanders, or Switzerland, under a system of small farms.

Next to the distribution of property, the comparative well-being of the lower class in Tuscany must be ascribed to the government. The ducal family, for some generations, have ruled as a liberal, paternal autocracy. The people have had no representation in the legislature in a constitutional shape; but they have been ably represented by their grand dukes themselves. The public measures of these wise, good, and truly great sovereigns, have been of a more decidedly liberal character, than any representative legislature in Italy—taking into account the ignorance of the representatives, the influence of the priesthood, and the jealousy of Austria of any shadow of constitutional power vested in the Italian people—could have ventured upon. The feudal privileges of the nobles, the municipal or corporation privileges which shackle the freedom of industry and trade, the restraints on civil liberty which in other parts of Europe keep the working producing classes in a state of thralldom to the government and its functionaries, have been long mitigated or abolished in Tuscany, by the liberal sovereigns who, by rare good fortune, have ruled in succession for three generations, on the same enlightened and beneficent principles. But stability of good laws and good government, depending upon the personal character of one man is a stake of fearful magnitude, when the well-being of a whole people depends upon it. One ill educated, ill advised successor, may undo, and is undoing, under the present ruler, all the good his predecessors have planned or accomplished. Capital, commerce, manufacturing industry, the great agencies in the movement of

modern society, will not trust themselves freely upon so unstable a foundation. This will ever be the impediment to any considerable progress of Prussia, Austria, Tuscany, and all the paternally governed but autocratic states, in the development of the industry of their people. The prosperity, national wealth, and public spirit they aim at, are inseparable from free institutions, and legislative power lodged with the people themselves, and independent of the life or will of an individual. It would be a great misfortune to civilized Europe, if Prussia, with an autocratic government in which the public has no legal influence over the executive and its functionaries, were to attain any considerable manufacturing and commercial prosperity among nations. But this prosperity is so linked with that public confidence which can exist only in states in which the people have constitutional checks by their own representatives upon the acts of the government, that such a prosperity is unattainable by such a state as Prussia.

## CHAPTER XIX.

## FLORENCE TO BOLOGNA — NOTES ON VENICE.

THE road from Florence to Bologna, about 25 leagues, crosses the Apennines, and from some points, the sea on either side the peninsula may be descried. The mountain scenery of the Apennine chain, is by no means grand, picturesque, or beautiful. The elevation of the hills is so considerable, that patches of snow remain unmelted a great part of the summer; but they are covered with a thick bed of clay soil in general, and the breaks made by torrents, in beds of clay, the ravines, glens, and valleys of a yellow clay country, are seldom picturesque. In Italy altogether, the tracts of country with fine natural scenery are rare. The towns, the works of art, the association of ideas with ancient history, and the luxuriant vegetation, and delicious climate, are the charms of Italy. The inhabitants near to Bologna do not partake of the wretchedness and indolence of the subjects of the papal states on the other side of the Apennines. They are evidently in a better condition. The land is more divided among the people in the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna, Forlì, than in the old, original territory of the papal state, in which the Roman pontiffs, and the princely families derived from them, are the landowners. The people, also, had some constitutional rights in former times.

The city of Bologna is remarkable from having an arched colonnade over the foot pavements on each side of the streets, a feature we are not accustomed to in northern towns. One walks under cover, but the effect is very gloomy. The climate must be rainy on this side of the Apennines, as all the cities have some of the principal of their old streets covered in on each side. Ferrara is a poor, deserted city of some 30,000 inhabitants dwelling in a town built for 100,000. Side streets vacant, houses out of repair, weather stained, and a world too large for their present occupants, grass-grown courts, ragged old people, this is the picture of these ancient Italian cities. Padua is but a little more lively, with its university attended by 400 to 450 students.

Venice, "the city risen from the sea," is the point to which the traveller hastens. It is perhaps the only city in the world which does not disappoint his expectations. It is, indeed, a dream-like creation upon the waters. Gondolas meet you at Fusina or Mestre, where you leave the carriage, to ferry you across to Venice, a distance of about four miles over a shallow lagune, in which the water-road is marked out by large piles. The gondola is a wherry, not so neatly built as the Thames wherry, with the upper half of a mourning hackney-coach, such as our undertakers send out in the rear of a burial train, stuck midships. In this the passengers sit, or recline on cushions, and may shut themselves up as in a coach with the glass-windows or the blinds. Two fellows at opposite ends and sides of the boat, stand shoving the oars from them, and paddle along pretty quickly, avoiding the running foul of the other gondolas with great dexterity, it is said, but, in truth, there has been no great danger of running foul of others in the most frequented canals of Venice, in this nineteenth century. In turning corners they might possibly bump against each other, and they give a short cry, to warn those coming down the water street to keep to the right or left. The gondolier has nothing of the seaman about him, and out of his own ditches, would, I suspect, be found a sorry boatman, for the boat-part of his conveyance is not so neat, nor so well kept as the coach part. Venice is not without her streets. There is access by land to every house in Venice. Thousands of little alleys, like Cranbourne Alley in London, but not so wide, and bridges innumerable, make the landways not even very circuitous, and the great mass of the population go about their daily business as in other towns, through the streets. The gondolas are but the equivalents of the hackney-coaches of other cities. I question if a greater proportion of the 100,000 people living in the Tower Hamlets, Ratcliffe, Poplar, and on either side of the Thames in that district, be not upon the water in any given minute of the day, than of this 100,000 people. The lower classes, and even the gondoliers, have by no means the air of a seafaring or even of an aquatic population. Our London boatmen, even those who ply above bridge, have all something jack-tarrish about them. You would never mistake the man who lives by his boat among us, for a terrestrial biped. Here, even about the dock-yard, or in the boats of the guardship, a frigate, you do not see a man in gait and appearance like a seaman. But for the anchor in their caps, the men of their ship-of-war might be taken

for dismounted dragoons, as readily as for seamen. This want of characteristic appearance of any class of men among the populations of the south of Europe is remarkable. In northern countries, the soldier, the sailor, the husbandman, the tailor, the smith, the shoemaker, the mechanic, the gentleman, have each class something about them not to be mistaken, dress them as you will, an appearance, a something peculiar to their craft or class. It is expressed, or expected, even in all paintings of the Dutch or English school. But in Italian life or pictures, nothing of this peculiar characteristic appearance of a class is to be found. It is by his appendages of dress only you distinguish the soldier from the priest. It is probable, therefore, this characteristic something in the appearance does not exist in such intensity among southern populations. What is this something? I take it to be expression of mind strongly applied to one single object or train of objects, affecting in time, the deportment, the language, the way of thinking, the manners, the very gait, face, and air of the individual, and making him brother-like to all others of the same occupation. In the countries in which less industry is required to obtain a living, the mind, the will, and even the muscles and positions of the body, are less constantly and intensely applied and exercised in the one way peculiar to the craft or profession by which the individual gains his living, and obtain no such preponderance over the ordinary appearance common to all.

The canals of Venice are very clean for canals, but still they are canals, smelling now and then of bilge water. There is a rise and fall of tide here of about three feet, but no current. It is singular that here at the head of the Adriatic, there should be a visible ebb and flood, and none on the shores of the Mediterranean itself. A long island or bar of sand, called the Lido, runs across the head of this narrow sea, about three miles below Venice, leaving a passage between each end of it and the main land. The sea runs in by these passages or mouths, forming a lagoon behind this island of considerable extent, but very shallow (not above 18 feet in the deepest of the navigable channels), so that the difference between ebb and flood, not perceptible on the shores of the wide and deep Mediterranean (which in general is very deep all round, and close to the Italian shores), is shown here by laying dry, or covering the mud banks in this shallow lagoon. Venice is built upon the little islets in this little sea, *covering them so entirely with her buildings, that she may be*



truly described as a city springing from the waters. No natural land is to be seen—all is water or wall. It is possible that some individuals here may be strangers to the ordinary appearances of animal and vegetable life in the country, may never have seen growing corn, nor heard the lark singing, and know not what the country means.

Whoever regrets the decay of Venice, the extinction of her independence as a state, regrets the advance of society from barbarism to civilisation. The Republic of Venice was a huge compound of all the evil principles of a social condition collected together under an oligarchy. Despotism, intolerance, mutual distrust among those wielding the power, disregard of the people, cruelty, secrecy, terrorism, all the extreme evils of bad government, were united here. It has passed away, and even the relics of its former greatness are rapidly decaying—the palaces, quays, bridges. In some future age, the traveller may be inquiring, Where stood Venice? The port of this queen of the seas has at present in it two foreign brigs, a government guard-ship, and some small craft. The appearance of Venice is probably more novel and impressive now in her decay, than in her best days. When her port was crowded with vessels, her canals with lighters conveying goods, her quays with merchandise, she may have been very like some parts of Amsterdam, or other great commercial cities penetrated by canals. In her present state, she is unique, because it is not the movement of a seaport or commercial town upon her waters, but the ordinary communications of her own inhabitants with each other. Shipping and trade are not seen in it. The coasting trade of Venice, however, in small craft, is not inconsiderable. The very supply of 115,000 people, a strong garrison, a naval depot, and a host of public functionaries employed in the civil government of the district, with every article, even to the fresh water they use, must employ many market boats and small craft. Foreign trade at all times has only been forced into this channel; and its present course, by which consumers in this part of Europe receive their supplies through Trieste, a port nearer to them and to the producers, with more convenience and saving of time for shipping, is undoubtedly more natural and advantageous. We see with regret the decay of ancient power and magnificence; but where these were founded on monopoly and oppression, and when we see the supplies of the necessities and comforts of life better, cheaper, and more widely diffused through society by the downfall of this grandeur and power, we may dry

our eyes, and be consoled. The extinction of the independence of Venice, and the transfer of her territory to Austria, however iniquitous in principle and execution, has been of advantage to the inhabitants of the old Venetian states. A government strong like the Austrian, can afford to be impartial, favours no one class in systematic, uncontrolled oppression ; and where one ruling class had uncontrolled power, as the nobility had in the old Venetian state, raises in reality the condition of the other classes, by depressing this formerly dominant class, subjecting all to equal and known law, and giving security and protection to every man against petty authority. Abuses from power lodged in the hands of incompetent, arrogant, or stupid, but still responsible functionaries, are more tolerable and curable, than those of a powerful irresponsible class of nobility without a king.

It strikes the traveller, that here, among the insulated population of a decaying city, he sees no mendicity, and very little extreme poverty ; while Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, and all the other towns he passes through (Florence alone excepted), are full of beggars, or beggarly people, ill clothed, apparently ill fed, and idle. What may be the cause of this striking difference in Venice ? Mendicity is less common, because it is less of a trade here, the classes who have any thing to give going generally by water, so that there are few street-stations in which a mendicant could place himself with a certainty of finding passengers who could relieve him. But poverty and idleness are less prevalent also, because the position of this insulated population creates a check upon their increasing beyond the means of subsistence. There can be no marrying here among the lower class upon the vague hope of finding a living some how. A some-how living is out of all question here, even in hope, because land-work, garden-work, horse-work, and the millions of ramifications of labour connected with these found in other cities, are by nature cut off from Venice. There are no odd jobs, no new ways of living, no new demands for labour, beyond a fixed, well-ascertained quantity, required by this seagirt population ; and whoever cannot enter into the band of gondoliers, tradesmen, artificers, or other labouring men, and succeed to a portion of this labour, can entertain no delusive hope of finding a living in any unknown, unexpected way. He sees clearly that he is but a supernumerary hand on board the good ship Venice, and must wait until a vacancy falls, and *he gets into it*, before he can get employment, and pay, *to keep a family upon*. The eye of the most ignorant of the

working class can take in the whole field of labour in this simple state, with no manufactures, no foreign trade, and no agriculture, and can see that there is no room for him to marry. Venice is a striking example of the economical preventive check upon over-population; and not working from any superior prudence or intelligence of the lower class, but from the greater simplicity of the social relations in which they live, enabling the most thoughtless to see and calculate upon his means of subsistence. It proves, too, that the check upon over-population is to be found in the intelligence and education of the working class, in raising their habits and wants to those gratifications which property only can indulge in, and in raising their mental power to the understanding, and acting upon those considerations which are the same in the most complicated forms of society as in the simple form in Venice, although not so obvious to the common man of uneducated mind.

One evening there was a grand illumination in one of the parishes in the centre of Venice in honour of the pastor, who had completed the fiftieth year of his service in the parish church. It was, like every thing in Venice, with a touch of the Eastern style. Carpets, or silk cloths of brilliant colours, were hung out from every window, and across the streets. Every shop had its grandest and most costly goods piled up outside, and in the doors and windows. Crystal chandeliers, those used in drawing-rooms, with lighted wax candles, were suspended on gaily painted rods across, between the houses, so as to hang over the centre of the narrow flag-paved alleys of the town; and in these, the throng of well-dressed people of the middle and lower classes was immense. There was no pushing, or elbowing, or rudeness in the dense mass, although crowded beyond any fashionable London squeeze. A military band of an Hungarian regiment played opposite the parish church. We took a gondola up the grand canal, and landed at the Rialto, from whence our gondolier piloted us through dark lanes, so narrow that two persons could scarcely pass each other, until we reached the centre of the show, where the band was playing, dressed in their Hungarian costume. The scene was splendid. The narrow streets lined, and canopied with gay coloured cloths, and silks, and glittering goods; the wax lights, the glass chandeliers, and the well-dressed crowd, appeared a scene from the Arabian Nights' Entertainments realised. In all this bustle, I did not see, even in the fishmarket at the Rialto, a single instance of intoxication—people were not

drinking, although all were singing, talking, and enjoying themselves—nor a single instance even among the boys, of jostling, pushing, running, or rudeness, nor a single person whom I could suppose to be a policeman. The ordinary corporal's guard, at a public building near the church, was the only authority I saw of any kind. I doubt if the Austrian government be unpopular with the common people here.

The Venetian taste seems Eastern. The old buildings, like St. Mark's, are not Grecian, not Gothic, but Saracenic, in a style copied probably from Constantinople. The taste in dress is also peculiar. They prefer strongly contrasted, vivid colours. This is also the taste in the Venetian school of painting. The very climate and situation of Venice naturally produce great contrasts, great masses of brilliant light and deep shade. The most impressive scenery in Venice is in passing by night in a gondola, through the silent, narrow canals, where you plunge into the shadows, black as midnight, of buildings rising from the water on each side; and all is pitchy darkness, except a small space of sky overhead, or a light glimmering in an upper-story window, and you emerge suddenly, by a turn of the canal, into a brilliant flood of moonlight, glittering and dancing on waters and buildings as far as eye can reach. In general, however, I prefer the land paths in Venice to the solitary dignity of being paddled about in a gondola. I like to rub shoulders with the people—to hear the merry laugh in the market-place.

The style of building in the old houses on the canals is peculiar. Small, beautifully carved pillars, with windows between, and arches joining them with much open work and ornament, run in belts round the buildings; and the main story has projecting balconies and covered colonnades hanging over the canals. These balconies and stone verandas of this Eastern or Saracenic style of architecture, must have been costly, from the fine cutting of pillars and fret-work; and now, many of these ancient mansions or palaces are uninhabited, or tenanted in part by the labouring people, whose shirts and stockings are hanging out to dry, over balustrades which once half concealed the silk-robed ladies of high degree, who sat listening behind them in the twilight, to well-known strains of music from the swift passing gondola which dared not linger. *Sic transit gloria mundi.* Our gondolier pointed out to us his habitation on the grand canal, and at his *signal-whistle*, his little ones ran out on the balcony of the first floor, to see their father go past on the water; hap-

pier, perhaps, that he was earning eighteen-pence, than ever were the progeny of the Venetian noble who built the palace, in all their magnificence. His rent, he told us, was three dollars a month for five rooms and a cellar; but it was dear in consequence of the convenience of the situation. In remote canals, a zwanziger, two-thirds of a franc, per week, is the ordinary rent for labouring people. Their fuel for a year will cost sixty zwanziger. The hire of a gondola for a day is six zwanziger. There is honour among these gondoliers; for although needy and clamorous for fares, and we had no fixed engagement with our man, yet if he was out of the way, they would call him to come to his usual customers, and took no advantage of his absence. There are in Venice about 200 gondolas plying for hire. The buildings in Venice are not in general so lofty as in Genoa, and other Italian cities. St. Mark's is a low structure, so is the palace of the doge, and the adjoining old prison connected with it by a covered bridge—the bridge of sighs—from the upper story of the one building to that of the other. These are all low structures, that is, the proportion of the height to the extent of front, is not greater than in Grecian architecture, and, therefore, they are not to be classed with the Gothic. Venice probably borrowed her style of building from Constantinople, when she was mistress of the East. Some of the old mansions in the secondary canals are very interesting, from the peculiar style of architecture and ornaments.

It is the predominating characteristic, and distinctive principle of Gothic architecture to seek its effects by extensions in the height; and that of Grecian architecture, on the contrary, to seek its effects by extensions parallel to the horizon. These two distinct principles will be found to govern all the details, as well as the general masses, of each of these two distinct styles of architecture—the arches, gates, windows, fronts, interiors—to run through all their parts, and to govern the whole ideal of the structure in every pure and complete specimen of either style.

## CHAPTER XX.

THE BRENTA. ITALIAN TOWNS.—WAY OF LIVING OF THE LOWER CLASSES.—  
DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE ITALIAN AND ENGLISH POPULATIONS.—CAUSES  
OF THE DIFFERENCE.—REPRODUCTIVE AND UNREPRODUCTIVE EXPENDITURE.

WE set off with regret from Venice—a city fascinating even in her decay and crossed again to Fusina, the nearest custom-house on terra firma, at a very early hour. In this delightful climate, the morning air is not damp, raw, and uncomfortable; but is agreeable to the feelings. The air, even in Venice, is so opposed to dampness, that scarcely any slime or green moss grows on the walls at the surface of the water, on the stone steps of the doors upon the canals, or even upon the wooden piles in the sea. It was ebb-tide, and these were uncovered lower than usual; and we passed even extensive banks of sand or gravel, laid dry at low water—such islands as Venice itself is built on. Venice being a free port in which goods are landed free of custom-house duty, the traveller's luggage has to undergo the same kind of search at Fusina as if it were landed from a foreign ship. We found the officers not more troublesome than in any of our own custom-houses. From Fusina to Padua you travel in the course of a forenoon along the Brenta, a muddy river enclosed by artificial dykes, and the level of its bed raised considerably above that of the land on each side. This river, and the Po, run upon the country, rather than through it; for the channel of the water is raised by the deposit of ages, and the embankments on each side, high above the land. The delightful villas on the banks of the Brenta are like Dutch country houses, adorned with leaden statues of nymphs, satyrs, neptunes, shepherdesses, rows of tubs and jars holding orange trees and shrubs, a parterre gay with ordinary flowers, and hid behind a mud-bank raised on each side of the bed of the yellow thick river, for retaining it in its channel. Of delightful villas in this taste the traveller will find a much more delightful assortment on the banks of the canal from Amsterdam to Utrecht. Some poet celebrates "the song of the nightingale on the banks of the Brenta;" but the croaking in the ditch drowns the melody of the bush.



From Padua, the traveller passes through Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Bergamo, on his way to Milan, these are all large towns ; shrunk, indeed, from their original girth of wall ; but still towns of from 30,000 to 60,000 inhabitants, situated at short distances from each other, and with no particular manufacture or branch of industry established in them. How do these city masses of population live ? The country is fertile. Its products are amongst the most valuable of the earth, corn, rice, wine, oil, silk, fruits. The rents of the land, whether paid in money or in portions of the products of the soil, are spent in the cities, and also all the public revenues, if we look at the country we see what supports the towns, the people are in poverty in the country, notwithstanding the fertility of the soil. It is impressive to see those who raise silk—the most costly material of human clothing—going about their work barefoot, and in rags. The inhabitants of Lombardy, and the other Austrian possessions in Italy, are far from being in so good a condition as the people of Tuscany ; but are in a much better condition than the people of the Papal and Neapolitan States. The houses are good, although scantily furnished, and displaying no such quantity of plenishing as in the dwellings of the Swiss or French peasantry—no stocks of bedding, household linen, earthenware, pewter, copper, and iron utensils.

The homeless out-of-door way of living of the labouring class all over Italy is a cause as well as an effect of poverty. It blunts the feeling for domestic comfort, which is a powerful stimulus to steady industry. People of the working class here, breakfast out ; that is, take a cup of coffee, or something equivalent, at a stall or coffee-room. It is only in large towns with us, that the workman or labourer does not take his meals at home, or from his home ; and the traveller is surprised to see trattoria and coffee rooms in Italy, not merely in towns, but in lonely country situations where there are only a few houses of the labouring people. This is not an indication, as it would be considered with us, that the people of the neighbourhood are well off, and have something to spend in such gratifications as public places of resort for their class afford ; but it is an indication of their poverty. Those who with us would have their own little house-keepings and cooking, have not the means, nor perhaps the taste for such domestic comfort, and take their victuals at the trattoria, or cook-shop. The number of such places of entertainment for the lower class in little villages and hamlets which

could support no such trade in our country, puzzles the traveller at first, because this apparent surplus of expenditure is inconsistent with the visible poverty of the inhabitants. But it is in reality the economy of poverty, not the expenditure of surplus means of gratification, which supports these places. It is a more economical way of living in this climate, in which firing is little required for comfort, than if each family of the labouring class had a housekeeping for itself. But the domestic habits and virtues suffer under this homeless, thoughtless, careless way of living, and the time saved by it is not employed. The women are sauntering about all day on the gossip, with their distaff and spindle, the men, according to the weather, basking in the sun, or slumbering in the shade.

The effects of climate, soil, fertility, and other natural circumstances of a country, upon the habits, morals, and civilisation of the people, would be a curious subject of speculation, and one which would explain many apparent difficulties in accounting for the very different progress of different nations. The difference, for example, in the condition and civilisation of the Italian and British people is very remarkable, and may be traced to natural causes of climate, soil, and situation. The climate and soil of Italy, are incomparably more productive than those of Great Britain. The population of the two countries is about equal—the island of Great Britain in 1831, having 16,262,301 inhabitants, and the peninsula of Italy 15,549,393. Both countries are inhabited in much the same way, that is, in a great number of very large cities and towns, as well as in hamlets and single rural habitations. But the Italian population is unquestionably far behind the British in the enjoyments of civilised life, in the useful arts, in civil and political liberty, in wealth, intelligence, industry, and in their moral condition. To what can this difference be ascribed? Italy was far advanced—as far in many points as she is at this day—before England had started in the course of civilisation; and when Scotland\* was in a state of gross barbarism. The

\* “ Quid loquar,” says Saint Jerome in his epistles, “ de cæteris nationibus, quum ipse adolescentulus in Gallia viderim Scotos, gentem Britannicam, humanis vesci carnibus, et quum per silvas porcorum greges pecudumque reperiant, tamen pastorum nates et fœminarum papillas, solere abscindere, et has solas ciborum delicias arbitrari!” Evidence may sometimes prove too much as well as too little for establishing facts. What St. Jerome says he himself saw, is either entitled to credit, or not entitled to credit. If not, *what becomes of the history of the first ages of the church as gathered from such authority as this father’s?* The addition to what he states he him-

Englishman ascribes this to the want of constitutional government; the Scotchman to the want of pure religious doctrine. The government and religion of a foreign country are two very convenient pack-horses for the traveller. They trot along the road with him, carrying all that he cannot otherwise conveniently dispose of, and the prejudices of his readers prevent any doubt of the burthen being laid upon the right beast. But, in reality, no government of the present day, whatever be its form, is so ignorant of sound principle, so blind to its own interests, and so impregnable to public opinion, as wilfully to keep back, discourage, or attempt to put down industry and civilisation. It is in the means they use, not in the end they propose, that modern governments, whether despotic or liberally constituted, differ from each other; and for many objects, even the means of the despotically governed states are, in themselves, better—are a more effective machinery, than those of the constitutional states. The despotic countries of Europe—Austria, Prussia, Denmark, for instance, are actually in advance of the constitutionally governed—Britain, France, Belgium, in the means or machinery for diffusing education among the people. Where they err, is in doing too much for the promotion of education, manufactures, and commerce, and not leaving the plants to their natural growth, and not leaving the people to themselves—to their own social management—to their own natural tendency to extend the cultivation of them in exact proportion of their wants; but are incessantly applying the hand of government to foster the crop to a sickly maturity. As to religion, the Popish practically interferes less with the time and industry of the people, than the Presbyterian. One half of Sunday only is kept as a time of rest in Popish lands, and that not very strictly in agricultural labour; and in seed time, harvest, vintage, and hay-making, people in Catholic countries generally labour in the fields after mass, that is, after twelve at noon, nor is it considered indecorous to do so. Holydays, or Saints' days, are also practically observed only until the forenoon mass is over. Of these, before the French revolution, there were sixteen days in Paris yearly; but twenty-four

self saw of those Scotch cannibals; viz., that when they found herds of swine and cattle in the woods, they preferred a slice of the hips of the keepers, or the breasts of the female attendants on the herds, to the beef and pork, proves too much. People who keep flocks and herds of cattle and swine, and tend them in the woods, are not in the social condition to reach each other for want of food or of civilisation.

days on an average of all France, observed for half the day, viz., until noon, as church holydays. If we reckon the days at Christmas observed in England, the Good Friday, Easter Monday, Gunpowder Plot, Charles's martyrdom, King's birthday, and other idle customary festivals, we would probably find little difference. In Scotland, if we reckon the occasional fast-days proclaimed by the church; the preparation-days for the sacrament; and the many half-days devoted to religious meetings, prayer meetings, church meetings, missionary society meetings, Bible society meetings, and all the other social duties connected with the religious position and sentiments of the individual, it will be found, as it ought to be found, that out of the 365 days, the pious well-conducted Presbyterian tradesman, workman, or respectable middle-class man in Scotland, bestows, in the present times, many more working hours in the year upon religious concerns than the Papist in Italy. It is an inconsistency to ascribe to the loss of time by their religious observances, the poverty and idleness of the populations of the south of Europe, when we see the time abstracted among ourselves from the pursuits of industry for religious purposes, although little, if at all, less in amount, producing no such impoverishing or prejudicial effects; but, on the contrary, evidently invigorating the industry of the people, and contributing essentially to their morality and civilisation.

It is, in truth, neither the bad government, nor the bad religion of Italy, which keep her behind the other countries of Europe. The blessings of Italy are her curse. Fine soil and climate, and an almost equal abundance of production over all the land, render each man too independent of the industry of his fellow-men. Italy has not, like all other countries which have attained to any considerable and permanent state of general civilisation and industry, one portion of her population depending, from natural causes, upon another portion, for necessary articles—no highland and lowland, no inland and seacoast populations producing different necessaries of life, and exchanging with each other, industry for industry—no wine-growing population, and corn-growing population, as in France, depending upon each other's production—no mining population, seafaring population, manufacturing population, distinct from agricultural population and production. She has no natural division of her social body into growers and consumers, because every inhabitable corner of the peninsula grows almost the same kind of products, corn, wine, oil, silk, fruits; and every

consumer is a producer : and there is no natural capability in the country of raising an artificial division in its population by trade or manufacture. The great source of industry and civilisation in France, is the cultivation of the vine, and its natural exclusion from all the north of France. It is the greatest manufacture in the world. It not only gives within France itself a constant interchange of industry for industry, as the country north of Paris produces no wine ; but all the north of Europe, all America, all the world where Christians dwell, consume wines of French production. Italy has not this advantage. With her equal, or nearly equal productiveness of soil and climate over all, both in the kinds and quantities of her products, no considerable masses of her population are depending on each other's industry for the supply of their mutual wants, and inseparably bound up with each other by common interests. Italy has no natural capabilities of raising up such a division in the masses of her population by manufacturing or commercial industry. There is little command of water-power, and none of fire-power, in the Italian peninsula for moving machinery. The Po, the Adige, the Tecino, and all the Alpine rivers ; the Tiber, the Arno, and all from the Apennines, owing to the melting of the snow at their main sources, partake of the character of mountain-streams, having such difference of level at different seasons, that mill-seats on their banks, at which water-power can be always available, are extremely rare. The corn mills on those rivers are constructed on rafts or boats anchored in the stream, so as to rise and fall with the increase or decrease of the water. Italy also, notwithstanding her vast extent of sea coast, is badly situated for commercial industry, or supporting a seafaring population. She has little coasting trade, because all parts of her territory produce nearly the same articles in sufficient abundance for the inhabitants, and has little trade, for the same reason, with the other countries, on the Mediterranean. Her sea coast, also, is in general uninhabitable from malaria ; so that no great mass of population deriving the means of living from commercial industry, and distinct from the inland population, can ever be formed. Cities and towns are, no doubt, numerous in Italy, and, perhaps, so many masses of population of from fifty or sixty thousand persons, down to two or three thousand, cannot be found any where else in Europe, within so small an area as in the plains of this peninsula. But these cities and towns are of a very peculiar character. The country is so fertile, that each of these masses of population

draws its subsistence from, and extends its influence over, a very small circle beyond its own town walls. All capital, industry, intelligence, civil authority, and business, public or private; all trade, manufacture, or consumpt of the objects of trade and manufacture, and it may be said, all civilisation, are centralised within these cities, and the small circles of country around them from which they draw the articles of their consumpt. Italy is a striking example of the practical working in social economy, of the system of centralisation in towns or seats of provincial government, of the civil establishments, intelligence, and wealth of a country. Each city or town, within its own circle, suffices for itself, is a metayer family upon a great scale living upon its own farm, and having no dependence upon, or connexion with, the industry, interests, prosperity, or business of its neighbours in the land; and very little communication or traffic with any other masses of population, by carriers, waggons, carts, diligences, or water conveyances, the objects of interchange being, from the general bounty of nature, but very few between them. They are moral oases, beyond which, all is desert. Within them people are refined, intelligent, wealthy, imbued with a taste for the fine arts, and inspired with liberal ideas of the constitutional rights of the people, and national independence of their country; and without, the people belong to a different country, age, and state of civilisation, are ignorant, rude, poor, half-civilised, clothed in sheep-skins, or unscoured, brown, woollen cloaks, or are half-clothed, enjoying, in supreme indolence in the sunshine or the shade, a rough bellyful, without a care or wish for other gratifications or other social condition. The town populations and higher classes have sailed out of sight of the main body of the people. Our cities and towns are generally the growth of manufacturing or commercial industry, congregating men in gradually increasing masses of population which depend upon the country around, and, in our less productive soil and climate, upon a much greater circle of country around, for their supplies of food; but not for the means of buying food. Here, the town populations draw the means of buying, as well as what they buy, from the country, leaving on the land the cattle and the peasantry to reproduce next year their own food, and the incomes of the town populations. The princes, nobility, or other landholders, where the land is not, as in Tuscany, divided among the peasantry, the higher clergy, the military and civil establishments of government, local and general, with their armies of functionaries,



live in the towns and cities with the tradesmen who live by supplying them. The traffic between town and country is small, because there are no consumers in the country ; its produce is consumed in the towns without any return. The interchange of industry between town and town is still less, for each population is a little state within itself, sufficing within its own circle for all its demands, and hampered, besides, with all sorts of impediments to communication, with passports, town duties, custom-house examinations, and formalities at the town gates. Italy is dotted over with these separate and distinct masses of population, forming, no whole of power, wealth, connected industry, common interests, objects, or feelings, and this state of disunion in the social economy of the Italian people is, I apprehend, the effect of natural, not of political causes. Nature having bestowed almost equally over all the inhabitable land of Italy all that man requires in a low, but not uncomfortable condition, neutralises by her very bounty the main element of social union—the dependence of men upon the interchange with each other of the products of their industry. Man is cemented to man by mutual wants. Social union, national spirit, interests, and industry exist only in masses of people living by each other. Identity of language, religion, laws, government, will not, as we see in Germany, amalgamate into one nation populations having no want of each other in their ordinary modes of existence, no dependence on each other for the necessities or enjoyments of life. This disunion appears to have been in all ages the state of the groups of populations on the Italian peninsula. The power of the sword in the time of the Romans ; the power of commercial capital in the middle ages ; the power of the sword again in the days of Napoleon compressed Italy, or distinct portions of Italy, into national masses in form and government ; but when the pressure was removed, the parts started asunder again ; the cement was wanting which holds men together in effective national union ; viz. their mutual wants, and the exchange of industry against industry, to supply mutual wants. They are a people living, each family for itself, in a remarkably unconnected social state, even in the same communities, and without need of, or confidence in each other ; and, as communities, unimbued with any common feeling or spirit that can be called national. This has ever been so. The earliest period of Roman history shows Italy in the same state of social economy as at the present hour. The bounty of nature enables

man to live unconnected with man by ties of common interests and necessities, and exchanges of industry.

Besides this natural cause for the permanently stationary condition of the inhabitants of Italy, the means of the country, its time, labour, and capital have been deplorably wasted. If the influx of riches constitute national wealth, Italy should be the richest country in Europe, instead of one of the poorest. But the enormous capital which superstition, in the middle ages, and down even to modern times, drew to Rome, the vast wealth which the commerce of the East brought, in the same ages, to Florence, Pisa, Genoa, Venice, have all been laid out unproductively, and have not left a trace behind in the condition, well-being, or industry of the people. The vestiges of all these riches are to be seen only upon the face of the land in palaces, churches, and ornaments, not in the habits, ideas, or industry of the people. It has been reckoned that the churches of Italy, with their embellishments, their marbles, jewels, gold and silver ornaments, paintings and statuary, have cost more than the fee-simple of the whole land of the Italian peninsula would amount to, if sold at the present average price of land per acre. This enormous outlay of capital has been altogether unproductive. If we look again at the vast and splendid palaces, with their ornamental architecture, their magnificent galleries of precious paintings, statues, fine marbles, and all the costly glory displayed, even now in their decay, in every second-rate town in Italy, but particularly in the capital cities, and those which have been independent commercial states, such as Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Venice, we can scarcely estimate the cost of the civil edifices of Italy, with their embellishments, at much less than that of the ecclesiastical. All this outlay of capital has been altogether unproductive. We see in these expensive structures a sufficient cause to account for the downfall of the commercial prosperity of Genoa, Venice, and the other Italian states which once ruled the money-market, the trade, and industry of the world.

It may be necessary to explain more fully what is meant by reproductive and unproductive expenditure in political economy. It appears, at first sight, a distinction without a difference, as applied to national wealth. The man who builds a church, or a palace, lays out his money in the payment of labour, *as much as* the man who builds a spinning mill, or a ship.

It is only a transfer of capital, in both cases, from those who buy labour to those who sell labour, and the capital, although it may be lost by the one individual, is gained by the other, and cannot be said to be sunk, or lost to the country, in the one application of it more than in the other. This is the view of many political economists : but it is not correct. Suppose two merchants build each a ship at the cost of 15,000*l*. The sum is paid to wood merchants, rope and sail makers, carpenters, riggers, and others, for labour, or material of which the value consists in the labour of producing and transporting it. At this step there is no loss of capital, but only an exchange of it between those who buy labour, or its products, and those who sell it. The nation or community gains by the circulation, as new objects, the two vessels, are produced by the labour. But suppose one of these vessels is kept well employed for a dozen years. She reproduces her cost, the 15,000*l*. This is capital laid out reproductively. It is laid out again and again, and employs and remunerates labour and industry from generation to generation. Suppose the other vessel is made an habitation of, laid up by the side of a canal, and converted into a Venetian palace. Her cost is unproductive : it is capital sunk and lost as far as regards national wealth, and well-being, and employment of labour, having acted only once in the labour market, and having then been totally withdrawn from it. This has been precisely the case with an incalculable amount of capital, not only in Italy, but in the Hanse towns, in Flanders, in Holland, in all the old seats of European commerce and wealth. In visiting those ancient cities, which once were, in the trade of the world, what London, Liverpool, Bristol, Glasgow, are now, the traveller sees that the besetting error of commercial wealth, in the ages and countries which preceded England and her rise, has been to overbuild and over-display itself in unproductive objects, instead of retaining their capitals as working means, or capitals, in trade or manufactures. Wealth acquired in commerce, properly so called, that is, in the transport of products, natural or artificial, from one country to another, seems to have a tendency to expand itself unproductively, to overstep its prudent limits and true interests, not only in private dwellings and gratifications, but even in works of undeniable utility, as in cutting and facing harbours and canals; building quays, piers, town walls, citadels, town houses, churches, and in our days in docks, warehouses, and railroads—all very useful works, but not always

useful in proportion to their cost, not always saving time and labour to an extent that will ever be reproductive of the capital invested in their construction. Wealth acquired by manufacturing industry seldom falls into this error. The value of convenience, time, and labour, is more exactly appreciated, and is rarely over-paid by those who have daily to estimate time, labour, and convenience in the economy of manufacturing operations. Of this unproductive outlay of capital, the traveller sees less in Great Britain than in the poorest countries in Europe, and to this may be mainly ascribed her vast national wealth, her industrial activity, and her boundless working capital at the present day. In proportion to the wealth of the country, how few in Great Britain are the buildings of any note, public or private, civil, military, or ecclesiastical; how little is the absorption of capital in museums, pictures, gems, curiosities, palaces, theatres, or other unproductive objects! This, which is the main foundation of the greatness of the country, is often stated by foreign travellers, and by some of our own periodical writers, as a proof of our inferiority. Time and money are not employed in works of the fine arts, either by individuals, or by the state, in the same proportion as in other countries—in France, Prussia, Bavaria, Italy—and are lightly esteemed by our public when so employed. Music, painting, architecture, sculpture, dancing, cooking, all the arts, fine or not fine, that address themselves only to the senses, or please only through the gratification of the senses, have but little hold of the public mind with us. It is one of the strongest characteristics of the British people, that all the sports and amusements of every rank and class must, to be popular, occupy the intellectual powers, the judgment of the individual. He will not sit and listen, or look, and be a mere passive recipient of pleasurable sensations or impressions. Hunting, shooting, horse-racing, boat-sailing, all amusements in which judgment is exercised, and individuality is called into play, should it be only in betting upon the most absurd objects, have so decided a preponderance in the national mind, that it is altogether a hopeless attempt to instil into our lower or middle classes any thing like the passive taste for music or painting that prevails in foreign countries. The museum, or concert-room, or opera, would always be deserted for the meeting, or club, or circle, whatever be its objects, religious, political, or convivial, in which the individual's *own faculties or powers* take a part. I cannot think this any

proof of a want of intellectuality in a people. Be it so or not, it is undeniable that in the character of the people of Britain, even of the higher classes, there is no feeling for the fine arts, no foundation for them, no esteem for them. A single town in Italy or Germany could produce more show-edifices, more costly palaces, museums, picture galleries, and music saloons, than half the island of Great Britain. The wealth of some of the smaller European states, as for instance of Bavaria, Saxony, Denmark, Sweden, and of all the little German principalities, has in modern times been almost entirely absorbed in building royal palaces, museums, theatres, and in lodging the nobility proportionably to their sovereigns. Royalty itself is poorly lodged in England in proportion to the wealth of the country, and to the palaces of many a little Continental prince; and the merchant in London or Liverpool, or the manufacturer in Manchester or Glasgow, lives in a modest cheap dwelling, compared to the vast magnificent palaces of the same classes in the middle ages, still to be seen in the old commercial cities of Italy and Flanders, and in the old Hanseatic cities all over the Continent, and which are literally the tombs of their commercial prosperity. In them are buried the means which would to this day have commanded the trade of the world, had these vast private capitals been still available by having been laid out reproductively in the industry-market, as the same class of capital has always been in England, instead of being buried in marble and mortar. In this English taste there is nothing to regret, nor is any want of intellectual employment in such a social existence to be justly complained of.

## CHAPTER XXI.

NOTES ON MILAN.—COMO.—AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT—LAGO MAGGIORE.—  
ISOLA BELLA.—THE ALPS.—ON THE SOCIAL STATE OF FRANCE, PRUSSIA,  
ITALY.

THE traveller tires of the plains of Lombardy in an hour. He has no extensive view of country in this garden of Europe. Every field is beset with rows of pollard mulberry trees, plucked bare of foliage for feeding the silk-worms. The fields are beautifully irrigated with clear water, carried in little ducts along them; and one or two such little fields, rows of pollards surrounding them, and the endless straight avenue from city to city, make very uninteresting scenery. It is flat, tame, and without the character of nationality, which gives an interest to the flat, tame scenery of Holland. The gay bustle of Milan, and the view of its duomo, with the forest of white marble pinnacles on the roof—the most beautiful roof scenery in the world—will scarcely repay the traveller for the dull duty of approaching them through an endless tedious avenue of stiff trees, presenting, mile after mile, the same and the same.

Como is a pretty considerable town at the foot of the picturesque lake of the same name, a town of 12,000 or 15,000 inhabitants. The population of the neighbouring country consists almost entirely of the class of travelling pedlars who go out into the world to sell stucco figures, barometers, birdcages, and such small wares. They are often absent ten or twelve years from their families, and return with their little savings to buy a cottage, and a bit of land, at ten times what we would consider the value, on the side of their native lake. About 3000 of these travelling dealers from this district, are reckoned to be in or about London; and they often attain, what in this country at least is very considerable wealth. They are a very interesting class. As pedlars they have experience of the condition of the lower classes, and even of the middle class in many different countries, and are often shrewd observing men, well worth getting acquainted with. The traveller gathers from their conversation the practical difference between the well-intentioned, paternal government of the



mildest of autocratic states—Austria—and a government in which public opinion has its due influence through a constitutional means of expressing it. It cannot be doubted that it is with the best intentions, and from a supreme care for what is considered the public good, that the Austrian government holds the people in a state of moral vassalage, treats them as beings in a state of pupillage, not as free agents, and governs all things by the will and wisdom of a ruling few. The ruling few, however, cannot be wise in all things, are often duped by those below them in executive or administrative function, on whom they must depend for sound information, and are duped, too, by their own social position, by the *esprit* of functionarism, the *esprit des bureaux*, which is so apt to mistake the perfection of the means for the perfection of the end in public affairs. They have no wish to legislate wrong, but they legislate on guess, not upon knowledge. The ruling class are too far removed from the ordinary business and interest of the multitude working below them, to understand personally the business of that multitude; and are bred in a circle of ideas widely different from that of the classes for whom they legislate. They necessarily depend for their ideas and opinions upon the army of civil functionaries with whom alone they can communicate. These must appear to have something to do for their bread, and their bread perhaps depends in part on fees, fines, and douceurs. Hence the miserable policy of the Austrian, and all the other despotic states, of interfering in, managing, and watching over all private industry or enterprise, and all trade or individual action. The shop, the dwelling, the bed even of the trader, here in Austrian Italy, are exposed to vexatious examinations at the will of the local douanier—a half military German animal. The market cart going into a town with hay is probed with an iron rod at the town gate, in case it should be conveying goods subject to duty. The gig, or country vehicle with market people is stopped and searched. The simple undertaking of running a Diligence daily from Milan to Como, and back, a distance of twenty miles, was considered too important a concern to be left to individual enterprise; and was taken possession of as a branch of public business, which it belonged to government functionaries only to carry on. It is with extreme difficulty the petty trader can get passports from the Austrian authorities, to travel on his needful affairs. Securities must be given, and the causes of his going explained, even when his military or other public duties are accomplished, or fully provided for, and his station in life was

low, to make him an object of political suspicion. One of the travelling pedlars of this country, who had been for many years in America and was returning from a visit to his friends at Como, travelled with me by the Voiturin to Switzerland. He made the emphatic observation, when we had got beyond the Austrian frontier, in speaking of the trammels on all industry and individual freedom, "That it was better to be dead in America than alive in Italy."

The lake of Como, skirted all round by steep hills, with scarcely room for a carriage road, and a villa parterre between the hill and the water, has not the variety of scenery, nor perhaps the grandeur of the Swiss lakes. The scenery of the Lago Maggiore is more open and diversified. Pebbly beaches here and there between the rocky headlands, relieve the monotony of rock and water. The shores of this lake are watched and patrolled day and night, by the sentinels and guards of the douane, as vigilantly as if an invading enemy were in force on the other shore. At Arona, a huge enormity in copper, the colossal statue of Saint Charles of Borromeo, is the wonder—not, I presume, the admiration of all travellers. It is said to be 80 feet high, and the head in size, and merit as a work of art, is about equal to the wooden house of a small windmill. In the same taste, and a monument of the same senseless expenditure of the same family, is the Borromean Isle in the Lago Maggiore—the Isola Bella. It is as bella as a little rocky islet in a lake can be, covered entirely with parterres, and flower-pots, and grotto work, shell work, moss work, statuary work, and such gewgaws, with a French chateau to correspond. The isle so decked out amidst scenery of a totally different character, looks like an old court lady arrayed in silks, lace, and diamonds, a hooped petticoat, and white satin shoes, left by some mischance, squatting down all alone upon a rock in the midst of a Highland loch. The thing is neither pretty nor in place; but it has its value, too, in contrast. It is but a day's journey from this wretched monument of bad taste, to some of the grandest scenes in Europe. The traveller, however, in crossing the Simplon, misses almost all the sublime impressions he expects. The highest elevation of the road across it, from Domo d'Ossolo on the Italian side, to Brigg in the Valais, is about 4,500 feet; and although at this elevation there are avalanches, snows, glaciers, winding roads with cataracts and precipices below, and *clouds and blue sky above*, and all the other romance-furniture of *Alpine scenery*, yet, if truth may be told, the hills of two or

three thousand feet of elevation in our northern latitude and climate are far more imposing on the human mind, far more sublime. The positive elevation to which you have been climbing up perhaps from the pier of Bologna, or the quay of Naples, or the Lido of Venice, enters not into the mind through the senses, but only on consideration, and as a cold mathematical truth. What strikes the mind on great mountain elevations is the sublime, almost terrific silence, suspension, death of nature, the lonely sterility, the absence of all animal or vegetable life, the reduction of all created objects to rock and cloud. This is felt in our northern latitude on hills of 2000 feet, more impressively than in this climate at 4000 feet of elevation. The tree grows, the bird sings at the very edge of the perpetual snow here more vigorously than on many a northern sea-side plain.

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In passing through France, Prussia, Italy, the traveller returns daily to the question, How do the political institutions, the laws, mode of government, and national education of those countries act upon the social condition of the people? To ascertain, or at least to approximate to a just estimate of these influences in different parts of Europe, is the object of the preceding Notes. Will the reader concur in the following inferences from them?

The object of the governments of those countries must be the same as that of our own government—the advantage and well-being of the governed. The difference must be in the means used, not in the end proposed.

But good legislation, which is the means used both by the despotic and liberal government for advancing the well-being of the people, is not confined to, or a necessary consequence of legislative power being vested in the representatives of the people. We have in Britain, both in our civil and criminal code, laws more absurd, unjust, and prejudicial to the interests and well-being of the governed than the modern laws of any country in Europe; for instance, our game laws, our excise laws, our poor laws, our corn laws, and other laws and classes of laws of even recent enactment, or recently revived. In the autocratic states, Prussia and Austria, in which the legislative power is solely in the executive, there are few subjects of legislation in which the executive has any interest at variance with, or different from that of the people, or any favourable feeling towards

impolitic, oppressive, or unequal laws. On all that concerns private property, on all questions between man and man, on all acts injurious to the public, on all civil, criminal, and police affairs, it is the interest of the despotic as much as of the free state to legislate aright. It is also, theoretically considered, more in the power of the despotic state to do so—unpleasant as this truth may sound in ears radical—than of the liberally constituted or free state ; because the persons appointed by the executive to consult together, consider, frame and draw out the law, are, theoretically, men bred to legislative science, who endeavour to become acquainted with the wants and business of the country, have no personal interests in faulty legislation, and although liable to be misinformed by the functionaries around them, are unimpeded by ignorant, incompetent fellow-legislators, as in a popularly elected parliament, or legislative assembly. There is, *theoretically*, no reason, in short, in the nature of despotism or autocratic government itself, as existing in modern enlightened times, why it should not legislate as beneficially for the social condition of a people as a freely chosen representative legislature ; and there can be no doubt, that the Austrian and Prussian autocrats in the beneficent paternal government which they affect, do sincerely endeavour to exercise their legislative power, before God and man, for the well-being of their people.

The administration of law also, as well as the enactment, may be, and practically is, more effective and perfect, both in the civil and criminal courts, in the despotic than in the free states. The nature of despotic government admits of, and produces a chain of precise, almost military arrangements for inspection, reference, check, and responsibility running through the whole exercise of judicial function, from the lowest court to the highest. These autocratically ruled countries are generally divided into small circles, each with its court, its judge, its public prosecutor, its licensed procurators or advocates ; and their proceedings are regularly reported to and watched over by higher judicial colleges who have superintendence over a group of these lower primary courts, and in some countries, as in Denmark, take cognizance of every case and decision of the inferior court, whether appealed from by the parties or not, revise their whole protocols, and even check undue delay in giving judgment, or undue charges of the procurators ; and are themselves subject to similar regular inspection and surveillance in the discharge of these duties, by *still higher judicial colleges in the state*. In the despotic states

of modern Europe, the judicial power is thus more immediately, and for the people more readily and cheaply applied, and by a machinery more perfect, more divested of personal causes of error in judgment from political party feelings, prejudices, or interests, and more carefully watched over and checked, than in our own social economy in Britain. England and Scotland are, perhaps, the only two countries in Europe, which have not in the course of the present half-century reconstructed their old imperfect or feudal arrangements for the administration of law to the people, and have not remodelled their law courts to suit the business of the age.

In what then in modern times, if it be neither in the enactment nor in the administration of law, in what consists the difference between free and despotic, liberal and anti-liberal government, as far as regards practically the social condition, and the moral and physical well-being of a people? The difference lies in this :—

Man, in his social state, is not intended by his Creator to be only a passive subject of wise and good government, be it ever so wise and good, but to attain the higher moral condition of wisely and well governing himself, not only in his private moral capacity as an individual, but in his social, political capacity as one of the members of a community. Morality and religion direct him in his private capacity ; but if he is debarred by the arbitrary institutions of his government from exercising the other half of his social duties, he is, morally considered, but half a man, is answering but half the end for which man is sent into this world as a social being ; is fulfilling but half the duties given him to be fulfilled by his Creator—for man is created a political as well as a moral being ; has a political as well as a moral existence. A people governed by laws, in the enactment of which they have no voice, and by functionaries independent of public opinion, are in a low social and political, and, consequently, in a low moral condition, however suitable and excellent the law itself, and its administration may be. They are morally slaves. The Prussian, the Austrian, the Neapolitan, the Papal subjects stand equally upon this low moral level. The Prussian, the Austrian, and Tuscan do, no doubt, enjoy the advantage of many good laws and good institutions, but they do not enjoy the advantage of having made them—a moral advantage as great as the material advantage of having the benefit of them. If the public mind is not exercised and

nourished in the considering, enacting, and executing for itself, the good legislation the public enjoys, public spirit, patriotism, and in private life, as individuals, the spirit of free agency in moral conduct, and the sense of moral responsibility are quenched under the all-doing, paternal management of the autocrat for his people, as much as under a harder despotism. His mildness and beneficence reach only their physical, not their moral good. They are in a state of mental vassalage as moral and social beings, in a state of pupilage, not of free agency, whatever be their education, or their physical condition as to food and the comforts of life. The enjoyments and character of an animal people are all that men attain to under these paternal autocratic governments, with perhaps the development, in the town-populations, of taste and feeling for the fine arts, and a certain polish and amenity of manners. These are not to be under-valued, but are very agreeable accomplishments to live with, and are closely connected with many social virtues. But however delightful to live with, and however important in reality to the comfort and happiness of social life, and to the formation of civilised habits and character among a people, these are not the highest acquirements for man in a social state to attain. We attach too great importance to these superficial although intellectual and moral acquirements, in estimating the education of an individual, or of a nation. National education, as it is called, turns in all these paternal autocratic governments which will not leave the people to the education of their own free agency as moral beings united in society, principally upon the development of these tastes, manners, and feelings. If eating, drinking, lodging, and living well, for very little outlay of industry, exertion, or bodily labour, and still less of mental, and along with these the enjoyment, through the eye and ear, of all the pleasures that a cultivated, educated taste in the fine arts affords, if physical good with this kind of intellectual culture or development be the great end to be attained by man in society, these autocratic governments are rapidly carrying their people to a higher social condition than that of the people of Britain.

But if the moral and social duties of man, as a member of the human family, demand something more than his own animal enjoyment, physical well-being, and personal gratification, even in the intellectual exercise of his taste and feeling—if his true *position in life be that in which his moral and intellectual nature can be fully and freely developed in the exercise of his*



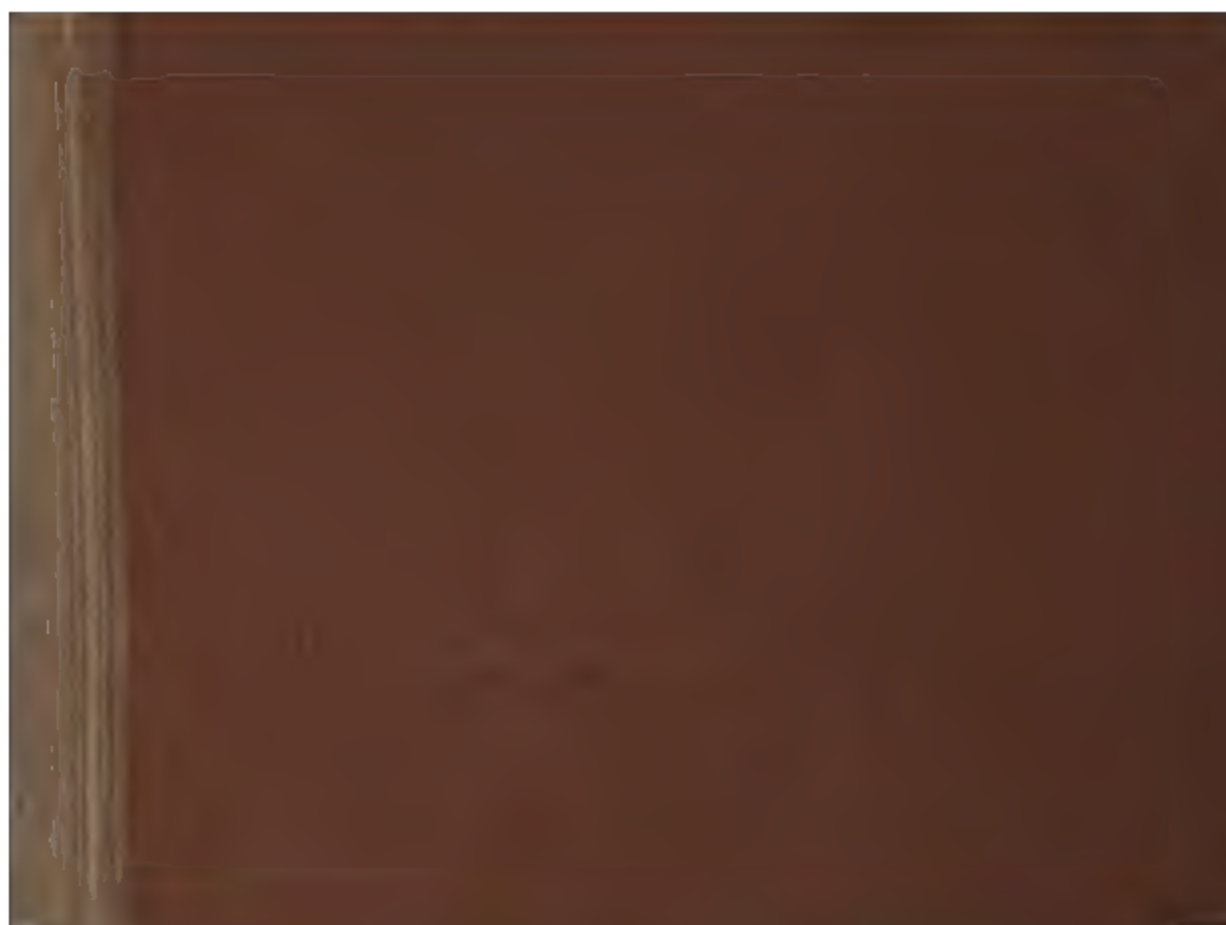
capabilities, duties, and rights, as a thinking responsible free agent—and his true education, that which fits him for this position—then are these autocratic governments and their subjects in a low social position—one far beneath that of the British—and their systems of national education are not adapted to the great moral end of human existence, but merely to support their governments. If we fairly consider the social condition of the Continental man of whatever class, whatever position, or whatever country, Neapolitan, or Austrian, or Prussian, we find him, body and soul, a slave. His going out and coming in, his personal bodily and mental action in the use of his property, in the exercise of his industry and talents, in his education, his religion, his laws, his doings, thinkings, readings, talkings in public or private affairs, are fitted on to him by his master, the state, like clothing on a convict, and in these alone can he move, or execute any act of social existence. He has no individual existence socially or morally, for he has no individual free agency. His education fits him for this state of pupilage, but not for independent action as a reflecting self-guiding being, sensible of, and daily exercising his social, political, moral, and religious rights and duties as a free agent. In his position relatively to these rights and duties, the Continental man stands on a level very far below that of the individual of our country in a corresponding class of society. With all the ignorance and vice imputed to our lower classes, they are, in true and efficient education, as members of society acting for themselves in their rights and duties, and under guidance of their own judgment, moral sense, and conscience, in a far higher intellectual, moral, and religious condition than the educated slaves of the Continent. This is the conclusion, in social economy, which the author of the preceding Notes has come to, and which the reader is requested to consider.

THE END.









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